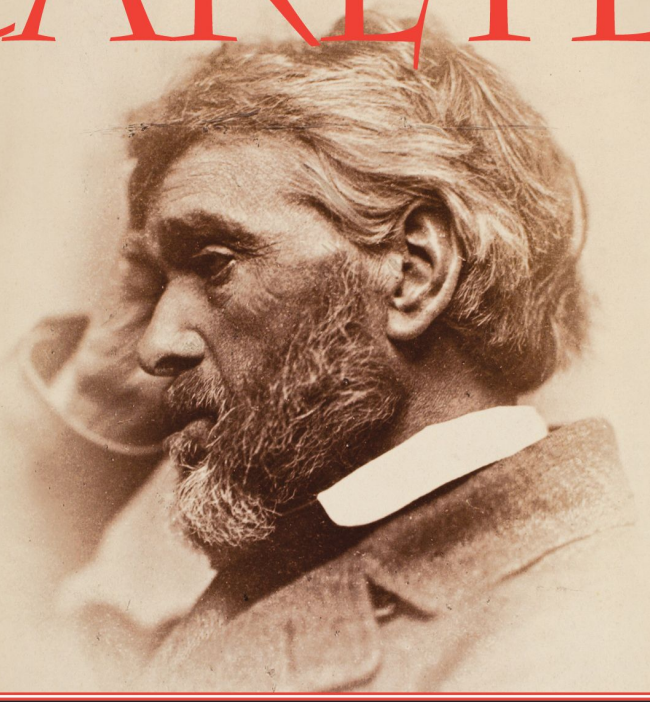
THE NORMAN AND CHARLOTTE STROUSE EDITION
OF THE WRITINGS OF

THOMAS CARLYLE



ESSAYS ON POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Introduction and Notes by
JOHN M. ULRICH,
LOWELL T. FRYE, AND
CHRIS R. VANDEN BOSSCHE

Text Established by
CHRIS R. VANDEN BOSSCHE

Essays on Politics and Society

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University of California Press

University of California Press
Oakland, California

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Cataloging-in-Publication Data is on file at the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-0-520-38791-1 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN 978-0-520-38792-8 (ebook)

Manufactured in the United States of America

31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations vii

Preface ix

Chronology of Carlyle's Life xi

Introduction xvii

Note on the Text lxv

Illustrations xciii

Essays on Politics and Society
- Signs of the Times. 3
- Characteristics. 23
- Death of Edward Irving. 55
- Petition on the Copyright Bill. 59
- Chartism. 61
- Dr. Francia. 131
- Louis Philippe. 177
- Repeal of the Union. 181
- Ireland and the British Chief Governor. 191
- Irish Regiments (of the New Æra). 197
- Legislation for Ireland. 201
- Death of Charles Buller. 205
- Ireland and Sir Robert Peel. 209
- Indian Meal. 215
- Trees of Liberty. 221
- The Opera. 223
- Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits. 229
- Ilias (Americana) in Nuce. 237
- Inaugural Address 239
- Shooting Niagara: And After? 265
- Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71. 301
- The Portraits of John Knox 309

Notes 355

Works Cited 779

Textual Apparatus
- Emendations of the Copy-Text 801
- Discussion of Editorial Decisions 839
- Line-End Hyphens in the Copy-Text 847
- Line-End Hyphens in the Present Text 849
- Historical Collation 851
- Alterations in the Manuscript 979

Index 985

ILLUSTRATIONS

Following page xci

1. Photograph of an American slave.
2. "Wisdom and Wind-Bag."
3. Thomas Carlyle, National Portrait Gallery, London.
4. Frieze, National Portrait Gallery of Scotland
5. Manuscript of "Louis Philippe."
6. Proof of "Louis Philippe.
7. Simon Bolivar
8. Bernardo O'Higgins
9. James IV
10. "Battle of Worcester"
11. "Snuff Shop Highlander"

Illustrations of "Portraits of John Knox"

James VI	311
Beza portrait of John Knox	314
Goulart portrait of John Knox	319
Hondius portrait of John Knox	321
"Torphichen" portrait of John Knox	324
"Somerville" portrait of John Knox	347

PREFACE

Although Thomas Carlyle was acclaimed throughout the nineteenth century in both England and the United States as the "undoubted head of English letters," reliable editions of his work, providing both an accurate text based on modern bibliographical principles and full explanatory annotation, have not been readily available. The standard edition, the Centenary, originally published 1896–99, is unsatisfactory: it is without annotation and textually inaccurate (see On Heroes c–ci). This injustice, both to Carlyle and his readers, the editors of the Strouse Carlyle Edition seek to redress.

To establish an accurate text the editors have devised an integrated system for the computer-assisted production of the edition. The application of electronic technology in every stage of the editorial process, from the collation of the texts through the final typesetting, allows a high level of accuracy, while leaving all decisions requiring editorial judgment in the control of scholars. The text is preceded by a discussion of the evidence and editorial principles used to establish it, and a full textual apparatus is appended, including a list of all emendations of the copy-text and a complete collation of authoritative versions, keyed to the present text by page and line number. To facilitate reading, we present Carlyle's work as clear text, without added editorial or reference symbols.

The historical introduction is intended to elaborate the significance of the work for Carlyle's era and to suggest its importance for our own, as well as explaining its origin and biographical context. By providing a full critical and explanatory annotation, the editors hope to assist the contemporary reader in negotiating Carlyle's densely referential prose. A tissue of quotation from varied and disparate sources intertwined with the historic events of Victorian life, Carlyle's art weaves together multifarious references and allusions, which we have sought, wherever possible, to identify, gloss, and translate. The editors hope that the explanatory annotation, like the critical text, will be a starting point for the work of reading and interpretation, a foundation on which readers of the present and future may build the often-changing structures of cultural analysis. We have resisted the temptation to impose our own readings, offering instead the essential materials for interpretation, hoping thereby to approximate Carlyle's own ideal book, in which the reader is "excited . . . to self-activity."

In planning this selected edition of Carlyle's works, the editorial committee decided that it would be useful to scholars and students to follow the precedent established in other editions of Victorian prose writers and

organize Carlyle's essays by subject. Unlike books composed and published as single works, the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* was a constantly changing and expanding collection of essays, poems, and translations, roughly, but not entirely, chronological in arrangement. The arrangement adopted for this edition will enable the scholar to study Carlyle's essays on politcs and society in one volume.

The impetus for this edition came in large part from the resources of the Norman and Charlotte Strouse Collection of Thomas Carlyle, housed in Special Collections, University Library, at the University of California, Santa Cruz. In recognition of their inestimable service to Carlyle studies, the edition is dedicated to Norman and Charlotte Strouse.

This work would not have been possible without the assistance of many people and institutions. Their contributions can only imperfectly be acknowledged by a brief mention here. Our work has been assisted by the genuine collaboration of the members of the Advisory Board, who are listed facing the title page of this volume. Funding for the present volume was provided by several research grants from the University of Notre Dame. We would like to thank in particular the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts of the College of Arts and Letters, without whose support I would not have been been able to complete this project. We have received the help of many libraries, including the National Art Library of the Victorian and Albert Museum, the National Library of Scotland, the Carlyle House, the Beineck Library, Yale University, the British Library, the London Library, the University Library. Colleagues on several continents have provided assistance in tracking down Carlylean references and texts. We thank in particular our colleagues at the University of Notre Dame, Mansfield University, and Hampden-Sydney College. We would also like to thank Ian Campbell, whose knowledge of Carlyle is truly encyclopedic. All of those mentioned here have made this volume better than it would have been without their help; none are responsible for any errors that may remain in it.

Chris R. Vanden Bossche
Lowell T. Frye
John M. Ulrich

CHRONOLOGY OF CARLYLE'S LIFE

1795 Thomas Carlyle born on December 4 in Ecclefechan, Scotland.

1801 Jane Baillie Welsh born in Haddington, near Edinburgh, on July 14.

1806 Carlyle enrolls as a day student at Annan Academy.

1809 Begins his education at the University of Edinburgh.

1813 Enrolls in Divinity Hall to fulfill his parents' expectation that he will become a minister.

1814 Leaves the university and returns to Annan Academy as mathematics tutor.

1816 Meets Edward Irving, a teacher and minister. Begins teaching in parish school in Kirkcaldy near Edinburgh.

1817 Tours the Highlands and western Scotland with Irving. Writes articles, letters to newspapers, and occasional poems on scientific and philosophic subjects.

1819 Moves to Edinburgh.

1820 Does translations from the French; writes a series of encyclopedia articles.

1821 Irving introduces him to Jane Welsh. Carlyle takes a well-paid position, arranged by Irving, as a private tutor to Charles and Arthur Buller.

1822 Has a conversion experience in Leith Walk, near Edinburgh, in which he commits himself to the primacy and importance of work, rather than belief or theology, as the essence of personal self-definition. Publishes first review essays in the *New Edinburgh Review*. With his brother John's help, he translates Legendre's *Elements of Geometry*.

1823 Translates Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (1824) and expands an article on Schiller into *The Life of Schiller* (1825).

1824 Beginning in June, makes an extended visit to London. A guest of the Buller family and the Irving circle, he is introduced to London literary society, including Coleridge and Charles Lamb.

1825 Translates various German authors, and falls strongly under the influence of Goethe.

1826 Marries Jane Baillie Welsh on October 17. Begins an autobiographical bildungsroman, the unfinished *Wotton Reinfred.*

1827 Francis Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review,* becomes his patron and family friend. Jeffrey publishes a series of Carlyle's review-essays, mainly on German literature and culture, which initiate his Scottish and English reputation. *German Romance* published in four volumes.

1828 Unsuccessful efforts to find suitable employment. Carlyles move to Craigenputtoch, a remote farm near Dunscore.

1828-29 Publishes essays on literature in the *Foreign Review* and the *Edinburgh Review.* "Signs of the Times," his first published social commentary, appears in the *Edinburgh Review.*

1830 Begins *Sartor Resartus*.

1831 In London for an extended visit, he renews contact with the Buller-Irving circle, begins a friendship with John Stuart Mill, and unsuccessfully tries to find a publisher for *Sartor Resartus.* "Characteristics" appears in the *Edinburgh Review.*

1832 Death of his father, James Carlyle. Writes a substantial memoir of him, later included in *Reminiscences* (1881).

1833 *Sartor Resartus* is published serially in *Fraser's Magazine* from November 1833 to August 1834. Encouraged by Mill, he begins to write about the French Revolution. In August, Emerson visits Carlyle at Craigenputtoch, the beginning of a lifelong friendship. Carlyle gives thought to emigrating to America.

1834 The Carlyles move to 24 Cheyne Row, London, their residence for the remainder of their lives. Edward Irving dies. In September, Carlyle begins to write *The French Revolution*.

1835 In March he is forced to begin *The French Revolution* again when the only copy of the manuscript (one-third completed) is accidentally destroyed while in the keeping of John Stuart Mill. Writes "The Death of the Rev. Edward Irving" for *Fraser's Magazine*. Meets Southey and Wordsworth, and becomes friends with John Sterling. In the next five years his circle of London friends expands to include Leigh Hunt, Harriet Martineau,

Erasmus Darwin, Monckton Milnes, John Forster, Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, FitzGerald, and Browning.

1836 *Sartor Resartus* first published in book form in Boston.

1837 Gives seven public lectures on German literature beginning in May. *The French Revolution* is published.

1838 Course of twelve lectures on European literature. *Sartor Resartus* is published in book form in London. With Emerson's help, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* is published in Boston.

1839 Six lectures on the revolutions of modern Europe. Supports copyright legislation with "Petition on the Copyright Bill." Plays a formative role in the creation of the London Library. *Chartism* published in December.

1840 Delivers six lectures on heroes. Spends the summer in Scotland, henceforth an annual practice, and considers writing a biography of Cromwell.

1841 *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* published.

1842 While visiting the Bury St. Edmunds area, he conceives the idea for *Past and Present.*

1843 *Past and Present* published. "Dr. Francia" appears in the *Foreign Quarterly Review.*

1844 John Sterling dies.

1845 *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* published.

1847 Emerson visits England and spends time with the Carlyles.

1848 Revolution in France, Chartist unrest in England, and a campaign to repeal the Union in Ireland. Carlyle writes a series of newspaper commentaries, including "Louis Philippe," "Repeal of the Union," "Ireland and the British Chief Governor," "Irish Regiments (Of The New Æra)," and "Legislation for Ireland." "Death of Charles Buller" appears in the *Examiner.*

1849 Carlyle tours Ireland with his friend Gavan Duffy and finds English policies substantially responsible for the condition of Ireland. Publishes more social commentary, including "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel," "Indian Meal," "Trees of Liberty," and "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question."

1850 Publishes *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, a series of eight satirical essays on the condition of modern Britain. Ruskin visits Carlyle for the first time and soon becomes a disciple. Friendships with a younger generation of intellectuals and writers, including William Allingham and John Tyndall.

1851 *Life of John Sterling.* In the fall, he visits Paris, accompanied by Robert and Elizabeth Browning. Begins to consider Frederick the Great as a subject for a biography.

1852 In the late summer, travels to Germany for the first time, visiting sites associated with Luther, Goethe, and Frederick the Great. His "The Opera" appears in *The Keepsake.*

1855 Carlyle's letter in support of a Scottish portrait gallery published by David Laing.

1856 Completes the writing of the first two volumes of *Frederick the Great*.

1857–58 Collected Works (the Uniform Edition) published in sixteen volumes.

1858 First two volumes of *Frederick the Great* published. In late summer, makes a second visit to Germany to complete a survey of sites associated with Frederick.

1863 Jane Carlyle's health deteriorates. Volume 3 of *Frederick the Great* is published. Carlyle's squib on the American Civil War, "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce" appears in *Macmillan's Magazine.*

1864 Volume 4 of *Frederick the Great* is published.

1865 Completes *Frederick the Great;* volumes 5 and 6 are published. In November he is elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, an honorary position.

1866 On April 2, Carlyle delivers his "Inaugural Address" in Edinburgh. He revises it for publication in pamphlet form. On April 21, Jane Carlyle dies of a stroke. Carlyle writes a biographical and autobiographical memoir of Jane and another of Edward Irving, both later included in *Reminiscences*. In the fall joins the Governor Eyre committee whose purpose is to defend Eyre against the charge that his suppression of the Jamaican slave revolt (1865) was too harsh.

1867 Writes brief memoirs of Southey, Wordsworth, and William

Hamilton. In August, he publishes a satiric attack on the Reform Bill of 1867, "Shooting Niagara: And After?" Ruskin and Carlyle become estranged.

1868–69 Works sporadically at a selected edition of Jane's letters, then decides to postpone publication.

1869 A second edition of the Collected Works (the Library Edition, thirty volumes) begins publication. In March, he has an interview with Queen Victoria.

1870 Publishes a letter in the *Times* strongly supporting Germany in the Franco-Prussian War.

1871 Turns over to James Anthony Froude some personal papers and manuscripts, particularly Jane's letters, in effect appointing Froude his biographer and Jane's editor. In 1873 he gives Froude most of the remaining documents. His right hand becomes palsied, making it difficult for him to write.

1873 Carlyle's portrait is painted by Whistler.

1875 His last essay, "Portraits of John Knox," appears. His eightieth birthday in December is the occasion for an international celebration, with gifts, honorary degrees, testimonial letters, and an engraved gold medallion. He declines Disraeli's offer of a title.

1879 Visits Scotland. With the death of his favorite younger brother, John, he has outlived most of his family and personal and professional friends.

1881 On February 5, Carlyle dies at Cheyne Row. He is buried on February 10 next to his parents in the churchyard at Ecclefechan.

INTRODUCTION

Carlyle and Social Criticism

Carlyle wrote most of the essays included in this volume at moments when he felt compelled to speak out about the state of contemporary society. It begins with "Signs of the Times," which represents his first opportunity to focus primarily on his own views, rather than write about those of others. That essay established a mode of prophetic writing—employed in many of the essays in this volume as well as books such as *Past and Present*—that led to his being regarded as chief among the Victorian sages. While a few of the pieces included here are merely occasional, the majority represent Carlyle the incisive, and sometimes controversial, social critic.

In this respect, the majority of the items in this volume are truly essays—the development and exposition of an idea or theme—rather than book reviews. Of course, book reviews often became essays, and indeed, "Signs of the Times" was itself putatively a review. However, there is no mistaking the difference between an essay like "Signs of the Times," in which Carlyle barely mentions the authors and books he is purportedly reviewing, and his literary reviews, all of which focus squarely on authors and their writings.

Carlyle was quite familiar with the traditions of the essay. He had written the article on the essayist Montaigne for Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, and in his writings he makes numerous allusions to the great British essayists, including Bacon, Addison, Steele, and Johnson. Insofar as his essays, especially from "Chartism" onward, address particular political as well as social concerns, he was writing in the tradition of more recent nonfiction works with a political bent, such as William Cobbett's *Rural Rides* (1822-1826; 1830), William Hazlitt's *Spirit of the Age* (1825), and Robert Southey's *Sir Thomas More; or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society* (1829), the last of which, appropriately, he proposed to review in what would turn out to be "Signs of the Times."

The first two essays in this volume, "Signs of the Times" and "Characteristics," as George Landow has demonstrated, employ several formal and rhetorical devices drawn from biblical prophecy. In this mode, the author, like the prophet, occupies a stance at a critical distance from the social mainstream, criticizing contemporary society for losing sight of fundamental values and eternal truths. In doing so, Landow has shown, Carlyle employs a four-part Old Testament pattern in which the prophet begins by calling attention to the "grievous condi-

tion" of his hearers, points out the sufferings that result from falling away from God's law, warns of further suffering if they continue in their sinful ways, and, finally, offers a vision of an idyllic society they will enjoy if they return to the ways of God (Landow 26).

"Signs of the Time" and "Characteristics" not only assert that contemporary society has lost sight of universal, or divine, truth, but also, as suggested by the central metaphor of the latter essay, seek to *diagnose* the ways in which they have done so, "Signs" arguing that society has become "mechanical" and "Characteristics" that it has become overly "conscious," what we would now call self-conscious. In these essays, Carlyle is less concerned with the behavior of his contemporaries than with their attitudes, beliefs, or perspectives. Their failing is precisely their denial of the spiritual domain that is implied by the reduction of all human life to the mechanical, or what can be perceived by the senses. In this respect, they are concerned with the social but not the political, with the state of society but not with any particular political problems. This perspective accords with what would be for Carlyle an enduring skepticism about the political realm, his belief that political solutions are themselves merely mechanical.

By the same token, the duty he felt to speak out on the state of society or, as he put it, the "condition of England," led him from the social to the political. He first used the phrase "condition of England" in "Chartism," which he wrote in response to the economic hardships endured by the working classes who created the Chartist movement. This essay manifests the tension between the social and the political in Carlyle's writings, in that it contends that the Chartists are mistaken in their belief that achieving their political goal (universal male suffrage) will solve the social problems that had arisen from industrial capitalism. While he concurs with them that they are badly governed, he does not agree that they will be better governed if they choose their own governors. He instead calls on the upper classes to become better governors, thus establishing a principle that he will repeat throughout the remainder of his writing career. In this respect, "Chartism" sets out the ideas that Carlyle would develop more fully in *Past and Present*, arguably his greatest, and certainly his most incisive, work of prophetic writing.

In keeping with his belief that social problems will not be solved solely by political action, Carlyle developed his conception of the ideal governor in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. The hero might be said to mediate between the social and the political. His role is to discern eternal or divine laws and then to enforce them. This conception underlies Carlyle's essay on José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia, the dictator who ruled Paraguay from 1814

to 1840, which set the pattern for the great historical works that would follow, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* and *Frederick the Great*. In these works, Carlyle portrays his subjects as men who restore order to a nation in a state of crisis. His conception of the heroic in each case rests on the contention that only certain individuals are capable of governing and that the majority will be happiest if they submit to them. In this respect, one could place Carlyle in the line of philosophers advocating for a benevolent dictator, but his dictators—and he does not balk at calling Francia a "dictator"—often resort to draconian measures in the course of realizing their ideal of social order. The same principles underlie his last significant piece of prophecy, "Shooting Niagara," written when the Chartists' demand for universal suffrage began to be fulfilled by the Reform Bill of 1867.

Carlyle's belief that some people are born to govern and others to be governed extends to his conception of race. For Carlyle both are part of the natural order ordained by divine law. Consequently, he accepts the principle of scientific racism that accords to race a quasi-species-like status, clearly delineating individuals of different races. In "The Negro Question"—later, in defiance of his critics, retitled "The Nigger Question"—he wrote of freed slaves of African origin: "You have to be servants to those that are born wiser than you, that are born lords of you; servants to the Whites, if they are (as what mortal can doubt they are?) born wiser than you" (*Essays* 4:379). In *Past and Present* Carlyle had argued for a "permanent" relationship between employers and their employees as opposed to the contractual relationships that often left workers unemployed in the modern factory system. In accord with this book's contrast between the medieval and the modern, he had depicted the relationship between the Saxon lord Cedric and the serf Gurth of Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820) as a model for his ideal of permanence. With "The Negro/Nigger Question," he contended that chattel slavery similarly manifests this ideal, an argument that underlies the squib published during the American Civil War, "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce," included in this volume.

Carlyle's views of race also play a significant role in his essays on the Irish Question. What slavery was to nineteenth-century America, Ireland was to nineteenth-century Britain. In accord with his other socio-political writings, his basic contention is that the Irish are incapable of governing themselves, and that the British have a divine mandate to govern them. Irish resistance to the Union of Ireland and Great Britain in 1801 made Ireland a constant concern for politicians and thinkers throughout the century, no less so for Carlyle, who repeatedly returns to it in his writings. As we discuss below, a chapter on

Ireland in "Chartism" brought Carlyle in contact with Irish nationalists, and, while he never wrote the book on Ireland that he once contemplated, the Irish play a major role in his most intemperate piece of prophetic writing, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, in which he developed and incorporated ideas and themes that he had addressed in a series of newspaper articles on the state of Ireland and the campaign to repeal the Union—all of the items from "Repeal of the Union" to "Trees of Liberty" in this volume—published during the two preceding years.

Two essays in this volume—"Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" and "Portraits of John Knox"—arose from Carlyle's belief in the importance of physiognomy for the judgment of character, which led him to value portraiture as a key to historical analysis. These essays are linked to his other writings by their implicit acquiescence in a now discredited form of biological determinism. Physiognomy, like race science, regards character as something inscribed from birth, marking out some individuals for greatness while also setting limits to individual development. In "Portraits of John Knox," Carlyle works in reverse, starting from the character of Knox to argue that the face in the only portrait historians considered authentic could not be that of Knox and opting for a portrait of highly dubious provenance because the visage depicted there came closer to his conception of Knox. While his histories and works like "Chartism" and *Past and Present* show him to be a shrewd critic of the workings of societies and individuals acting in particular historical situations, his belief in fixed character sets a limit to his powers of perception.

The remaining essays in this volume were written for particular occasions rather than to address a social problem. The most important of them is the "Inaugural Address," which he delivered when he was elected rector of the University of Edinburgh, soon after the success of his *Frederick the Great*, and which helped restore his reputation after the immoderation of *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. The remainder are short items that in various ways manifest his generosity to friends and acquaintances. They include obituary notices of his friend Edward Irving and his former student Charles Buller, a petition on behalf of a copyright bill, written at the behest of its sponsor, and a piece on the opera, written to provide financial support to a woman in need.

The Writing, Publishing, and Reception of the Social and Political Essays

Having begun his literary career as a reviewer, Carlyle longed to develop his own ideas and finally found an opportunity to do so in 1829, when Francis

Jeffrey, about to give up the editorship of the *Edinburgh Review,* invited him to contribute what Carlyle considered "Jeffrey's last speech" in that journal (*Note Books* 140). Froude reports that Jeffrey suggested Carlyle review Disraeli's *Vivian Grey* (1826) or Bulwer Lytton's *Pelham* (1828) but left him free to choose for himself. Carlyle proposed writing on Southey's *Colloquies* (1829), a work of social critique more in line with his eventual focus on millennialist works, but it had already been assigned to Macaulay (Froude *Early Life* 2:59). We do not know whether reviewing Edward Irving's *The Last Days; or, Discourses on These Our Times,* along with two anonymous books in a similar vein, was Carlyle's idea, but given that Irving was an old friend, it seems likely that this was the case. While on a preaching tour in Scotland that year, Irving spent two nights with the Carlyles at Craigenputtoch (D. Wilson 2:97). Since we have no clear evidence of when Carlyle began writing the essay, we cannot determine precisely how the visit and writing of the essay were related to one another. The decision to make Irving's text the occasion for his essay might have been inspired by Irving's visit, but it might also have been suggested by the tour itself and Irving's activities earlier in the year as well as the publication of *Last Days*.[1] In any case, Carlyle knew about the tour well before the visit, and so it at least bears some relationship to the essay, the title of which undoubtedly was inspired in part by another Irving text, entitled "Signs of the Times." Carlyle was busy with "Voltaire" and "Novalis" in March and possibly later, so it seems likely that he wrote "Signs" sometime in the period from April to July (the article was published in the June issue, but, as discussed in the note on the text, that issue did not appear until August). In his notebook, he recorded on August 5, 1829: "Just finished an Article on the *Signs of the Times*, for the Edin[r] Review" (140). A few days later, on August 11, he commented in a letter that he had not yet received a copy and that he did not "know when the work is to be out; but only that it is printing" (*Letters* 5:21).

Wilson claims that while Jeffrey made no changes to the essay, he did suggest an improvement in the translation of Goethe's verses that stand near the beginning of the essay, revising the last two lines, "Calmly wait the *Morrow's*

[1] David Wilson says Carlyle turned to the essay "after he parted from Irving" in June (2:103), but he does not indicate the source of his claim. There is no further mention of writing the essay in Carlyle's letters or journals or in his reminiscence of Irving that might clarify the matter. Wilson apparently had access to Jeffrey's letters, but there is no mention of "Signs" in Christie's edition of them (see xli). Kaplan writes that Irving was preaching in the region in June, the month "Signs of the Times" is dated, which would suggest he must have written the essay before the visit, but as the June issue did not appear until August, Wilson's assertion could be correct.

hidden season, / Need'st not fear what hap soe'er it brings," to "Then calmly wait the *Morrow's* hidden season, / And fear not though what hap soe'er it brings!" In the end, however, Jeffrey acquiesced in Carlyle's request to retain his own translation (D. Wilson 2:104).[2] About a year after the article appeared, he wrote to his brother that he had "written to Irving, explaining his share in that 'Signs of the Times,' and saying all manner of mystic things" (*Letters* 5:81).

The *Examiner* devoted a full page to "Signs" in its October 4 issue, calling it a "curious rhapsody" that obtains its "force" from "diction" that gives it "a manner of strength that disguises the feebleness of the ideas." It also defended the utilitarian principles that Carlyle had described as "mechanical" and materialistic (625). Interestingly, given that he had considered discussing Southey's *Colloquies*, the review suggested that, if it had not appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, the article might "be attributed to Doctor Southey" and went on to suggest parallels between Carlyle's essay and Southey's book. The *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, discussing this issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, named Carlyle as the author and deemed it one of the two best articles in the issue (218). The reviewer complained that the style was "lumbering" but nonetheless praised its "rich vein of humour" and found its views on contemporary society "just."

The response to the essay extended beyond Britain. In April 1830, about a year after "Signs" appeared, Gustave d'Eichthal, a follower of the utopian thinker Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, sent Carlyle a packet of Saint-Simonian writings, prompted in large part by the belief that "Signs of the Times" showed him to be a kindred spirit:

> Les disciples de Saint-Simon ont lu avec un vif intérêt l'article intitulé: Caractères de notre époque . . . Ils ont admiré la vigueur avec laquelle vous avez tracé le tableau des travers de la Société actuelle; ils se sont réjouis du sentiment d'amour et de foi qui vous fait désirer, espérer un meilleur avenir; . . . et maintenant ils viennent à vous, ils vous appellent à jouir de cette lumière qui a lui sur eux et que vous semblez plus que tout autre préparé à recevoir. (The disciples of Saint-Simon have read with lively interest the article titled Signs of the Times . . . They admired the vigor with which you trace the picture of current society; they rejoiced in the sentiment of

[2] We have not been able to corroborate this claim. We do not find Jeffrey's suggestion in his correspondence or any reference to it in Carlyle's. There is no mention in Froude's biography or Carlyle's *Reminiscences.* See preceding note.

> love and of faith that makes you desire and hope a better future; . . . and now they come to you, call you to enjoy this light shed on them and which you seem all the more prepared to receive) (d'Eichthal 292-93; see *Letters* 5:133n18).

The enclosed materials included responses to "Signs" by P. M. Laurent in the Saint-Simonian paper, *L'organisateur*. Laurent incorrectly attributed "Signs" to "Smith," presumably Sydney Smith, who had died in 1827 but had been a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh* until the year before his death. The articles consist primarily of extracts from the essay that Laurent finds similar, for the most part, to Saint-Simonian views of the era ("reproduit la plupart de nos jugemens sur l'époque actuelle" [March 24, p. 2]). While Carlyle was somewhat baffled and bemused by this response, he was clearly pleased, as he wrote to d'Eichthal, that "these views of mine find some acceptance with you" (*Letters* 5:136; see also *Note Books* 158, *Letters* 5:133, 5:156).

Jeffrey was very supportive of Carlyle, assigning him several commissions—a major addition to his income—so when Jeffrey stepped down as editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1829, Carlyle was somewhat apprehensive about whether his successor, Macvey Napier, would keep him on. However, Napier expressed eagerness to retain Carlyle as one of his reviewers, and soon thereafter Carlyle resumed his contributions, though, as it turned out, his relationship with the *Edinburgh* was coming to an end. At this moment, he was busy with other projects, including a history of German literature that he eventually abandoned as well as articles commissioned by other reviews. In October 1830, more determined than ever to write "something of [his] own," he began writing *Sartor Resartus* (*Letters* 5:164), a draft of which he finished in July 1831. In the meantime, he still needed to write reviews as a source of income. In October 1832, he commented: "I had hoped that by and by I might get out of Periodicals altogether, and write Books: but the light I got in London last winter showed me that *this* was as good as over. My Editors of Periodicals are my Book-sellers, who (under certain new and singular conditions) purchase and publish my *Books* for me; a monstrous method, yet still a method" (*Letters* 6:241). The slow process of finding a venue for *Sartor*, which ultimately resulted not in book publication but serialization in *Fraser's Magazine,* meant that he would continue publishing in the reviews for the next several years, until he began to work in earnest on *The French Revolution*.

That November, Carlyle began a "sort of second *Signs of the Times*"—the essay "Characteristics"—written in response to Napier's suggestion, made on

September 9, that he write a review of Thomas Hope's *An Essay on the Origin and Prospect of Man* (*Letters* 6:61, 5:420; see also 6:49, 54, 58, 70). On September 13, he wrote to the publisher Longmans for a copy of the book, while also seeking it from other sources (*Letters* 5:427; see 5:430). Longmans replied by sending a copy of William Godwin's *Thoughts on Man* (1831), which he apparently also had requested, and informing him that they would send for a copy of Hope (*Letters* 5:440). On September 22, frustrated that he had not yet received Hope's book, he consulted it at the British Museum (*Letters* 5:444). On October 8, still without a copy, he wrote to Napier that he could imagine writing an essay about Hope as well as by Godwin (whom he had met in August), Coleridge, and Friedrich Schlegel's *Philosophische Vorlesungen* (1830), proposing that "by grouping two or three of these together contrasting their several tendencies, and endeavouring, as is the Reviewer's task, to stand peaceably in the middle of them all, something fit and useful might be done" (6:13).

On November 10, he reported that he had begun writing but was finding the going difficult (*Letters* 6:39; see 6:49). On November 26, he informed Napier that he had settled on Hope and Schlegel as his subjects and determined on the title "Characteristics," adding that he intended to say little about either author, because "Hope's [book] could not be *reviewed* except with peals of laughter mingled with groans, and *he* is now in his *grave;* Schlegel's I left at Craigenputtoch, and cannot find a copy of here: so the Titles and some distant allusion are all I meddle with." At this point, he had drafted only six pages, but promised Napier that in no less than three weeks he would provide an essay of twenty to twenty-five pages (*Letters* 6:58).

It was a just little more than three weeks later, on December 17, that he submitted the article, which, it turns out, was thirty pages long. He conjectured that there would not be time to correct proofs, so he left it to the editors but requested return of the manuscript and three copies of the essay (*Letters* 6:66). Napier had not yet agreed to take the article, and Carlyle seems to have feared that he might find it too outspoken, though he was nonetheless confident that he could place it somewhere (*Letters* 6:70, 78; see also 6:66, 74, *Note Books* 230). Napier did accept the article and, furthermore, sent proofs for correction, which Carlyle completed reviewing by January 4, 1832, with the expectation that it would be published in the next couple of days, though he was still saying the same thing on January 14 (*Letters* 6:85, 92). He reported having received a copy of it on February 6 (*Letters* 6:116), and at some point he also received the requested "separate copies" (*Letters* 6:125). After waiting nearly a year, he was paid about

thirty-five pounds (*Letters* 6:290).[3]

Given that Carlyle had recently completed *Sartor Resartus*, it is not surprising that he reported that "Characteristics" "is Teufelsdreckish" and written "in the aphoristic style" (*Letters* 6: 70, 58; see also *Note Books* 230). In early January 1832, he confided to his journal his fear that "no one will understand" it (*Note Books* 230–31). This anxiety may have been prompted by the response of his editor: "Napier . . . receives it with respect, yet finds it 'inscrutable' on a first perusal: my own fear was that it might be too *scrutable;* for it indicates decisively enough that Society (in my view) is utterly condemned to destruction, and even now beginning its long travail-throes of Newbirth" (*Letters* 6:85). As the latter phrase indicates, his anxiety might have been not so much that it was difficult to understand in itself but that readers would find his way of thinking incomprehensible. Nonetheless, he was pleased to learn that the essay had been "well received; approved seemingly by every one whose approval was wanted" (*Letters* 6:132). Elsewhere he reported, "As to the 'Characteristics,' it has prospered better than I could have expected, and goes not without a response from various quarters" (*Letters* 6:125).

Certainly, it caught the attention of many of his contemporaries. His friend Irving, who had been the nominal subject of "Signs of the Times," read "Characteristics" "with quite *high* estimation of the *talent*" though, Carlyle reported, "he seemed to think I was going a very wrong road to work, and should consider myself, and take into the 'Tongues'" (*Letters* 6:132). Leigh Hunt, a decade older and a major figure in the London literary scene, sought Carlyle out after reading it (the Carlyles were on an extended visit to London that autumn) and sent him a copy of his own *Christianism* (1832) (*Note Books* 256; *Letters* 5:448, 6:117–18). Nor was the response confined to divines and men of letters, for in Scotland the following summer he encountered a tailor "who had vehemently laid to heart the 'Characteristics'" (Froude, *Life in London* 2:293).

Perhaps the most significant impact was on the young Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was just breaking with the Unitarian church about the time the essay appeared. The following August (1833), in the much-rehearsed story, Emerson suddenly appeared on the Carlyles' doorstep at Craigenputtoch bearing a letter of introduction from John Stuart Mill. During this visit, Emerson asked him "at what religious development the concluding passage in his piece in the Edin. Review upon German Literature (say 5 years ago ["State of German Literature"]) & some passages in the piece called Characteristics, pointed?" (*Letters*

[3] On August 17, 1832, Carlyle wrote, in reference to "Characteristics" and "Corn-Law Rhymes," that Napier owed him sixty pounds, "some of it for nine or ten months" (*Letters* 6:247). Our estimate of the payment is based on the proportion of pages in each article.

7:262). While we get no further indication of what Emerson's thoughts were, we know the influence was immense, not only on him but also on the emerging transcendentalist circle.

Of course, not everyone was favorably impressed, not least some of the *Edinburgh's* main supporters and contributors, notably Thomas Macaulay, who wrote to Napier: "As to Carlyle, or Carlisle, or whatever his name may be, he might well write in Irving's unknown tongue at once" (Macaulay 2:113). In a letter that confirms Carlyle's complaints about him as an editor, Jeffrey recommended that Napier take a firm hand with Carlyle:

> I fear Carlyle will not do, that is, if you do not take the liberties and the pains with him that I did, by striking out freely, and writing in occasionally. The misfortune is, that he is very obstinate and, I am afraid, conceited, and unluckily in a place like this, he finds people enough to abet and applaud him, to intercept the operation of the otherwise infallible remedy of general avoidance and neglect. It is a great pity, for he is a man of genius and industry, and with the capacity of being an elegant and impressive writer. (quoted in Shattock 39)

A mournful occasion, the death of his old friend Irving, on December 7, 1834, occasioned the next essay in this volume. As we have already noted, "Signs of the Times" purported to review one of Irving's books, and Irving responded positively to "Characteristics." Their friendship went back twenty years to their days as students. Even as Carlyle had lost his faith and given up plans to enter the ministry, Irving had embraced his ministerial vocation and in 1822 was appointed to the Caledonian Church in London, where he became immensely popular. In the late 1820s Irving became intensely interested in prophecy, millenarianism, and, eventually, the speaking in tongues, to which Carlyle alludes in "Signs of the Times." These views resulted in controversy and disapproval by more conventional church members, eventually forcing Irving to establish a new church. As his comments suggest, Carlyle himself felt Irving had lost perspective, and their relationship cooled in the early 1830s. Nonetheless, when Irving died, Carlyle was deeply moved:

> Poor fellow! he was here the week before leaving this huge Confusion of a Place: it was most touching to see the feeling

> of old years feebly struggling thro' the distractions that had now closed thick over it; I once or twice even raised in him a faint laugh of the true old Annandale time—most melancholy to remember. This mad City (for it is mad as Bedlam, nine-tenths of it) killed him; he might have lived prosperous and strong in Scotland, but there was in him a quality which the influences here took fatal hold of; and now—Alas! alas! (*Letters* 7:344)

Carlyle addressed these words to David Hope, an old friend of Carlyle and Irving, who had apparently asked him to write a memorial notice, but Carlyle had already written "The Death of the Rev. Edward Irving" for *Fraser's Magazine*, which had become his primary outlet for publication after Jeffrey's departure from the *Edinburgh Review* (*Letters* 7:343, 344).

Fraser's was owned by James Fraser, who had early on sought Carlyle as a contributor (*Letters* 5:80 and n. 9), and edited by William Maginn, who soon made it one of the liveliest publications of its time. Carlyle characteristically expressed reservations about it, deeming it on more than one occasion "a Dog's-meat Cart of a magazine" (*Note Books* 232; see also 259, *Letters* 6:85, 124, 349), but he acknowledged that Fraser "pays best, and is the sweetest to deal with" (*Letters* 6:290). Nonetheless, there were difficulties with the proofs of the Irving article, which led Carlyle to complain that Fraser had "introduced [it] into such an *Irish stew* of circumambient matter, that [he] decided forthwith in having the thing either printed separately, or suppressed." However, Fraser asked him to wait so that he could sort things out, and on December 24 Carlyle received the printed article—presumably one of the separate copies he had requested (*Letters* 7:344, 347). It appeared in the January number of *Fraser's*.

From 1834 to early 1837 Carlyle was at work on *The French Revolution*, and the only articles he published during this era, apart from "Death of Edward Irving," were essays derived from his French Revolution research. In the late 1830s, still in need of income, he gave lectures and returned to writing articles, but as the income from *The French Revolution* and his other books grew, he ceased writing for the reviews unless he felt compelled to speak on a particular topic of contemporary concern. Along with a few occasional pieces, such articles comprise the remaining essays in this volume, which constitute by far the majority of the essays he published after 1837.

The next essay in this volume was occasioned by a petition in favor of a bill

aimed at lengthening the term of copyright, which Thomas Noon Talfourd introduced in Parliament on February 12, 1839. John Forster, who at the time was literary editor of the *Examiner* newspaper and would eventually become its editor in chief, apparently approached Carlyle to write in its behalf. The Carlyles had been receiving the *Examiner*—which still retained its position as the voice of "radical" opinion though it was considered much more respectable in the 1830s than in its early years—for nearly a decade, and it remained the one paper to which they consistently subscribed (see *Letters* 5:98). Carlyle and Forster had recently met and would have a long and productive relationship. About a month before Forster approached him about the copyright petition, Carlyle had sent him a prospectus outlining the proposal for what would become the London Library, so it is not surprising that Forster would approach him in turn (*Letters* 11:6-7; see 7-9).

Although copyright was a topic that mattered to him, Carlyle was reluctant to put himself before the public with a petition, explaining: "But as to Petitioning in my own name, it does appear to me, after all the consideration I can give it, that neither my age, my position nor pretensions could authorize such a step on my part. Ridicule, it seems to me, and the general inquiry, Who *is* this pretentious 'Single Person'? would be the too probable result" (*Letters* 11:34-35). Talfourd had that day (February 27) presented to Parliament petitions by Wordsworth and other authors who were more established than he was, and Carlyle seems to have been concerned that submitting his own petition might seem presumptuous (*Hansard* 45:920-33, *Letters* 11:35). Nonetheless, a day or so later, he changed his mind and sent Forster his petition, remarking that he found it "impossible to write gravely on such a subject" (*Letters* 11:37; see also 11:88). Wordsworth, who had campaigned for the bill, wrote to Talfourd on April 8 that Carlyle's petition was "quite *racy*" (*Letters* 11:37n2). Talfourd presented Carlyle's petition, along with others, to the House of Commons on May 1. As it turned out, the bill did not pass, and the copyright legislation was not enacted until 1842.

A year earlier, perhaps at the suggestion of John Stuart Mill, Carlyle began thinking about "writing on the Working Classes" (*Letters* 10:14). This possibility receded for the time being, but on December 3, 1838, he wrote in his journal: "I had a notion, and have, of writing some sort of address to English fellow-men on the condition of men in England. My heart has for twenty years had feelings of its own on that subject; a faint monition born of conscience urges me on. But it is difficult to articulate such a thing; but I am rude, inexpert:—alas, but I am lazy and foredone in heart: that is the great *but!* We shall see" (*Letters*

10: 224-25n14). What led him to return to the topic at this moment was the rise of Chartism, a working-class movement that petitioned Parliament to enact legislation granting universal male suffrage and other rights of parliamentary representation. In early 1838, the *Examiner* had not yet registered the existence of the movement (in this it was in line with other mainstream newspapers), but the working classes had been much in the news. Also in the news was the parliamentary inquiry prompted by the trial of Glasgow cotton spinners convicted of violently intimidating workers who refused to join their union. If he had not noticed it already, Carlyle would have become fully aware of the Chartist movement when, later in 1838, it began to hold mass demonstrations—in particular a demonstration in Palace Yard in London on September 24—that were reported, and commented on, in the *Examiner* (1599 [September 23, 1838]: 597, see 594).

On March 11, 1839, Carlyle remarked on the meeting of the Chartist convention in London and began to elaborate his thoughts on the working classes: "The whole country seems to be in great dearth, poverty and distress. . . . Poor wretches! There is a fearful problem to be solved in that North country; the North presses on towards a solution faster than even the South, and what will come of it God alone knows. The Northern Operatives generally are understood to be getting arms, pikes, pistols and muskets; they have a 'Convention' sitting here somewhere in Fleet-Street at present . . . their loaf is dear, their heart bitter, their head hot and dark; may Heaven pity them!" (*Letters* 11: 43). By May he had set to work in earnest on his long contemplated "Article *on the Working Classes,*" which he hoped would appear that autumn (*Letters* 11:111). On June 19, five days after the Chartists delivered their petition to Parliament, he was seeking books and pamphlets on the topic (*Letters* 11:133). At the end of July he continued to have difficulty getting started; nonetheless, he persisted in feeling that "there [was] need of a word on the subject now if ever!" (*Letters* 11:156). He finally finished the substantial essay—the longest in this volume—in the middle of November.

Where to publish the essay presented a problem, for Carlyle felt no allegiance to any political party, and this essay, unlike his literary reviews, was patently political. In May he had proposed publishing the article in the *Quarterly Review*, which came as a surprise to John Gibson Lockhart, its editor, for the *Quarterly* was the mouthpiece of the Tories, and for many years Carlyle had published in, and thus been associated with, the Whig *Edinburgh Review,* while more recently he had appeared in the Philosophic Radicals' *London and Westminster Review.* To be sure, he had often appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, which was nominally Tory; however, it also was considered "progressive," pro-

moting a "conservatism . . . closer to that of Coleridge and Carlyle than to the Toryism of Wellington and the status quo" (*Wellesley Index*, Introduction to *Fraser's Magazine*). Carlyle had long been familiar with Lockhart, a fellow Scot whose biography of Sir Walter Scott he had reviewed in the January 1838 *London and Westminster Review,* but they appear not to have met until Carlyle approached him about publishing "Chartism," in November 1839. He did so, he wrote, because Mill and the "Radicals, as they stand now, are dead and gone," and, he indicated, Lockhart was interested in the article "partly from a kind of spite at the *Blödsinnigkeit* [idiocy] of Mill." At the same time, he thought he could appeal to the "Conservatives" while telling them "a thing or two about the claims condition, rights and mights of the working orders of men!" (*Letters* 11:111). Although the essay bears the marks of this intention, it was apparently not sufficiently Tory for Lockhart, who ultimately declined to publish it. Carlyle concluded that it would not do for any of the major reviews because it rejected the views of all the existing political factions: "Such an Article, equally astonishing to Girondin Radicals, Donothing Aristocrat Conservatives, and Unbelieving Dilettante Whigs, can hope for no harbour in any review" (*Letters* 11:218; see 220).[4]

This left him with few alternatives, so he immediately began to contemplate publishing it at his own expense. By December 5, he seems to have worked out most of the details with his publisher, James Fraser: "I think of publishing this piece, which I have called '*Chartism*,' . . . as a little separate Book, with Fraser, on my own independent footing. Fraser will print it; 'halving' the profits . . . I shall perhaps get less money by it from Fraser, but its effect on the public will have a chance to be much more immediate" (*Letters* 11:222; see also 226–27). Publishing by half-profits was a fairly common method when the market for a book was uncertain. While Carlyle would ordinarily have avoided such an arrangement, as it did not guarantee any income, in this case he seems to have been motivated, as discussed above, by the "need of a word on the subject." His sense of urgency was satisfied by the rapid progress of publication, for a few days later printing had begun (*Letters* 11:230). By the end of December, the 113-page pamphlet was printed, and on December 30 he was sending copies to his family (*Letters* 11:235).

As he had hoped, the pamphlet made quite a splash, and it sold well, with 850 copies purchased by early February (*Letters* 12:38). Another advantage of

[4] Thomas Richardson has pointed out that another reason Lockhart may have rejected it was that John Wilson Croker "had a stranglehold on political subjects in the *Quarterly*"; in the December 1839 issue, Lockhart published Croker's "Conduct of Ministers," which also deals with Chartism (55).

publishing the essay as a pamphlet is that this made it more likely to be noticed than his essays published in literary reviews and magazines. Carlyle was by now a well-known and respected author, and his *French Revolution* (1837) had made him something of an expert on revolution, which Chartism seemed to be threatening. Because he wanted the essay to influence public opinion, he helped solicit reviewers, sending, for example, a copy to William Tait, editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Review,* where it was reviewed by the Carlyles' friend Giuseppe Mazzini in the February number (*Letters* 11:233). On January 23, 1840, barely a month after its publication, he commented: "Considerable reviewing of *Chartism* still goes on; but very *daft* reviewing. They approve generally (such of them as I see, but that is not one in the three), but regret very much that I am—a Tory! Stranger Tory, in my opinion, has not been fallen in with in these latter generations" (*Letters* 12:21; see also 24). On February 11, he noted that the issue of the *Examiner* published two days earlier contained "an angry shot" at his essay (*Letters* 12:44). Under the heading "The Newest Quackery," it complained that a "certain sort of men" now refuses to discuss particular problems (e.g., Corn Laws, suffrage) and insist there is only "one question . . . THE CONDITION-OF-ENGLAND QUESTION" (1671:83).

Most of the reviews commented on the vagueness and abstraction of his style and on the limitations of his prescriptions for what to do about the problems with which it was concerned. Almost all of the comments on style stressed its shortcomings. The *Athenaeum* asserted that it was earnest but abstract and so undermined his ideas (*Athenaeum* 637, 27); the *Monthly Review* complained of the "affected peculiarities of the form in which the author throws his ideas," which made them difficult to comprehend (1, 243); the *Morning Post* commented on the "strange indulgences of style and a certain grotesqueness which does not seem conformable with matter of grave concernment" (2); even Mazzini could not help regretting that Carlyle "deems it necessary to interpose a certain hazy atmosphere" around the truths he has to tell (115). William Sewell, in an omnibus review, complained that it "runs wild in distortion and extravagancies" (452-53). No one was satisfied with his prescription of education and emigration as solutions.[5] Some recognized that he saw the solution in broader terms but found it impossible to determine just what he had in mind, the *Athenaeum* complaining that he offered no solution except to just "do—something" (637, 27) and the *Monthly Review* that his "practical remedial measures are incomplete" (1, 244).

The reviews were for the most part highly partisan. Carlyle's comment that

[5] See Maurice 145 and the reviews of "Chartism" in the *Monthly Chronicle* 5, 104, *Monthly Magazine* 3, 198, *Monthly Review* 1, 246.

it was surprising that they should regard him as a Tory is rather disingenuous, for they were accurately recognizing that he had written the essay with the audience of the Tory *Quarterly Review* in mind. Mazzini recognized the departure from his previous writings, noting that Carlyle appeared here in the guise of the "novel, more ephemeral character of Tory-Radical" and that he had never before been seen as "anti-Whig" (115). The Whig *Monthly Chronicle* pointed to Carlyle's criticism of the failures of the Whig government, from which it inferred support for a Tory one (5, 102-103). The *Monthly Review* pointed out that the essay condemned "Whig-Radical governments" that do nothing and regarded the aristocracy as the "only competent body" to do something (1, 245). The *Morning Chronicle* grumbled that Carlyle gave too much credit to Chartism, which was the "natural re-action of Toryism" and allied with it (2). The Tory *Morning Post* used it as an occasion to attack the Whig government and the campaign to repeal the Corn Laws. It should be noted that in doing so these periodicals were following a well-established pattern that used Chartism to advance partisan interests, which is to say that they were less interested in a careful analysis of Carlyle's arguments than in scoring political points (see Vanden Bossche, *Reform Acts*, chap. 2).

One aspect of "Chartism" that perplexed the critics was that, although it criticized the Whigs and implied that the country would be better governed by the Tory aristocracy, it continued to support many Whig positions. Although it critiqued laissez-faire as the failure to act, it supported Whig laissez-faire policies, including repeal of the Corn Laws, emigration as a solution to overpopulation, and, to a limited extent, the New Poor Law. Yet Carlyle's support for these policies was not programmatic. Thomas Ballantyne, a member of the Anti-Corn Law League with whom Carlyle had corresponded for the past year, sent him his own pamphlet, *Corn-Law Repealer's Handbook* (1840), which discusses how to repeal the Corn Laws, and asked why "'Chartism' had no chapter on the Corn Laws." In his lengthy response, Carlyle explained that he had chosen not to write about the Corn Laws "with forethought . . . for a great many . . . reasons." While he agreed that the Corn Laws were harmful to the working poor, he suspected that many advocates of repeal were mainly interested in serving their own middle-class interests. Most importantly, he did not wish to focus on legislative matters but rather on what he took to be the principal problem, the government's failure to govern (*Letters* 12:23).

Three of the most in-depth reviews shared a focus on education and religion. Bonamy Price, later a professor of political economy at Oxford but at the time a teacher at Rugby School, began his review with praise of Carlyle's

depiction of Chartism and the condition of England and then proceeded to sketch out his own analysis, which largely agreed with Carlyle's, and his own solution, which focuses on education and principles of Christianity. Writing in the *Educational Magazine*, which he edited, Frederick Denison Maurice, an Anglican theologian who became deeply engaged with Chartism and later developed Christian Socialism in dialogue with Chartists, agreed with Carlyle that people want to be governed rather than to govern but argued in addition that people "need to be sympathized with, to be treated as *brethren*" (145). He also proposed education as a solution and indeed would go on to found the Working Men's College. When Maurice, whom the Carlyles had known since 1835, sent a copy of his review along with warm words, Carlyle noted that their "views as to outward methods differ" (*Letters* 12:71), as Maurice thought the Church of England and Christianity were the solution, whereas Carlyle had given up on them, and looked elsewhere. Finally, William Sewell, Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford and a High Church Tory, faulted Carlyle for responding to the loss of faith by turning to pantheism and argued instead for revival of the Church of England.

Perhaps the most intriguing, and certainly the most notorious, of the reviews was published not in Britain but in America. Just as he was finishing "Chartism," Carlyle wrote to Emerson to arrange publication in the United States, commenting, "It is probable my New England brothers may approve some portions of it; may be curious to see it reprinted" (*Letters* 11:227). Emerson did arrange for publication, and it was reviewed by a number of journals, most notably the *Boston Quarterly Review*, where the notice was written by the editor, Orestes Brownson. Brownson was associated with the New England transcendentalists, but was, like Carlyle, something of a maverick. He had embraced in rapid succession a series of religious and political beliefs and at the time of writing the review was very much under the influence of the reformers and utopian socialists Robert Owen and his son Robert Dale Owen. In his review of "Chartism," Brownson, like the reviewers in Britain, complained that Carlyle did not offer any substantive solutions and, moreover, that what he did offer—the reform of individuals—did not address the underlying systemic problems. In spite of these criticisms, however, the views he went on to outline were in many respects similar to Carlyle's, especially in identifying the problem of religious belief as central to the ills of modern society and contending in particular that the upper classes claim to serve God but actually serve Mammon. What differentiates him from Carlyle was his insistence that the solution is not a matter of the conversion of individual factory owners but wholesale social change, which would include, most scandalously, the

abolition of heritable property. These Owenite proposals together with attacks on organized religion made the article notorious, enabling the Whigs to cast President Martin Van Buren, whose Democratic Party Brownson had recently joined, as a radical—consequently, many observers blamed Brownson's review for costing Van Buren the election of 1840.

In the case of "Dr. Francia," Carlyle wrote not only because the topic interested him but also because it enabled him to oblige a friend. In January 1842, John Forster, who had solicited the copyright petition, became the de facto editor of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, which had recently been acquired by Chapman and Hall, Carlyle's publisher. When, soon thereafter, he wrote to Carlyle asking for a contribution, Carlyle responded that he "dare not promise anything as to the F. Quarterly at present" as he was busy with his researches on what would become *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (*Letters* 14:3). Later that year he became preoccupied once again with the condition of England, and he spent the latter half of the year writing *Past and Present*, in which he depicted the medieval Abbot Samson as the kind of heroic leader that was needed to deal with the current economic crisis.

It was not until a year later that he began preparing to write about the Paraguayan dictator, Dr. Francia (*Letters* 16:30). That Carlyle would see in Francia a strong governor similar to Abbot Samson of *Past and Present* is not surprising, but why he would choose to write about a small South American nation remains unclear. We may see in his defending a man widely known as a dictator a move toward the mode of provocation that he would embrace in "The Negro/Nigger Question" and *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. In 1835, the *New Monthly Magazine*, in which Carlyle's "Death of Goethe" had appeared, published Mrs. Erskine Norton's "Francia, Dictator of Paraguay," which depicted Francia as a man "remarkable for his integrity and disinterestedness" who "appeared to undergo a remarkable change" with the result that he created "perhaps the most extraordinary despotism that has ever been submitted to" (332). The next month it began a series on "Francia, the Dictator," the author of which ("A Traveller") had been prosecuted by Francia and portrays him in a "still less agreeable light than" Mrs. Erskine Norton (417). The principal book on Francia, the Robertsons' *Francia's Reign of Terror*, the title of which implicitly compared him to Robespierre, had been reviewed in such prominent journals as the *Athenaeum*, the *British and Foreign Review*, and the *Quarterly Review*.

Although he began thinking about an article on Francia in January 1843, he was soon occupied with the completion of *Past and Present* and did not return

to the project until May.[6] On May 12, he wrote to Forster seeking assistance in obtaining another of the texts he would cite in the article (Rengger and Longchamp) along with other sources that he was never able to locate, and, on the same day, he borrowed a book by John Miers, also cited in the article, from the London Library (*Letters* 16:164 and n. 7). As was often the case when he undertook historical research, he found the sources frustrating and complained that he could not make any progress. Failing to gain a "*gleam* of new light" from one source, he concluded: "Francia will continue dim till after far wider inquiries. What is to be done?" (*Letters* 16:171; see also 16:195). He remained undecided whether to proceed with the essay until June 9, on which date he declared that he would go ahead, and on June 10 he reported that he was "actually writing (and *blotting*, so it must go for a time) about 'Dr F.' or 'S. America,' or Heaven knows what." He planned to produce an article of sixteen to twenty pages within the next ten days, but it took somewhat longer, as he did not finish until about June 24 (*Letters* 16:195, 216). The article immediately went to press and must have been typeset and proofed within the next few days, for on June 30 he was requesting three "separate copies" and anticipating that the types might already have been broken up (*Letters* 16:221). In July, he reported that Forster had paid him "very handsomely" (*Letters* 16:293).

The review did not receive any immediate response, but reviewers of his later works recognized in the portrait of Francia an avatar of the ideal of the heroic in keeping with his *On Heroes*, published two years earlier. When reviewing *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, the *Athenaeum* would refer disparagingly to "Carlyle's favourite story of Francia; the deification of brute power" (*Athenaeum* 1191, 894). William Stigan, in a review of *Frederick the Great*, would write that "the last hero of Mr. Carlyle was Francia, the Dictator of Paraguay—now we have Frederic William," the depiction of whom he criticized for praising a brutal man and suppressing "the most revolting incidents of the conduct of the king" (391). The *Saturday Review*, in an article on Paraguay, similarly described Francia as "one of Mr. Carlyle's favourite despots" (13, 633). Emerson, however, "read with great pleasure the story" of Francia, though the pleasure stemmed at least in part from the fact that the essay's appearance reassured him of Carlyle's "health and vivacity" (*Emerson and Carlyle* 346). As these comments indicate, most readers recognized in the essay Carlyle's usual preoccupations, but it does not seem otherwise to have made much of a mark in the Anglophone world. In South

[6] On January 24, 1843, he inquired about obtaining, from the London Library, the Robertsons' books on Paraguay (*Letters* 16:30).

America, however, as Robert Collmer has shown, Carlyle's essay served as the starting point for assessments of Francia. In 1885, Luis Drago published a translation of and introduction to the essay in which he criticized it for inaccuracies and praised it for aspects of its analysis. In the decades that followed, critics both in Paraguay and in the rest of Latin America have aligned themselves for and against Carlyle, depending on whether they view Francia as an oppressive dictator or as the right man for the times.[7]

The next group of articles in this volume was spurred by the revolution of 1848 in France and the threat of revolution in Ireland. By 1848 Carlyle was once again, as in 1839 and 1842-1843, feeling an urgent need to speak out on public matters, which he did in a series of brief newspaper articles. He never republished these essays, perhaps because of their brevity and perhaps also because he would soon put much of what he had to say of a more general nature in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850). Nonetheless, they are essential to an understanding of the role played by the events of 1848 in his later writings.

What initially spurred him to write was the revolution that on February 24, 1848, forced the French monarch, Louis Philippe, to abdicate and flee to England. Several months earlier he had observed that "France, especiall[y] in the upper classes of it, is said by everybody to be in a shocking state of unprincipled depravity; and new commotions are expected in it very confidently when once Louis Philippe has ended his cunning work in this world" (*Letters* 22:45-46). Having written a history of the *French Revolution*, Carlyle was well prepared to comment on events in France. Indeed, he was so interested in what was happening in France that, "for the first time in his life," he subscribed to the daily *Times*, which reported Louis Philippe's ouster on February 26 (*Letters* 22:257n4). The political upheaval of 1848, with its promise of change, initially gave Carlyle cause for optimism, though it was inevitably tempered by his characteristic skepticism. As he wrote to one correspondent, "To us as to you this immense explosion of democracy in France, and from end to end of Europe, is very remarkable and full of interest. Certainly never in our time was there seen such a spectacle of history as we are now to look at and assist in. I call it very joyful; yet also unutterably sad." While he saw in the revolution the opportunity for radical change, he had no faith in the democratic ideals of the revolutionaries, who he feared would "find no remedy but that of rushing into No Government or anarchy (kinglessness)" (*Letters* 22:276-77).

[7] For a detailed discussion of these critiques, see Collmer.

The day that he learned of the events in France, he commented apropos of Louis Philippe's overthrow: "Of late days I have begun to scribble a little,—or rather to *try* if I can scribble, and convince myself that I *cannot!* For that is about the whole length it has got to yet. No man ever found his *hand* more entirely *out* than I now do, which is very sorrowful: but only to be *mended* by holding on" (*Letters* 22:254). The next day, February 27, he wrote to Forster—who had left his post as editor of the *Foreign Quarterly* to become general editor of the *Examiner*—that he felt "half-inclined to try my hand at a little thunder in the Examiner on French affairs; for the Event is indeed great, and ought to be affecting to all of us,—and didactic to the race of conscious and unconscious Humbugs on this side of the water too" (*Letters* 22:256). He had, in fact, already begun writing, so it is not surprising that on Wednesday, March 1, he informed Forster that he had some "horrible matter" "half-done" and that it would be ready for the printer on Thursday (*Letters* 22:258). Three days later, on Saturday, March 4 (the *Examiner* was a weekly paper), "Louis Philippe" appeared on the front page as the second leading-article (the nineteenth-century equivalent of an editorial). As Carlyle's article was in keeping with the editorial policy of the *Examiner*, it did not elicit much comment. Matthew Arnold for once found Carlyle's attitude "restful," explaining that "amidst the hot, dizzy trash one reads about these changes," he focuses on the "ideal invisible character" of the French people (*Letters* 1:3-4).

Even as "Louis Philippe" was being prepared for publication, Carlyle was following up with an article to be titled the "French Republic" that did have the potential to stir up controversy. Upon reading it, Forster asked permission to cut two paragraphs dealing with the economic reforms that the new republic was initiating as well as the suggestion that England, like France, would need to deal with the "labour question" (*Letters* 22:260 and n. 1). Carlyle corrected proofs and a second round of proofs was printed, but then Forster decided against publication. The revolution in France had energized the Chartists, who would present their petition for the third and final time on April 10, and there were signs of unrest in London and elsewhere. The article would have appeared, like its predecessor, as an unsigned editorial, and Forster could not allow the suggestion that English laborers might disrupt existing social arrangements to appear as the opinion of the *Examiner*. Carlyle complained that the article was found "unpublishable" because it "openly *approved* of at least the *attempt* by France to do something for the guidance and benefit of the workpeople," but upon further reflection he acknowledged that Forster "did wisely, and like a friend, to abolish that second Article" (*Letters* 22:270, 274). The manuscript and proofs survive, but because the

article was never published we do not include it in this volume.[8]

Since publishing "Chartism" and *Past and Present*, Carlyle had become more concerned with Ireland than with Chartism. This interest was of long standing. He had remarked on Irish labor and Irish poverty in *Sartor Resartus* (3.10.205-208) and *Past and Present* (1.1.7-8, 3.2.150-51), and the fourth chapter of "Chartism" had lamented that English labor had to compete with an influx of Irish laborers, who were forced to emigrate or "starve" (below 80). In April 1845, he had been astonished to receive a visit from Charles Gavan Duffy, John O'Hagan, and John Edward Pigot, who were, they told him, "all sworn disciples" of his but had come to "complain of [his] unfairness to Ireland" when he had written in "Chartism" that the Irish were "all liars and thieves" (*Letters* 19:64). Duffy and company were members of a group, known as Young Ireland, which was growing impatient with the failure of Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal Association to achieve repeal of the Act of Union, which had joined Ireland to Great Britain. After their initial meeting, Carlyle kept up a regular correspondence with Duffy, who shortly thereafter began sending him the *Nation*, a paper promoting the views of Young Ireland that Carlyle read dutifully (*Letters* 19:68, 21:131).

The potato famine had begun with the 1845 harvest and would continue until the crises of 1848 and beyond. In September 1846, eager to see conditions first hand, Carlyle made a short trip to Ireland, accompanied by Duffy, during which he heard O'Connell speak. In January 1847, he began reading up on Ireland and even hung a map of Ireland in his study (*Letters* 21:131). That year, Young Ireland split with the Repeal Association and founded the Irish Confederation, which was more uncompromising in its advocacy of repeal than the Repeal Association, though, like it, was committed to advancing the cause through constitutional means. Seeing an opportunity after the revolution in France—and even seeking, unsuccessfully, an alliance with the new republic—its more militant members themselves split off, as the United Irishmen, and both the paper of that title and the *Nation* began encouraging militancy. These developments led in July 1848 to a short-lived and unsuccessful uprising. Even before it began, the government had started to act. On April 15, it initiated proceedings against one of its leaders, John Mitchel, who was arrested on May 13, then was found guilty and sentenced to transportation on May 27. Although Duffy had parted ways with the more radical Mitchel, his *Nation* newspaper supported the uprising, and on July 8 he too was arrested, but juries failed to convict him, and he was ultimately discharged, in April 1849.

[8] It is reprinted in full in Vanden Bossche, "French Republic."

While Carlyle remained at odds with Young Ireland on the subject of the Union, he agreed that Ireland was badly governed. A long letter to Duffy, written March 1, 1847, begins by expressing sorrow about the famine and then blames the "Governing Class," more particularly the landlords who are "now actually brought to the bar; arraigned before Heaven and Earth or *mis*-governing this Ireland." He then goes on to outline the position he would take, and to use the metaphors he would employ a year later in "Repeal of the Union":

> Mitchel may depend on it, it is not repeal from England, but repeal *from the Devil*, that will save Ireland. England, too, I can very honestly tell him, is heartily desirous of "Repeal," would welcome repeal with both hands if England did not see that repeal had been forbidden by the laws of Nature, and could in the least believe in repeal! Ireland, I think, cannot *lift anchor* and sail away with itself. We are married to Ireland by the ground-plan of this world—a thick-skinned labouring man to a drunken ill-tongued wife, and dreadful family quarrels have ensued! (*Letters* 21:167-69)

Not surprisingly, the first article Carlyle wrote about Ireland was prompted by renewed efforts to repeal the Union. On April 11, 1848—barely a month after the revolution in France and the day after the Chartists presented their petition to Parliament—John O'Connell, son of Daniel, brought in a bill calling for repeal of the Union. In an editorial of April 6, the *Times*, anticipating the debate on O'Connell's bill, had suggested that repeal was gaining broader support (4). Nonetheless, like other major papers, the *Times* opposed repeal, and in an April 13 editorial it contended that, while England had nothing to lose from it, Ireland would be worse off (4), a view it further elaborated in an editorial of April 26 (4). The *Examiner* also rejected repeal. In an editorial of April 15, entitled "Repeal of the Union," it provided a systematic point-by-point response to the three arguments made by John O'Connell in bringing in the bill—that the Union had been established illegally, that Ireland was worse off economically because of it, and that the Irish did not have political equality. Like the *Times*, it conceded that there were problems in Ireland but insisted that they would not be solved by repeal, which would mean "reverting to the imperfect organizations of former years" (242).

Two weeks later, on April 28, Carlyle's contribution appeared under the same title, "Repeal of the Union." Although he had articulated the basic argument a

year earlier in his letter to Duffy, references to the debate in Parliament establish that he must have written the article sometime after April 11, and he may not have finished until as late as April 26, when the *Times* editorial appeared. Once again, he had to work within the constraints of newspaper publication. Possibly at Forster's instigation, he "jammed" two articles together, but then, feeling the piece was too long, suggested dividing it into two; in the end, however, it was ultimately published as one (*Letters* 23:24).[9] It takes the same basic position on repeal that the *Examiner* had taken on April 15, but the rhetoric is entirely different. In contrast to the reasoned, analytic approach of the earlier leader, Carlyle's article, which was introduced with a paragraph declaring its authorship, is written in his unmistakable style, rich with imagery and metaphor. Moreover, whereas the earlier editorial argued merely that because the "consequences" of the Union "have passed into every branch of legislation" repealing it would undo much of current law (242), Carlyle declares that the Union is the will of "the whole Universe and the Eternal Laws" and that "the stern Destinies have laid upon England a terrible job of labour," that of "conquering *Anarchy*" in Ireland (below 185).

At least two newspapers, apparently approving its sentiment, reprinted all or part of "Repeal,"[10] but the article met with objections in other quarters. The same day, in a speech to proponents of repeal, John O'Connell charged that the owner of the *Examiner* had paid "mad Carlyle to . . . write an article recommending that the people of Ireland should be exterminated" ("Conciliation Hall" 4). Most importantly, John Stuart Mill responded in a letter to the editor that appeared in the May 13 issue of the *Examiner*.[11] The story of the friendship of Carlyle

[9] The editors of the letters state that Forster divided the article into two parts (23:24n1), publishing the second on May 13. However, we conclude that Forster did not divide it. For a complete discussion, see the note on the text.

[10] See the *Blackburn Standard,* May 10, 1848, p. 1, and the *Preston Guardian* May 6, 1848, p. 4.

[11] The editors of the letters incorrectly identify the author of this letter as Henry M'Cormac (*Letters* 23:26n1), who had written to Carlyle on May 1 and indicated his frustration that he had not been able to publish a letter or a pamphlet in the newspapers (M'Cormac's reaction to "Repeal" is discussed below). The editors of the Carlyle letters state that Carlyle "presumably answered this letter, whereupon M'Cormac responded by enclosing a letter addressed to the ed. of the *Examiner*, dated 5 May and signed 'M.,' which was printed in the *Examiner*, 13 May." This assumption is incorrect, however, as the letter signed "M." was actually by John Stuart Mill. Mill listed it in his own bibliography of his works as "A letter signed M on 'England and Ireland' in the Examiner of 13th May 1848" (MacMinn 69); the letter is included in the modern edition of Mill's *Collected Works* (25:1095).

and Mill has often been told and need not be repeated here, except to note that this article occasioned their first public, albeit quasi-anonymous, disagreement and anticipated the conflict occasioned not long after by the "Negro Question." Mill concurred that the repeal of the Union would not solve Ireland's problems, but in the trenchant discussion that followed he enumerated the government's repeated failures to create anything like a just social order in Ireland and on this basis challenged Carlyle's assertion that England had been providentially appointed to suppress Irish anarchy, observing incisively that whereas in the past Carlyle had been concerned with "telling of the sins and errors of England," he was now preaching the "Divine Messiahship of England" (307; rpt. Mill, *Works* 25:1095-1100).

Another writer who objected to "Repeal of the Union" was Henry M'Cormac, a Dublin physician and author, who wrote to Carlyle that he had read the article "with pain" and that such "slashing philippics" would do little to "appease" the "discontent" arising from the misery caused by the landlords (*Letters* 23:26n1; reprinted in full in Tarr, "Thomas Carlyle and Henry M'Cormac" 254). M'Cormac's letter seems to have prompted Carlyle to write a second article, this one focusing, if not on the "sins and errors of England," at least on the sins of the British prime minister, John Russell, for he concluded the letter of May 8 by saying he should write an "equally ferocious Article, one on Lord Johnny and his duties!" (*Letters* 23:27). The resulting article, "Legislation for Ireland," must have been finished by May 12, for it appeared the next day, immediately following Mill's response to "Repeal of the Union." Forster, seeking to mediate between them, inserted the following between the two pieces: "Mr Carlyle's dissertation did not exclude what is urged by 'M.' It did not extend to that part of the subject which is here discussed. The reader will find, below, a portion of a second communication from Mr Carlyle which we have received before 'M.'s' letter reached us" (308).

In writing this article, Carlyle may have been thinking of the eight-page pamphlet by John Hancock entitled *Observations on Tenant-Right Legislation* that M'Cormac had enclosed with his May 1 letter (*Letters* 23:26n1, 29).[12] On

[12] The editors of the letters indicate that the "accompanying communication printed for my own convenience" has not been found (23:26n1; see also Tarr 254). While we have not been able to locate an *Observations on Tenant-Right Legislation* authored by M'Cormac, there is an eight-page pamphlet with this title authored by John Hancock and published in Dublin in 1848. Hancock was the agent for the estates of Lord Lurgan (the pamphlet is addressed to a "deputation of Lord Lurgan's tenantry") of Armagh in Northern Ireland about forty miles southwest of Belfast, where M'Cormac lived. Given the title and internal evidence, we conclude that this is the "communication"

February 15, Lord Somerville, chief secretary for Ireland in Russell's government, had introduced a bill on the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland that sought to address problems arising from the fact that tenants' rights were being abrogated when their landlords, many of whom had lost money during the famine, sold their property (Hansard 96:673). Hancock's pamphlet is the record of an address, dated March 18, 1848, contending that Somerville's legislation is inadequate and stipulating five legislative changes necessary to protect tenants' rights. In order to adjudicate property claims arising from these sales, Hancock proposed the appointment of a tribunal consisting of a sheriff and jury. In a letter written three days after their articles appeared, Carlyle wrote to M'Cormac taking up the latter proposal and suggesting that the Lord Lieutenant should "call together, by his own summons, a competent number of Practical Rational Persons, such as you, from all quarters of Ireland,—a *real* 'Irish Parliament,' and Convocation of the Notables; and . . . ask them . . . What *can* be done to bring these famishing Irishmen into contact with that fruitful uncultivated or miscultivated Irish land? Can *nothing* be done?" (*Letters* 23:29-30). As discussed in the notes, Carlyle seems to have taken up this idea in "Legislation for Ireland."

"Legislation for Ireland" concerns itself primarily with the landlord and tenant issues that this legislation was meant to affect, but it was only part of the longer article he had written "on Lord Johnny and his duties." As Carlyle told Forster, he feared the article would "be too *big* (were there no other fault) for being got in at all" but that it must be "somewhere or somehow sent into the light" (*Letters* 23:27). Indeed, it did raise concerns for Forster. As Carlyle suggested shortly thereafter, the problem was that "poor little Lord John Russell is a pet of [the *Examiner*], and I could not put them on doing such a thing," the consequence being that Forster had to "cut the Article in *three*, and publish two pieces of it in a declared enemy of his" (*Letters* 23:33). The other two pieces were "Ireland and the British Chief Governor" and "Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)," which appeared the same day (May 13) in the *Spectator*, which was edited by Robert Stephen Rintoul. The *Spectator* articles more directly address Russell's role as the "chief governor," the first discussing the inadequacy of the "measures" Russell had taken to redress "Irish wrongs" (191 below) and the second outlining Carlyle's proposal that unemployed Irish be organized into regiments, not for fighting but for productive labor such as draining swamps.

In the midst of this tumultuous era, on November 29, 1848, Carlyle was

that M'Cormac refers to, the only doubt arising from the fact that it was not published through the venues in which M'Cormac published his own writings.

shocked to learn that the M.P. Charles Buller had died at age forty-two. In the early 1820s, when Buller was a student at Edinburgh, Carlyle had been his tutor, and they had remained friends in the years since. Buller had been an M.P. since 1830, when he was allied to the "radical" wing of the Whigs, though by the 1840s he had become a moderate. Like Carlyle, he was among the circle that the literary host Lady Harriet Ashburton had gathered about her. On December 1, Carlyle assented to Forster's request that he write a memorial notice, which he swiftly completed so that it could appear the next day in the *Examiner* (*Letters* 23:167).

His next article was prompted by Sir Robert Peel's attempts to repeal the Corn Laws that were one source of the suffering in Ireland. Although he generally had few sympathies with the Tories, Carlyle had long admired Peel, who at this time was leader of the Tory opposition. In the fall of 1848, he drafted a few pages on Peel, but on November 5 gave up on the piece (Yale MSS 677, box 15). On March 5, 1849, Peel gave a speech on Ireland that Carlyle declared was "a kind of gleam as of something like a dawn that *would* get above the horizon by and by" (*Letters* 23:262). After Peel delivered a second speech, on March 30, Carlyle remarked again that it was "the first gleam of real hope for Ireland . . . the first wise word I remember in my life to have heard spoken by an official man on that subject" (*Letters* 24:4; see also 24:7-8, 11). It was probably after this second speech that he set to work on a new article, "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel," the opening line of which refers to the two speeches. It appeared in the *Spectator* on April 13.

In this article, Carlyle refers to the British government's program to purchase large stocks of corn meal—Indian meal in the parlance of the day—to distribute in Ireland. The previous December (1848), he had written to Emerson inquiring how to prepare Indian meal. While the Carlyles did not want for food, potatoes were a regular part of their diet, and the potato blight had led them to try cooking the meal, which they invariably found unpalatable (*Letters* 23:169; see also 23:173, 179-80). In January, Emerson sent advice as requested (*Emerson and Carlyle* 450) and on April 17 Carlyle wrote him that they were "deep in the study of Indian meal" (*Letters* 24:26, 28), the problem being, it seems, that the meal they previously used had been treated in a fashion that spoiled its taste. Two days later, Carlyle enthusiastically reported: "I am happy to assure you that it forms a new epoch for us all in the Maize department: we find the grain *sweet*, among the sweetest, with a touch even of the taste of *nuts* in it, and profess with contrition that properly we have never tasted Indian Corn before." He had consequently "drawn up a fit proclamation of the excellencies of this invaluable

corn, and admonitions as to the benighted state of English eaters in regard to it;—to appear in Fraser's Magazine, or I know not where, very soon" (*Letters* 24:28). *Fraser's* did indeed print the article, dated April 18, and published in the May number.

Carlyle advocated for another of his notions about how to alleviate the poverty of Ireland in his next article, "Trees of Liberty." In early July 1849, not long after Duffy was released from prison, Carlyle joined him in Dublin and spent over a month touring Ireland with him. On November 26, he sent the manuscript of "Trees" to Duffy for publication in the *Nation*. Duffy had not asked for a contribution, it seems, for in his memoir he says he was "surprised" to receive it (*Conversations* 145). Carlyle himself was diffident, even as he offered it: "I ought to *burn* it at once; but, as penny-stamps have come into the world, prefer that *you* should have the pleasure of burning it. Do so, in Heaven's name; do what else you like: only *don't* (except to your own heart) speak of my mortal name in connexion with it! The thing wavers so between being something and being nothing, that—[i]n short, I think you ought to have the burning of it" (*Letters* 24:297). Duffy honored his request by publishing it anonymously as an excerpt from "Mr. Bramble's unpublished *Arboretum Hibernicum*." In his reminiscences of the Carlyles, Duffy comments that Stephen Rintoul (who had published the two articles discussed above in the *Spectator*) "immediately identified the article as Carlyle's" (*Conversations* 438-39); nonetheless it appears that Carlyle's authorship was not widely known and the article received little response. It was the last of this series of articles on Ireland, as by this time he had begun work on what would turn out to be *Latter-Day Pamphlets*.

The next essay in this volume, "The Opera," was written to satisfy a request for a contribution to the *Keepsake*, a lavishly illustrated literary annual, and thus stands quite apart from Carlyle's essays on political topics. Lady Blessington (1789-1849), who had partly supported herself by editing the *Keepsake*, had recently died, and her niece, Marguerite Power (1815?-1867), became editor, a position that, as for her aunt, provided much-needed income. Lady Blessington and Marguerite Power were able to succeed in large part because they had developed a wide range of connections among artists and authors. The request for a contribution came to Carlyle from one of them, Bryan Waller Procter (1787-1874), whom Carlyle had known since 1824 and who was, along with his wife, Ann, himself the center of a literary circle comprising the leading authors of the day. Carlyle deemed his article for the *Keepsake* a "pious Adventure" (*Letters* 25:121), and when it was included in the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*

added a footnote referring to the "touching human circumstances" that led to its composition (below 223). He apparently submitted his contribution during the summer of 1850 with the suggestion that it not appear under his name but rather under that of the fictitious "Professor Ezechiel Peasemeal" (*Letters* 25:123). Because Procter was out of town when it arrived, Carlyle's and his own contributions were submitted to Power too late for inclusion in the 1851 *Keepsake* and they were held over for the 1852 edition.

"Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" reflects Carlyle's long-standing belief in portraiture as an index of character and hence as primary evidence for the historian. In 1833, as he began work on *The French Revolution*, he described a volume of portraits of its principal participants:

> A series of Revolution Portraits (engravings) which I dug out lately, gave me great satisfaction: . . . It is a valuable work, if genuine. Mirabeau's ugliness is now a kind of truth for me; Danton suffered dreadfully, on physiognomic survey; alas, his *energy* looks too like that of some Game Chicken or Dutch Sam, true heroism never dwelt in such a tabernacle. . . . Lafayette looks puppyish; Robespierre like a narrow, exasperated, exacerbated Methodist Precentor (in fact, I think the man was a kind of Atheistico-Theist-Saint); Camille Desmoulins is full of spirit, talent, half-blackguard gaiety, one of those Blackguards, among whom poor Burns said he had found the only men worth loving. My favourite face of all is the noble Roman one of Condorcet: a lofty soul looks out there (tho' perhaps an unbelieving soul); energy grown listless; deep sadness, tedium, veiled over with stoical disdain. (*Letters* 6:331-32)

When, in September 1852, he made a journey to Germany to conduct research on *Frederick the Great* (1858-1865), he sought out portraits of Frederick and his contemporaries and acquired reproductions of several portraits of Frederick, which he hung in the study in which he wrote his history (see esp. *Letters* 27:324-26, 28:25-27; see also 27:292, 297, 300, 316, 319).

Given the importance he attached to portraits as a key to character, it is not surprising that he was an enthusiastic supporter of the establishment of national portrait galleries. In 1846 and again in 1852, the historian and M.P. Philip Stanhope, Lord Mahon, introduced into the House of Commons proposals to

establish a national portrait gallery. Carlyle had known him since 1839, and by the early 1850s Mahon regularly invited him to breakfast gatherings at which Carlyle may have learned of these proposals and Mahon may have solicited his support. In any case, in September 1853, Carlyle sent to his friend Lord Ashburton a long manuscript arguing for the establishment of a national portrait gallery in which he contended that "whoever has attempted the serious study of Biography, the first want he feels is that of a faithful Portrait of his hero's physiognomy and outward figure" (D. Wilson 5:40).

Nothing came of the proposal for a national gallery at this time, but it was soon followed by a proposal for a Scottish national portrait gallery. In his description of the project in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* David Laing recorded discussing it with Carlyle, most likely on the visit he made the same month Carlyle sent his proposal to Ashburton (285). Carlyle and Laing had been in correspondence with one another since 1841, when Laing sent Carlyle his edition of *The Letters and Speeches of Robert Baillie*, which Carlyle reviewed in "Baillie the Covenanter" (*Historical Essays* 239-69); over the next several years Laing helped him with numerous inquiries related to his research on Cromwell. A year after their discussion of a portrait gallery, Laing reminded Carlyle of the idea, and on May 2 Carlyle replied with a long discussion of his views that served as a draft of "Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" (*Letters* 29:76-83). The next day he wrote a second draft consisting solely of the text of the letter in support of the project, dated May 3 (*Letters* 29:75-83); Carlyle mailed this letter, with a brief accompanying note, the following day (*Letters* 29:91). Laing presented it at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on May 22, 1854, and it appeared in the record of that meeting in the society's *Proceedings*, published in 1855.

The proposal seems to have elicited little comment, but it did play a role in the establishment of the national portrait galleries. In 1856, when Mahon, now Lord Stanhope, introduced his successful proposal for a British National Portrait Gallery to the House of Lords, he cited "Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" in its behalf (Hansard 140:1772). The following February, Carlyle was appointed to replace one of the original trustees, who had died shortly after the gallery's board had been established the previous December. Although he insisted that he could not "work at it," he nonetheless did attend some of its meetings. Carlyle is among the figures honored with a sculpture portrait on the facade of the building itself (see plate 3). Nothing came of Laing's proposal for a Scottish gallery at the time, and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery was not founded until 1889. Nonetheless, Carlyle retains pride of place in

the processional frieze of Scottish historical figures that runs in reverse chronological order in the Great Hall, starting with Carlyle, who had died eight years before its founding (plate 4).

The next item in this volume is the briefest, a mere half-page squib in dialogue form applying Carlyle's views on slavery to the circumstances of the American Civil War; it also is arguably the most controversial. "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce," dated May 1863, appeared in the August issue of *Macmillan's Magazine*. David Masson, who became editor of *Macmillan's* at its launching in November 1859, had known the Carlyles since the mid-1840s. Even before the first issue appeared, he invited Carlyle to contribute, but Carlyle, who was still occupied with *Frederick the Great*, did not contribute at that time (*Letters* 35:247n4). He probably recalled Masson's request when, four years later, he felt compelled to comment on the American war.

As the editors of the letters write, "Ilias" elicited "a flood of angry, thoughtful, sarcastic, and parodic retorts" (*Letters* 39:xvii).[13] Among the latter in the British press was a parodic article in the *Daily News* that treated slaveholders as the problem and proposed a colonization project to rid American society of them ("Proposed Colonization" 2). The *Birmingham Daily Post* published J. C. Tildesley's passionate "Hired for Life," which replied to Carlyle: "Hired? Nay, bartered, bought, and sold! / Seized and chained by fiendish scoffers! / Blood-dyed is the slaver's gold, / Groans have filled his greedy coffers" (6). T. Perronet Thompson, M.P., a supporter of Corn Law repeal and universal suffrage, published in the *Bradford Advertiser* an address to working men that elucidated "Ilias" by ironically suggesting that, like slaves, they too should be whipped, forbidden to marry, and forced to see their children sold.

Several writers produced their own versions of Carlyle's dialogue between Peter of the North and Paul of the South. A few days after publishing "Proposed Colonization of the Slaveholders," the *Daily News* of London printed a letter from "A. Z.," who, like others, employed Carlyle's distancing technique of ascribing his own contribution to another speaker, in this case a British fifth-former (the equivalent of an American high school student), and emphasizing the slaveholders' use of the whip (3). One version that circulated widely in the American press had Paul of the South demanding that Peter sell his "concubines and the children they bear" in the North and calling him a "whining hypocrite" when he

[13] For an earlier discussion of the reception, to which we are indebted for several references, see Waller.

demurs ("Carlyle's Iliad," *New York Tribune* 4; see *New Haven Palladium* [Sept. 3, 1863]: 2, *Liberator* [Sept. 3, 1863]: 143). The Christian Socialists Frederick Denison Maurice, whom Carlyle had known since the 1830s and who had reviewed "Chartism," and John M. Ludlow both offered dialogues. Maurice, who had employed the dialogue form in his earlier writings, depicted a "Southern agent" explaining to an Englishman that the war was a result of Northerners taking seriously Carlyle's preaching against "Gigmanity" and in favor of "the doctrine of the old Scotch ploughman, 'A man's a man for a' that,'" which left Southerners no choice but to fight for Gigmanity (1248). Ludlow's satiric dialogue imagined a slave inquiring of his master what "privileges" he can expect now that he has been deemed "no longer a slave" but "a servant hired for life" (389).[14]

A leading article in the *Morning Star*, reprinted in a number of American papers, found a silver lining in Carlyle's tacit acknowledgment that the war was "about slavery and about nothing else" and thus dismissed the "miserable pretenses about tariffs and trade with which Southern champions in England—not in America—used to strive to delude the English public" (4). In effect, this reasoning suggested, Carlyle was actually aiding the Northern cause by making the justification of support for the South untenable. Like others, it noted that Carlyle's depiction of slavery was consistent with his earlier writings and in particular with his conception of hero-worship in which a "war for the sake of conquest and annexation of territory" is "sublime and glorious," while a war "to set some millions of negroes free is a style of undertaking" that "the true philosopher . . . must look down upon with lofty scorn" (4).

There were few defenses. A letter to the editor signed "Justice for the South" argued that Carlyle was exposing the hypocrisy of the abolitionists. A leading article in the *Reader* (in turn reprinted in other papers, e.g., *Daily News* Aug. 4, p. 2, *Leeds Mercury*, Aug. 5, p. 6), possibly by David Masson, who edited the *Reader* as well as *Macmillan's*, contended that Carlyle "has no affection, we believe, for the name Slavery" or for "American slavery" and "has denounced certain peculiarities of their treatment." It went on to argue that while "all" will object that there is no equivalence between chattel slavery and a "voluntary bargain of two persons," Carlyle's aim was not to promote slavery but to argue for "'permanent relations' between man and man" ("Philosophy of the American War" 99).

In the United States, Carlyle's intervention was news in itself, prompting many papers, even the abolitionist press, to reprint the piece with or without

[14] For another reply in dialogue form, see *New Haven Palladium,* Sept. 9, p. 2.

commentary.[15] It seems to have had limited circulation in the Southern press. The *Charleston Mercury* claimed that the piece "shows Mr. Carlyle to have a just conception of the right and wrong" of the rebellion ("Ilias" 1). The *New Orleans Times-Picayune* pointed out that Carlyle's argument was not new, as John Adams had declared the difference between slaves and the laboring poor to be "imaginary" ("Carlyle's Iliad" 2). It was correct, of course, that the argument was not new, though it had been used, as Catherine Gallagher has shown, both in support of and opposition to chattel slavery (chap. 1). This argument also underlay the *Richmond Whig*'s "White Slavery," an attack on the British government's support of the North that cited Carlyle's argument (1).

As in Britain, some commentators credited Carlyle with implying that the war was really about slavery, but they also recognized that Carlyle's point was not to address this question but to reiterate his long-standing argument that chattel slavery was equivalent, if not in some respects superior, to industrial wage slavery. Several papers reprinted the piece in the *Star* arguing that the war was about slavery, a point emphasized by the *New York Evening Post*, which introduced its reprinting with the remark that Carlyle "recognizes slavery as the cause of the rebellion, but blunders in everything else" (2; see also "Carlyle on the Rebellion").[16] Others simply condemned it. The *Boston Recorder* insisted that Carlyle had made "a laughing stock of himself" by betraying "his sympathy with the slave crusade of the Southern Confederacy" ("Thomas Carlyle" 142). In keeping with satiric responses in Britain, Bret Harte wrote his own verse reply, "'Peter of the North' to Thomas Carlyle," which asked Carlyle when he was hired by "Paul of the South" and "what is the length of your hire!" (3). Carlyle's importance to American intellectuals led some commentators to express disappointment that, as the *New York Tribune* put it, "an earnest seeker of Truth" and a "true-hearted man, who thinks he hates what is wicked" had become an "apologist of the worst sin in Christendom" ("Carlyle on the Rebellion" 4). "The Two Carlyles, Or Carlyle Past and Present," a review of *Frederick the Great* in the *Christian Examiner,* similarly praised the "past" work of Carlyle, but rued the "present" work beginning with *Latter-Day Pamphlets* and culminating in "Ilias"; it then proceeded to discuss the "falsehoods" spread by the latter, notably,

[15] For example, *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (Aug. 22, 1863): 3; *New York Evening Post* (Aug. 13, 1863): 2; *Daily National Intelligencer* (Aug. 18, 1863): 2; *Milwaukee Sentinel* (Aug. 20, 1863): 2; *Richmond Whig* (Aug. 25, 1863): 3; *San Francisco Bulletin* (Sept. 7, 1863): 1.

[16] "Thomas Carlyle on the American War," *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (Aug. 22, 1863): 4; *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Aug. 13, 1863): 2; *New York Tribune* (Aug. 12, 1863): 8; and partially in "Carlyle on the War," *New York Evening Post* (Aug. 12, 1863): 2.

as others pointed out, the premise that the relationship between slave owner and slave was an "agreement" or "contract" (224).

One of the most extensive and trenchant responses came from David A. Wasson (1823-1887), a minister and associate of Emerson. In October, Carlyle reported: "I had a curious American Letter [c]ut out for me from the *Atlantic Monthly* or some Yankee mag*ne* by the Author) on that '*Ilias in Nuce*' (clever man, but nearly gone insane on the Nigger Question)" (*Letters* 39:226). Wasson wrote that it pained him that "a great nature, a great writer and a man of piercing intellect" had become excessively narrow and "linear" in his thinking (497). He clearly had read widely in Carlyle's works and concurred in his critiques of the limits of democracy, but this made it all the worse that Carlyle would treat chattel slavery merely as "hiring for life": "While, then, by 'kingship' you meant something human and noble, while I could deem the command you coveted for strong and wise men to be somewhat which should lift the weak and unwise above the range of their own force and intelligence, I held your prophesying in high esteem, and readily pardoned any excesses of expression into which your prophetic afflatus (being Scotch) might betray you" (500). Chattel slavery is inconsistent with this view, Wasson insisted, because it results in "dehumanization" (500). In his conclusion, after several pages extolling Carlyle's virtues and seeking to reason with him, he adopted Carlyle's own satiric mode by recounting an episode from the diary of a slave owner in a fashion that interpolates Carlyle himself as the perpetrator:

> Having bidden a young slave-girl . . . to attend upon his brutal pleasure, and she silently remaining away, he writes,—"Next morning ordered her a dozen lashes for disobedience!" For disobedience, observe! She had been "hired for life"; the great Carlyle had witnessed the bargain; and behold, she has broken the contract! She must be punished; Mr. Carlyle and his co-cultivator of the virtue of obedience (par nobile fratrum) will see to it that she is duly punished. She shall go to the whipping-post, this disobedient virgin; she shall have twelve lashes, (for the Chelsea gods are severe, and know the use of "beneficent whip,")—twelve lashes on the naked person,—blows with the terrible slave-whip, beneath which the skin purples in long, winding lines, then breaks and gushes into spirts of red blood, and afterwards cicatrizes into perpetual scars; for disobedience is an immorality not to be overlooked!

> Yes, Thomas Carlyle, I hold you a party to these crimes. You, YOU are the brutal old man who would flog virgins into prostitution. You approve the system; you volunteer your best varnish in its commendation; and this is an inseparable and legal part of it. (501-502)

In direct and vivid illustration of this depiction, the Reverend William Henry Furness, another friend of Emerson, sent Carlyle a photograph of the scarred back of a slave, with the note: "'Sir, / Pray observe an instance of '*hiring* for life.' Look upon this, and may God forgive your cruel jest!'" (Conway, *Carlyle* 95, *Letters* 39:223 and n. 4. See also plate 1). The American abolitionist Charlotte Taylor wrote directly to him to express dismay at his "careless scoff at our present bitter struggle, our awful trial and striving for life" and to encourage him to listen to what his visitor Moncure Conway (see below) had to say about American slavery (*Letters* 39:223n4). Emerson himself tried to make Carlyle see his error:

> I have in these last years lamented that you had not made the visit to America, which in earlier years you projected or favored. It would have made it impossible that your name should be cited for one moment on the side of the enemies of mankind. Ten days' residence in this country would have made you the organ of the sanity of England and of Europe to us and to them, and have shown you the necessities and aspirations which struggle up in our Free States, which, as yet, have no organ to others, and are ill and unsteadily articulated here. (*Emerson and Carlyle* 541)

While Carlyle's letters and journals do not record any responses to these criticisms, Jane passed along the photograph of the scarred slave to Lord Ashburton with a note asserting that Carlyle was "amused" by Furness's retort and that he took mock "gratification" in Wasson's "solemn prayer for M*r* C's *death*" (*Letters* 39:224). He certainly knew, as a remark he made three years later indicates, that it had caused a great stir (Smalley 1:296). One person, at least, thought that Carlyle might have subsequently moderated his views. Moncure Conway, a Southerner and son of a slaveholder who had become an abolitionist and in 1863 was sent to Britain to campaign for abolition and the Northern cause, was yet another admirer pained by Carlyle's refusal to recognize the horrors of slavery (*Autobiography* 1:388, 392). Emerson provided Conway with a letter of introduc-

tion to Carlyle, and they met that summer. According to Conway, Emerson's letter on the American situation had been a "staggering blow" for Carlyle, who told him: "I have tried to look into the middle of things in America, and I have seen a people cutting throats indefinitely to put the negro into a position for which all experience shows him unfit" but then after Conway's reply added: "You must be patient with me when I say how it all appears to me" (97). "Never again," Conway concludes, "after that letter . . . did I hear Carlyle speak with his former confidence concerning the issue in America" (102). Conway later recorded that he had sought to dispel Carlyle's illusions about the American South and that he believed he had succeeded in awakening Carlyle from "his dream of a beautiful patriarchal society in the Southern States" (94-95). Yet, as John Waller concludes, aside from Conway's "questionable inferences," there is no "indication that Carlyle's views of the war or the Negro ever underwent any basic change" (29). On the contrary, they would reappear a few years later in "Shooting Niagara."

In November 1865, Carlyle was elected rector of the University of Edinburgh, an honorary appointment requiring only that he address the faculty and students of the university. He hesitated before accepting, in part because he was reluctant to give an address, yet after being informed that he could be exempted, he ultimately decided that he would comply and gave the address on April 2, 1866 (Froude, *Life in London* 2:319, 321). As he had done with his lecture series three decades earlier, he prepared notes but delivered the address extemporaneously with little reference to them. Consequently, Moncure Conway found that the notes were of little help in correcting the proofs of the transcription of the address made by the *Scotsman* newspaper, where it appeared the following day (April 3).[17] Carlyle immediately began editing the transcription for publication as a pamphlet, sending it to the printer within two days of the talk (*Letters* 43:166). His brother John did a preliminary reading of the proofs, sending them to Carlyle on April 7 or 8 with the comment that he "could find no errors in them as compared with the Scotsman report" but that the subdivisions introduced by Conway (there are none in the *Scotsman*) should be omitted or moved to the margins because they "interrupted the discourse." Carlyle agreed and ordered John to delete them and to "merely put a *white line* where they are,—or where the main divis*ns* ought to be." John replied, on April 12, with what was the ultimate solution: "Both Mr Douglas [the publisher] & I think it will be best

[17] For a sampling of these notes, see Conway 47-50.

to put those headings of Conway . . . opposite to the headings of 'Inaugural Address' at the top of the pages . . . 'Inaugural Address' on left hand pages, & Conway's headings on right-hand pages" (43:173 and n. 1). In other words, they would appear as running heads on the rectos. In the meantime, Carlyle had begun correcting proofs, a task he completed by April 15 (*Letters* 43:178, 187-88), and the pamphlet appeared on April 17 (43:200).

The reaction to the "Inaugural Address" could hardly have been more different from the response to "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce." The subject matter of the "Address" was not likely to give offense, and it could instead be regarded as expressing the wisdom of an elder statesman of letters. The speech itself was a great success. Writing to Jane after it was over, Carlyle was deeply moved: "You never saw such a tempest of enthusiastic excitat*n* as that among the student people,—poor young souls, following me thro the streets with their vivats & vociferat*ns* . . . in the finis, there came a *tone* into their cheering, wh*h* for a moment actually entered my heart, with a strange feeling made up of joy & sorrow" (*Letters* 43:156-57). Jane Carlyle wrote him that "even *Punch*," which had taken more than one swipe at him in years past (see Altick 666-67), "cuddles you and purrs over you as if you were his favourite son!" (*Letters* 43:182; see plate 2 and *Letters* 43:183-84). One manifestation of his stature and the salability of the address is that the *Times* sent its own stenographer to report the Address, and its transcription was pirated by the London publisher Hotten—who even had the audacity to send Carlyle a proof—before the authorized edition was published (see *Letters* 43:187, 195-196, 197). Carlyle apparently felt more flattered than aggrieved, deciding that this version was "worth having too" and adding "I am not sorry to have glanced over the preliminary parts" (*Letters* 43:200).

His friend and biographer Froude describes Carlyle's reaction to the general response that followed its publication:

> He was long puzzled at the effect upon the world's estimate of him which this speech produced. There was not a word in it which he had not already said, and said far more forcibly a hundred times. But suddenly and thenceforward, till his death set them off again, hostile tongues ceased to speak against him, and hostile pens to write. The speech was printed in full in half the newspapers in the island. It was received with universal acclamation. . . . It was now admitted universally that Carlyle was a "great man." . . . He himself could not make it out, but the explanation is not far to seek.

> The Edinburgh address contained his doctrines with the fire which had provoked the animosity taken out of them. They were reduced to the level of church sermons; thrown into general propositions which it is pretty and right and becoming to confess with our lips, while no one is supposed to act on them. . . . Carlyle, people felt with a sense of relief, meant only what the preachers meant, and was a fine fellow after all. (*Life in London* 2:329-30)

In keeping with this assessment, the newspapers remarked that there was nothing new in the address, especially for those familiar with Carlyle's earlier works, but that, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* put it, the expression of them was "fresh" (1081). The *Daily News* noted that it was relatively "free from those extravagances of diction" for which he had so often been criticized (4). The *Times* similarly remarked that there was no "novelty" in his speech and that it was marked by "mellowness" (8), and *Lloyd's Weekly* offered that "if he holds opinions on many vital questions which are not very palatable in certain mouths, . . . he is honest and thorough" and described the oration as "a noble rugged utterance" (1). While the address at Edinburgh was widely noticed in the papers in the days that followed, the publication of the pamphlet elicited only passing comments and no significant reviews. In any case, the celebratory mood came to an end with the news of Jane's death two weeks later, on April 21. Not surprisingly, grief forestalled further mentions of publication and reception of the speech in Carlyle's letters.

In the same year as the Address, the Liberal William Gladstone introduced a new Reform Bill, which ultimately did not pass, but which initiated a political process leading to passage of a new Reform Bill, this time introduced by the Conservative Benjamin Disraeli, in August 1867. In the spring of 1867, as the new bill, introduced on February 23, was being debated, Carlyle began work on what would become "Shooting Niagara: And After?" On February 13, he mentioned the bill in his journal but was not yet writing (Froude, *Life in London* 2:363). By April he had begun to write, though "in vain" (Froude, *Life in London* 2:368, 369), and in an undated journal entry he was soon recording: "Reform Bill going its fated road, i.e. England getting into the *Niagara rapids* far sooner than I expected" (Froude, *Life in London* 2:374). On May 26, he wrote in his journal:

> There is no spirit in me to 'write,' tho' I try it sometime; no topic, and no audience, that is in least dear or great to me.

> 'Reform Bill' going its fated Road,—i.e. Engl*d* getting into the *Niagara Rapids* (far sooner than I expected); even this no longer much irritates me, much affects me; I say rather, 'Well, why not? Is not Nat*l* Death (with New-birth or *with*t) perhaps preferable to such utter Rottenness of Nat*l Life* (so called) as there has long hopelessly been? Let it come when it likes, since there are *Dizzies*, Gladstones, Russells &c &c triumphtl*y* prepared to bring it in!'—Providence is truly skilful to prepare its instrumental men. Indeed all England, heavily tho' languidly *averse* to this, embarking on the Niagara rapids, called 'Reform Bill,' is strangely indiff*t* to *whatever* may follow it, 'Niagara' or what you like. . . . Newsp*r* Editors, in private (I am told), and discerning people of every rank (as is partly appar*t* to myself) talk of approaching 'Revolt*n* (Commonwealth, Commonilt*h* or what*r* it may be) with singular composure" (*Letters* 44:194n10).

As with "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce," Carlyle turned to *Macmillan's Magazine*, which, under David Masson, had become a leading publisher of political writing. Carlyle must have finished the essay about the beginning of July, for he received the proofs on July 19 (see note on the text) and received further instructions from Masson on July 23 (possibly for another rounds of proofs); it appeared in the August number. As with the "Inaugural Address," Chapman and Hall arranged for almost immediate republication in pamphlet form. Already on August 3 he was at work on it and had begun revising the text—adding, among other revisions, two new sections (6 and 10 in the revised version) (*Letters* 45:21n13, 31n7). He finished about September 11; a week later he was correcting proof, and the article was ready to print by September 23 (*Letters* 45:35, 39, 40). By October, seven thousand copies had been sold (Froude, *Life in London* 2:381; see also *Letters* 45:47).

In late August, after publication in *Macmillan's*, Masson sent a "sheaf of newspaper clippings," to which Carlyle commented that he had already read "2 (of opposite complexions), wh*h* was enough" (*Letters* 45:21n13). Nearly all of the reviews noted that Carlyle was repeating what he had often said before, especially in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. *The Daily Telegraph* complained that Carlyle "has never had much sympathy with the 'millions'; he would help them no doubt—he would gladly see them better governed, better taught, better fed; but it must all be down by the patent Carlyle principle of heroes and hero-worship," and went

on to note that Carlyle has "never thought proper to explain how to find such heroes." These shortcomings were to be lamented, it went on to suggest, because Carlyle's views on "a certain sort of shallow and spurious Liberalism" could be "heard to advantage" (August 10, 1867, p. 3). The *Eclectic Review*, after noting that little was new in the article, praised the Carlylean sentiments for "wak[ing] up in the soul a response of the common-sense and justice" (13 [1867]: 205). Once again, *Punch* chimed in, apparently approving Carlyle's jibe at "the market-rates of murder in that singular 'Sheffield Assassination Company (Limited)'" ("Work" 146). The *Manchester Times* bluntly rejected Carlyle's continued legitimization of slavery and his accompanying belief in the inferiority of nonwhite races as well as his idea that government should consist of "a servile race, docilely submitting to its 'betters'" (August 10, 1867, p. 4). Even more scathing was the *London Review*, which pointed out that the anarchy Carlyle had prophesied in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* had not come to pass and rejected the "moral decrepitude" of Carlyle's racism (15 [1867]: 145-46). Friends were kinder, Thomas Spedding writing, later that autumn, that he "truly enjoy[ed] the gleam of sunshine that opens upon you now & then, & makes a iris in the Spray of Niagara" (*Letters* 45:35n4) and John Ruskin, several years later, expressing admiration for "the bit about Servant Tenure," which he had read to his class "with much . . . effect on them" (Cate 174). But even Edward Fitzgerald privately repeated the frequent complaint about Carlyle's social criticisms: "His Niagara Pamphlet was almost tragic to me: such a hopeless outcry from the Prophet who has so long told us what not to do, but never what *to* do" (*Letters* 45:209n1).

One voice of dissent came from Matthew Arnold, who, in the series of articles entitled "Anarchy and Authority" that later became *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), found Carlyle's argument for the aristocracy as a governing class narrowly limited:

> So when Mr. Carlyle, a man of genius to whom we have all at one time or other been indebted for refreshment and stimulus, says we should give rule to the aristocracy, mainly because of its dignity and politeness, surely culture is useful in reminding us, that in our idea of perfection the characters of beauty and intelligence are both of them present, and sweetness and light, the two noblest of things, are united. Allowing, therefore, with Mr. Carlyle, the aristocratic class to possess sweetness, culture insists on the necessity of light also, and shows us that aristocracies being, by the very nature of things,

> inaccessible to ideas, unapt to see how the world is going, must be somewhat wanting in light, and must therefore be, at a moment when light is our great requisite, inadequate to our needs. (*Prose Works* 5:124)

The most substantial and significant rebuttal came from Walt Whitman. In a letter of September 21, 1867, Whitman wrote of his plans to write "a counterblast or rejoinder to Carlyle's late piece" (*Correspondence* 1:342; see also 1:338). This article appeared as "Democracy" in *The Galaxy* in December and was later incorporated into *Democratic Vistas* (1871). While Carlyle's article spurred Whitman to defend democracy, he acknowledged early in his response that

> I was at first roused to much anger and abuse by this essay from Mr. Carlyle, so insulting to the theory of America—but happening to think afterwards how I had more than once been in the like mood, during which his essay was evidently cast, and seen persons and things in the same light, (indeed some might say there are signs of the same feeling in these Vistas)—I have since read it again, not only as a study, expressing as it does certain judgments from the highest feudal point of view, but have read it with respect as coming from an earnest soul, and as contributing certain sharp-cutting metallic grains, which, if not gold or silver, may be good hard, honest iron. (*Prose Works* 2:375)

When, on July 19, 1870, war broke out between France and Prussia, Carlyle was vexed that the popular press sympathized with the French (Kaplan 494). The knowledge he had gained about the history of the relations between the two countries from his research for *Frederick the Great*—reinforced by his long-standing prejudice in favor of Germanic over French culture—led him to speak on behalf of Prussia, much as he had earlier sought to correct popular sentiment in favor of Louis Philippe. In September he wrote in his journal: "Of outward events the war does interest me, as it does the whole world. No war so wonderful did I ever read of, and the results of it I reckon to be salutary, grand, and hopeful, beyond any which have occurred in my time" (Froude, *Life in London* 2:428). Not only did he sympathize with Prussia, but he also despised Louis Napoleon, remarking, when news of the decisive French defeat at Sedan

on September 1 reached Paris and precipitated the overturning of the Second Empire, "Paris city must be a wonderful place to-day" (Froude, *Life in London* 2:428; see "Last Letters" 258).

On November 2, he began composing a letter, which he completed November 12 (Froude, *Life in London* 2:432-33). About the time he completed *Frederick,* he had developed a tremor in his writing hand and had to rely on his niece, Mary Aitkin Carlyle, to act as his amanuensis (see *New Letters* 2:262, 270, Marrs 779). He found the necessity of using an amanuensis frustrating and claimed that it had taken ten days to accomplish what he could have accomplished in one day with "a right hand valid" (*Life in London* 2:432). The letter appeared in the *Times* on November 18, was widely reprinted (e.g., *Manchester Times,* November 19, 1870, p. 5). Given that Carlyle wrote his letter in response to sentiment in favor of the French, it is not surprising that the newspapers defended their views. The *Standard* complained that "Mr. Carlyle the other day, with that admiration for successful ruffianism which is so conspicuous a feature of his great genius, after complimenting the Germans, insulted France with the epithet of the *Cartouche* of Nations" (November 26, 1870, p. 5) and *Lloyd's Weekly* that Carlyle and Arnold had evinced their preference for "philosophic military despotism" and "muscular heroism" (November 27, 1870, p. 1). Most telling was the *Times* itself, which commented the same day it published his letter that while Carlyle had considerable insight into the issues and should be listened to "with respect," "the last judgment of the sincere student will be a repudiation of its conclusions," after which it developed a detailed critique of Carlyle's arguments that focuses primarily on the potential subjection of French-speaking citizens to a German state.

"Portraits of John Knox," the last essay in this volume and the last substantial piece of writing that Carlyle completed, arose, like the other late essays, from a combination of long-standing interests. His family venerated Knox as the leader of the Scottish Reformation, and in the early 1830s, before deciding to chronicle the French Revolution, he considered writing a book on Knox. Although Carlyle never wrote that book, Knox featured in the lectures Carlyle gave in the late 1840s, culminating in the lecture "Hero as Priest," in *On Heroes*, in which he provided what was to be his fullest published treatment of the Scottish reformer. He read David Laing's edition of *The Works of John Knox* as the individual volumes were published, and his and Laing's mutual desire to see a statue of Knox erected in Edinburgh led to the writing of "Portraits of John Knox" (*New Letters* 2:304). In 1872, the 300th anniversary of his death, a project was set afoot to create a monument of Knox. For Carlyle, the essential

first step was to identify an authentic portrait of Knox to serve as a model. The difficulty was that Carlyle detested the portrait published by Beza, which Laing thought was most authentic, while Carlyle preferred the portrait owned by the Somerville family, which was decidedly different from all other portraits, most of which appear to be derived from the Beza. Beginning in January 1874, he set out to investigate the merits of the various portraits of Knox, though his aim throughout was to make a case for the Somerville. There were many twists and turns in this investigation, too numerous to enumerate here, so we will focus only on the chief elements.

The fundamental issue for Carlyle was his belief that one's character, which includes nationality, is manifested in one's physiognomy. As he had written in "Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits," "In all my poor Historical investigations it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after; a good *Portrait* if such exists" (229). Although he sought, as he put it, both "internal" and "external" evidence, for Carlyle the "internal," more particularly the physiognomic, evidence trumped all other (e.g., NLS 528.8). His chief objection to the Beza portrait would be that it is "highly unacceptable to every physiognomic reader" (315). His first comment on it, in an 1847 letter to Laing, described it as a "blotch" (NLS 528.10), and in the correspondence about the monument he described it first as resembling "the Highlander at the doors of Snuffshops" (NLS 528.8) and then, as in the essay, "like the wooden Figure-head of a ship" (NLS 3706.91, 325). By contrast, in a December 10, 1873, letter to Laing he would say of the portrait he had owned for many years: "In no other portrait Icon or Image of Knox is there the least of a physiognomy that I can believe to be Knox" (Edinburgh University Library MS#49).

The identity of that portrait would itself become a problem for Carlyle's investigation. In the letter just cited he had named it the "traditional Portrait at Torphichen." The Torphichen portrait was familiar to most students of Knox, as an engraving of it served as the frontispiece of the most widely read biography, Thomas M'Crie's *Life of John Knox* (1812), a work that Carlyle read and almost certainly used in writing the section of *On Heroes* devoted to Knox. Early in his investigation, however, Carlyle learned that the engraving he had long admired was not from the portrait owned by Lord Torphichen but from that owned by Lord Somerville, or, more strictly speaking, as the title had become extinct, his heir, Mrs. Ralph Smyth. By March 21, 1874, he was declaring to his brother John that the "*in*ternal evidence [for] this Somerville portrait seems to me altogether full" (NLS 528.8). The existing evidence more or less confirms David Wilson's

claim that Carlyle initially thought the Somerville was a copy of the Torphichen, but at some point "learned that the Somerville portrait was not a copy of the Torphichen, but a quite independent work" (6:316-17).[18] This confusion was almost certainly caused by the fact that Carlyle's copy of the engraving did not exhibit the identifying information found both in M'Crie's frontispiece, depicting the Torphichen, and the *Gallery of Portraits* and *Illustrated History* engraving of the Somerville; this is, indeed, the case for the copy of the Somerville in the Carlyle House collection (Carlyle's House 263426).

Once Carlyle understood that the original of his engraving was owned by Mrs. Smyth, he opened up a correspondence in which he sought evidence about the provenance of the painting and permission for authorities to examine it. It turned out that there was no information about its provenance (see note to 349.21), but Mrs. Smyth was fully cooperative and brought the painting to London for examination by Carlyle's experts. The verdict, however, was almost foreordained, for Carlyle announced in a March 26, 1874, letter to Laing, written before the arrival of the portrait, that, on the basis of the engravings, his experts had declared "a clear and unanimous preference" for the Somerville Portrait (Edinburgh University Library MS#51). Although he seems to have invited others to participate, the three experts who advised him, all cited in his essay, were the painter Robert Tait, the sculptor Joseph Edgar Boehm, and the picture restorer Henry Merritt (see note to 348.3-9). Their verdict was initially discouraging, as they agreed that the portrait could not have been painted in Knox's lifetime (the sixteenth century), but was an eighteenth-century copy of an earlier work. Carlyle took consolation in the fact that this left open the possibility that the original was painted from life by an artist contemporary with Francis Pourbus, who had, it was believed, painted the portrait of Knox's contemporary George Buchanan in the collection of the Royal Society. On this basis, Boehm assisted Carlyle by visiting various collections in England and Belgium in an attempt to show that the portrait was painted by Pourbus himself (Yale GEN MSS 677).

By the middle of July, Carlyle wrote that his investigation was basically complete ("Last Letters" 244-45), and by August 3 he was planning to write up his findings (NLS 528.14). The plan to erect a monument had fallen apart, and by April 11 he was redefining the aim of his investigation, writing that it would still be valuable to "give to the Scottish people a real knowledge instead of an

[18] Wilson does not cite evidence for his claim. Whether Carlyle thought the Somerville was a copy of the Torphichen is not clear, but that he at one point thought they might be the same is confirmed by his March 26, 1874, letter to Laing (Edinburgh University Library MS#51).

imaginary & stupidly false of what Knox in his face & figure was actually like" (NLS 528.11; 528.8). More concretely, this meant shifting his aim from merely identifying an authentic portrait to writing an essay on the authenticity of the portraits. He might have been further spurred to write up his conclusions when he received a report in August that Laing was working on a pamphlet on the topic (NLS 1771.97). In September, he set the project aside for a visit to Scotland, so it was not until October that he approached his friend William Allingham about publishing the essay in *Fraser's Magazine* (see *New Letters* 2:308, 309), and by November 6 they had reached an agreement for publication (NLS 528.19). On November 17, he announced "the actual beginning, or rather attempt at a beginning of that pitiful thing on Knox's picture" (NLS 528.20). Owing to the palsy in his writing hand, he had to dictate the essay to his niece, Mary Aitken Carlyle, which made progress slow. On January 31, 1875, he reported that the essay was "never yet absolutely done," but that it should be finished in a day or two, and by mid-February Mary completed a fair copy for the printer (NLS 528.25, 528.28, rpt. *New Letters* 2:312). He corrected proofs in March (NLS 528.30, 528.31), and the essay appeared in the April issue of *Fraser's*. Chapman and Hall set about immediately producing a book that reprinted both the essay on Knox and "Early Kings of Norway" (see *Historical Essays* lxxxvii).

Response to the essay inevitably focused on Carlyle's claims about the authenticity of the Somerville portrait. Laing was still not persuaded, writing that he had "no faith" in the Somerville portrait and that the Beza portrait "is the *only genuine and well-authenticated portrait of the Reformer*" (Wilson 6:351). A review in the *Spectator* challenged the essay's arguments (April 24, 1875, p. 528), anticipating a number of the objections taken up by James Drummond in his systematic critique, which he delivered to the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland and subsequently published in its proceedings. Drummond made a persuasive case for the Beza and systematically dissected Carlyle's case for the Somerville portrait. His argument may be summarized as follows:

- The Beza is the earliest portrait, dating to the era of Knox.
- Beza would have known what Knox looked like because they were both part of the community of reformers living in Geneva and their correspondence indicates they knew each other fairly well (244-49).
- There is historical documentation that James VI sent two paintings by Vaensoun to serve as models for Beza's portraits, though the payment was not made until a year later. (Also, Carlyle is wrong that Vaensoun is not to be found in dictionaries.) (238-40)

- The substitution of a different portrait in Goulart's translation of Beza was most likely a printer error, not Goulart's choice (241). Moreover, during the following decades no one disputed the authenticity of the Beza (242-43).
- There was no evidence that the Somerville portrait, an eighteenth-century work as Carlyle acknowledged, was based on an original painted in Knox's time. Nor is there evidence that the painting was identified as Knox when Lord Somerville purchased it (250). The painting of the collar casts doubts on its being based on an earlier portrait contemporary with Knox (254-56).
- The proposition that the Somerville is a copy of an original by the Knox contemporary Pourbus would actually demonstrate that it is not Knox because the historical evidence, as Carlyle's own expert Robert Tait demonstrated, shows Knox and Pourbus were never in the same country at the same time (257-61).
- Lord Somerville did not list it among the portraits he owned, as recorded in William Musgrave's 1797 survey of portraits (250-51).
- There is no evidence that anyone had identified the Somerville portrait as Knox prior to the publication of an engraving of it in 1836.

It may be added that Drummond even goes so far as to attack Carlyle on his own most fundamental ground by making a case against the Somerville on the basis of physiognomy (261-62). In the printed version of his critique, Drummond reports that "after a notice of this paper appeared," Tait wrote to him in defense of himself that he had produced a "short monograph" on the subject that, while "as favourable to the Somerville portrait" as he could make it, "cut the ground from under it almost everywhere" (254). Drummond quotes extensively from the letter, which seems to be substantially the same as the letter Tait published in the *Scotsman*. In that letter Tait pointed out that Carlyle made selections from his report that had given "a very imperfect and even misleading impression of the bearing of what [he] had written" and concluded that "external evidence and authority preponderate in favour of the likeness given by Beza in his 'Icones' of 1580" (8).

We have not found any evidence of Carlyle's response to these criticisms. As he had written when preparing to compose the essay, "I will have no controversy with Laing or with anybody; but simply after putting down the little I have ascertained in my own sphere of inquiry, glide silently out of the affair" (NLS 528.14). Undoubtedly, his mind having been "made up," he did not alter

his opinion. It should be noted as well that the debate on the portraits was taken up later by Hume Brown, Charles Borgeaud, and others (relevant arguments are discussed in our annotation).

As suggested above, publication of "The Portraits of John Knox" brought Carlyle's publishing career to a close. It had been forty-five years since the publication of "Signs of the Times," the first essay in this volume. By their very nature, these essays courted controversy, all the more so coming, as they did, from an author whose masterworks had made him a cultural authority to be reckoned with. The author who wrote with deep sympathy about the plight of the working poor also expressed abhorrent views that are hard to see as anything but inhumane. Yet precisely because his work commanded attention from his contemporaries, we cannot understand the history of nineteenth-century politics and society without coming to terms with it.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The texts of Carlyle's essays in this volume that were incorporated into the various editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* reflect the form into which Carlyle revised them for their first appearance in successive editions of that collection. Having the editorial process more fully under his control gave Carlyle the opportunity to restore passages excised by intrusive editors, to reintroduce his own preferred spelling and punctuation, and to correct factual errors. Thus, while the present edition incorporates corrections, a few minor changes of wording, and some second thoughts introduced in later editions, it retains the freshness of the essays as they first appeared in print. The same holds true for the essays in this volume that were never incorporated into the *Miscellanies*, in which case our edition reflects the form in which they originally appeared.

The texts of the essays in this volume are critical texts. The copy-text is the earliest published version in a serial publication, with the following exceptions: "Louis Philippe," "Legislation for Ireland," and "Death of Charles Buller," for which a manuscript serves as copy-text, "Repeal of the Union," for which a corrected proof serves as copy-text, and the "Inaugural Address," for which the first book edition serves as copy-text (see discussion below). For the present edition, the copy-texts were collated with all lifetime editions in which Carlyle is known to have participated, and the apparatus at the end of this volume accounts for all variants, including punctuation and typographical errors, in the collated versions of the texts. Thus, any historically and textually relevant edition of any essay can be reconstructed from the present volume. In order to maximize readability, this edition presents the text without editorial symbols or indications of variations; the tables of variants and emendations are instead keyed to the page and line of the text.

As we have discussed in the note on the text for the *Historical Essays,* collation confirms that each new edition of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* was typeset from a copy of the most recent previous edition. The result is that variations introduced in each new edition were for the most part repeated in succeeding editions. Some of these variations can be attributed to Carlyle, but many must have been made by compositors, intentionally or unintentionally, and others by individuals Carlyle employed to prepare copy for new editions. In addition to making errors in typesetting, compositors may have introduced changes to accommodate a house style or their own views of typesetting. A further complication is that assistants were involved in the preparation of at least three editions of the *Miscellanies*: the 1838-1839 Boston edition, the 1857 Uniform Edition,

and the 1869 Library Edition. These assistants almost certainly regularized punctuation and spelling and made other changes they thought appropriate.

The imposition of house style is an especially important issue, for Carlyle's essays appeared in a number of different journals and newspapers over a time span encompassing more than four decades. The house styles imposed on the essays therefore varied not only from publisher to publisher but from decade to decade. House style was much more important in reviews and newspapers than in books, for it gave unity to an entire publication. It was thus imposed not only by printers in matters of punctuation and orthography but also by editors, who felt empowered to alter material in order to improve texts or make them consistent with the publication's general style and political views. Such editorial intervention led Carlyle to complain that his early essays (in this volume, "Signs of the Times") were marred by "Editorial blotches" such as the "notes of admiration, dashes, 'we thinks' &c &c" that were "common in Jeffrey's time in the Edinr Review" (*Letters* 10:229). Similarly, William McGinn, the editor of *Fraser's Magazine,* in which "Death of Edward Irving" first appeared, is known to have made changes to material published there (Thrall 185). As Carlyle's reputation grew, editors interfered less, but as late as "Shooting Niagara: And After?" David Masson, editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, asked Carlyle to substitute a word other than "swindler" (he chose "juggler") because he feared that use of the former term might lead to an action for libel (NLS 526.64, cited in Trela, "Writing and Revising" 31; see also *Letters* 45:17 n8).

The historical collation demonstrates that Carlyle carefully prepared copy whenever an essay was to be included in the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (or in a few instances, discussed below, in volume form) for the first time; these changes provide evidence that Carlyle sought to restore his own prose and to excise changes made by interfering editors. At the same time, because nineteenth-century typesetters considered it their responsibility to mend minor matters of punctuation and spelling, we cannot safely assign to Carlyle changes that involve a shift to more regular rule-bound punctuation unless there is other evidence of his involvement. We have, however, sought to determine Carlyle's preference by consulting his manuscripts and letters and the results of the various collations, especially noting variations among different compositors, printing houses, and publishers.

In establishing the text for this critical edition, we have adopted only those changes that were most likely made or ordered by Carlyle. In most cases, there are no manuscripts or proof sheets that would enable us to distinguish what Carlyle wrote from those aspects of the texts that editors and compositors imposed.

Because previous analysis of the essays, as well as of *On Heroes, Sartor Resartus,* and *Past and Present,* has demonstrated that Carlyle could concern himself with even the most minor details of punctuation, we have accepted certain types of changes as Carlyle's, but whenever there is no clear reason to conclude that a change is his, we have not adopted it. For more on our emendations, see the discussion of editorial decisions.

Carlyle did not prepare copy or read proof for the 1838 *Miscellanies,* but he did authorize the edition and he sent a list of corrections to the editors. We have therefore adopted from it some changes of wording, all of which correct likely misprints in the first publication. The 1838 edition also employed a uniform system for quotation marks that accords for the most part with Carlyle's practice of using double quotation marks for quoted speech and single quotation marks for citations, titles, and so on. This meant that it reversed double to single and single to double quotation marks for essays that appeared in publications that used the opposite system; this applies to one essay in the present volume, "Death of Edward Irving," published in *Fraser's Magazine* (see headnote to the historical collation for our handling of this form of variant). Apart from obvious corrections, we have rejected changes of punctuation, capitalization, and spelling in 1838.

Carlyle did carefully prepare copy and read proof for the 1840 *Miscellanies*, and in later editions of the *Miscellanies* he followed the same pattern in that he carefully prepared copy of the essays that he had published since the previous edition. We have therefore given special consideration to changes that appear in these editions. For the moment, we can let 1840 stand for all cases. From the large number of variants and the evidence that Carlyle carefully revised the 1840 edition, it is highly likely that, in addition to changes of wording, many of the changes of capitalization, spelling, and punctuation are his. Nonetheless, it does not seem likely that he looked at each item of punctuation with an eye as to whether it followed his own desires or preferences. For example, he sometimes restored his preferred spellings, but the fact that in some instances he did not do so does not necessarily indicate his acceptance of an alternative spelling; it seems more likely that he either missed the particular instance or acquiesced in the compositor's preference, especially when restoring his preferred spelling in a particular instance might lead to inconsistent spelling throughout the text. Therefore, when there is no compelling reason to believe that a change is Carlyle's, we retain the copy-text reading, but if the change conforms to Carlyle's known preferences or is of a type that is more likely to have been made by the author than by the compositor, we have adopted it when it occurs in an essay ap-

pearing in the *Miscellanies* for the first time. Conversely, modernizing spellings, regularizations of punctuation, and most cases of lowercasing are not adopted.

Changes in later editions of the essays are much less likely to be authorial. There is little evidence that Carlyle prepared copy or read proof for these editions, except when he was adding an essay for the first time. Thus, apart from some changes of wording that are convincingly authorial (often in the final paragraphs) and a few corrections, changes in 1847 and after are not adopted for the essays that appeared in the earlier *Miscellanies*. While there is some evidence that Carlyle prepared copy for the Library Edition (1869), the changes do not necessarily indicate his direct involvement. Therefore, while we adopt some corrections, mostly of the spelling of foreign words, we do not adopt other changes. Because each of the essays has its own history, we will first discuss the textual history of individual essays and then the history of the *Miscellanies*.

We have treated the articles for which we have manuscripts or proofs somewhat differently. In these cases, we have had to consider as well whether or not to adopt changes introduced in proof (in the case of "Louis Philippe") or the first publication (in the cases of "Louis Philippe," "Legislation for Ireland," and "Death of Charles Buller"). The proof of "Louis Philippe" closely follows the manuscript. However, the compositor has freely added punctuation, in accord with the contemporary practice by which printers did not limit themselves to merely reproducing the manuscript but acted as something like a copy-editor. We have therefore adopted most changes of punctuation when Carlyle did not alter them in the proof, except in cases that run contrary to his normal practice. We have also assumed that Carlyle expected the compositor to expand abbreviated words, including "thro.'" For details, see the discussions of the individual essays below.

"Signs of the Times"

"Signs of the Times" first appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* 49, no. 98 (June 1829): 439-59, which was printed by Ballantyne and Company. There was no title, but the running head reads "Signs of the Times," which became the title of the essay in the *Miscellanies*. This title is confirmed by Carlyle's journal: "Also just finished an Article on the *Signs of the Times*" (*Note Books* 140). Although the article appeared in the June number, it appears that that issue may have been delayed, for references both in his journal and letters suggest it did not appear until August.[1] There is no indication whether or not he read proof for the article,

[1] The *Note Books* entry states that "Novalis," which appeared in the July *Foreign*

but we know that he corrected proof for his *Edinburgh Review* article on Burns a year earlier, so it seems like that he did so in this case as well. "Signs of the Times" was subsequently incorporated into all lifetime editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1838, 1840, 1847, 1857, 1869, 1872).

"Characteristics"

"Characteristics" first appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* 54, no. 108 (Dec. 1831): 351-83, which was printed by Ballantyne and Company. There was no title, but the running head reads "Characteristics," the title proposed by Carlyle (*Letters* 6:58). In late 1831 he noted that he was to write for the *Edinburgh Review* (*Note Books* 212; see 220), and on December 17, 1831, Carlyle informed Macvey Napier, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, that he had finished writing the article (*Letters* 6:66; see *Note Books* 230). On January 10, 1832, he reported that he had corrected the proofs of the article and that he expected it to be published in a day or two (*Letters* 6:84). He requested "separate copies," but we have not located any exemplars (*Letters* 6: 125). "Characteristics" was subsequently incorporated into all lifetime editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1839, 1840, 1847, 1857, 1869, 1872).

"The Death of the Rev. Edward Irving"

"The Death of the Rev. Edward Irving" first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* 11, no. 61 (Jan. 1835): 99-103; it was printed by J. Moyes. There was an introductory headnote and obituary notice by Bryan Wallace Proctor (*Letters* 7:344n3). Carlyle drafted his memorial between December 12 or thereabouts, when Fraser requested it, and December 16, when he received a proof (*Letters* 7:344). He obtained "half a dozen separate copies" of the article, but we have not been able to locate any of them (*Letters* 7:349). He also sent a copy, presumably of a proof, to David Hope for publication in a Glasgow newspaper, but it has not been traced (*Letters* 7:347, 355). "The Death of the Rev. Edward Irving" was subsequently incorporated into all lifetime editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1839, 1840, 1847, 1857, 1869, 1872).

Review, had just been published and is followed immediately by a reference to seeing Jeffrey dated August 5 (140-41). This may be the date of the entry on "Signs of the Times." Moreover, in a letter that the editors date to August 11, Carlyle writes that "Signs" is now "printing" (*Letters* 5:21).

"Petition on the Copyright Bill"

"Petition on the Copyright Bill" first appeared in the *Examiner* 1627 (Apr. 7, 1839): 214-15, which was printed by Charles Reynell. Carlyle wrote, or at least completed, his petition on February 28 and sent it to the editor, John Forster, on that date. There is no direct evidence that he read proof, but we know that ten years later he read proof for his articles in the *Examiner*. The petition was also printed in an appendix to *Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions*, 22nd Report (1839): 330. "Petition on the Copyright Bill" was subsequently incorporated into all lifetime editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1839, 1840, 1847, 1857, 1869, 1872).

"Chartism"

As discussed in the introduction, although originally intended for publication in a review, "Chartism" first appeared as a pamphlet published by James Fraser. It was printed by the firm of Levey, Robson, and Franklyn, Charles Robson having become Carlyle's preferred printer when his firm set the third volume of *The French Revolution* (see *On Heroes* xc–xci). Carlyle finished writing it in mid-November 1839 (*Letters* 11:218). The process of printing began in early December 1839, and about December 18 he sent instructions for the title page (*Letters* 10:230, 231). It appeared about December 28, 1839, but was dated 1840 (*Letters* 11:235).

On January 6, 1840, Carlyle wrote Emerson that ten days earlier he had sent him "four sheets making a Pamphlet called *Chartism*" and giving him permission to publish it in the United States. An American edition, published in Boston by Charles C. Little and James Brown and printed by Freeman and Bolles, appeared that year. Neither his correspondence nor the historical collation indicates that Carlyle had any involvement in the preparation of the text. The collation indicates that, as might be expected, it was set from a copy of the first London edition. The handful of changes of wording are all likely compositor errors, and there are many misprints. As it has no textual authority, we have not reported it in the historical collation.

A "second edition" of "Chartism" was printed by Fraser in 1840.[2] In his journal, Carlyle noted that "Fraser calls [the printing of a second thousand copies] second edition tho' it only differs from the first by a few corrections of the Press"

[2] Tarr states that the title page "does not mention second edition" (81-82), and so he calls it a second printing; however, the title page of the exemplar we used for this edition (University of Wisconsin DA559.7 C3) does state that it is the "*SECOND EDITION*."

(*Letters* 17n1; see 16). Indeed, it is identical to the first edition in pagination; lineation is also identical except that the insertion of the phrase "to assert, to complain and propose" in chapter 8 (p. 71) forced relineation through the remaining four lines of the paragraph and the change of "was not" to "other than" (p. 80) led to relineation of the next two lines. The historical collation shows that there were only ten changes in all, two of punctuation, two dropped hyphens, two corrections of spelling, and four changes of wording. The changes of wording, which with one exception are in close proximity to one another in chapter 8 (pp. 77, 78, 80, 93), are all likely authorial. We adopt the first three along with the changes of spelling, but not the other changes.

When Chapman and Hall became Carlyle's publisher in 1842, they appear to have taken the sheets from the Fraser's edition of 1840 and published them with their own title page (pagination and lineation are identical with Fraser's edition). This is confirmed by collation, which shows that 1842 repeats all new variants introduced in the second Fraser's edition and does not introduce any of its own. For this reason, we do not include it in the historical collation.

In 1857, "Chartism" was bound together with *Past and Present* as volume 5 of the Uniform Edition of Carlyle's works. Because he had it published at his own expense as a pamphlet, rather than as a review article, Carlyle had much more control over all features of the first edition than he had with other essays. These circumstances, together with the fact that so much time elapsed between first publication and 1857, may account for why there are very few changes in the later edition. There are about eighty changes, all minor. About half are changes of punctuation, and there are twenty changes of spelling, two of them corrections that we adopt. There are only two changes of wording, both of which might be the action of the compositor or those who assisted with this edition. We accept as corrections one change of wording, two changes of spelling, one instance of uppercasing, and the insertion of quotation marks as well as two changes of spelling that accord with Carlyle's preferences.

"Dr. Francia"

"Dr. Francia" first appeared in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* 31, no. 62 (July 1843): 544-89, which was printed by C. Whiting. Carlyle submitted the manuscript about June 24, 1843, and publication was set for July 1 (*Letters* 16:216, 227). He requested "*three* separate copies" (*Letters* 16:221), but we have not located any exemplars. There is no external evidence that he read proof, but his request for separate copies indicates that he most likely did so. "Dr. Francia"

was incorporated into all subsequent lifetime editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1847, 1857, 1869, 1872).

"Louis Philippe"

"Louis Philippe" first appeared in the *Examiner* no. 2092 (March 4, 1848): 145-46, which was printed by Charles Reynell. Carlyle submitted the manuscript to Forster on March 3 (*Letters* 22:258). Both the manuscript and proof survive (see plates 5 and 6 for examples of each).[3] There are eight changes of wording in the proof. Four of them are compositor errors that Carlyle corrects (three times he corrects a misreading and once he restores an omitted word); he accepts the other changes. He also adds a sentence to the conclusion. This article was not republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

"Repeal of the Union"

"Repeal of the Union" first appeared in the *Examiner* 2100 (Apr. 29, 1848): 275-76, which was printed by Charles Reynell. Carlyle's letters do not indicate when he wrote the article, but it was almost certainly written sometime between April 11 and 26.[4] We do not have a manuscript, but we do have the corrected

[3] Victoria and Albert F.48.E.17 item 53 cat. no. 85/6; F.48.E.18 item 192 cat. no. 85.

[4] There has been some confusion about the relationship of this article to Carlyle's next published piece, "Legislation for Ireland." In a letter tentatively dated April 28, 1848, enclosing the article, Carlyle told Forster that he had "jammed these two unfortunate Articles into a kind of combination" and feared it may be "too long." If such were the case, he suggested, Forster should "divide it at the present 'white line,'" and title the first part "Irish repeal," the second "English repeal" (*Letters* 23:24). In a footnote to the letter, the editors state that Forster did divide Carlyle's article in two, publishing the second part as "Legislation for Ireland" on May 13 (23:24n1). Carlyle's next letter to Forster, dated about May 8, states that "There ought to be ANOTHER equally ferocious Article, one on Lord Johnny and his duties!" Apparently, Carlyle had already begun writing this second article, for he goes on once again to express his "fear it will be too *big* (were there no other fault) for being got in at all" (*Letters* 23:27). In their footnote to this passage, the editors apparently contradict their note to the previous letter by stating that Forster divided this second article into "Legislation for Ireland" and "Ireland and the British Chief Governor" (23:27n2). (To complicate matters further, we note that there was a third article published on the same date, presumably itself from the portion Forster did not publish, entitled "Irish Regiments [of the New Æra]"). In short, the editors have "Legislation for Ireland" being split off both from "Repeal of the Union" and from "Ireland and the British Chief Governor." The only way both propositions could be correct is that after splitting the "Repeal of the Union" manuscript, Forster sent the remainder to Carlyle, who then expanded it into a second article, which also became too long, requiring further division. However, the evidence does not support this unlikely surmise. First, the subject of the articles is quite distinct, making it quite unlikely that "Legislation" was

proof, which we use as copy-text.[5] This proof demonstrates how extensively Carlyle could alter his work at the proof stage. There are over ninety changes of wording, almost all of which involve one of the following: the addition of words, changes of wording, shifting of text, and rewriting. He also makes forty changes of punctuation, uppercases sixteen times, lowercases three, and adds quotation marks in six places. There are only a handful of variants in the published text (the one change of wording is an error); we reject these variants except for one instance of adding extra leading between paragraphs and the expansion of words abbreviated in the proofs. This article was not republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

"Ireland and the British Chief Governor"

"Ireland and the British Chief Governor" first appeared in the *Spectator* 21, no. 1037 (May 13, 1848): 463-64, which was printed by Joseph Clayton. It was originally part of "Legislation for Ireland" (see below), which was completed between May 8 and May 12. It was reprinted once during Carlyle's lifetime, as a broadsheet, by John Childs and Son, Bungay. After Childs reprinted his "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel," Carlyle wrote to him (on April 19, 1849), suggesting that Childs reprint this article and "Irish Regiments" (*Letters* 24: 27; see 24:39). The broadsheet is undated but the date of the letter places it in spring of 1849. Carlyle's letter indicates that he took no part in preparation of the broadsheet,

once part of "Repeal." Second, in the May 8 letter Carlyle indicates that he is working on *another* article (double underscored!), which indicates it is something new. Third, if Forster had split the original article, he did not follow Carlyle's wishes for the titles. Fourth, although we do not have the manuscript and so cannot determine what Carlyle originally submitted, we do have the proof, which he may have been referring to in this letter when he says he has "jammed two . . . Articles" together (23:24), and we can say for certain that the proof was not divided in two. Fifth, it seems most likely that Forster would have published the second half in the next issue of the *Examiner*, on May 6, but "Legislation for Ireland" was not published until the May 13 issue. Sixth, Carlyle's remark in a letter of May 19 that Forster "cut the Article in *three*, and publish[ed] two pieces of it in a declared enemy of his" (*Letters* 23:33) clearly refers to "Legislation," "British Chief Governor," and "Irish Regiments." Lastly, as we detail in the Introduction and our notes to "Legislation for Ireland" (000), there is internal evidence that "Legislation" was not written until after the appearance of "Repeal of the Union" (see *Letters* 23:26 n. 1). To summarize that evidence briefly, Carlyle's response to M'Cormack in his letter of May 16 takes up the idea proposed in the pamphlet of using a special commission or tribunal to deal with Irish land disputes and Carlyle repeats this idea in "Legislation for Ireland." In addition, both "Legislation" and "Chief Governor" refer to the proposed registration legislation that was introduced on May 1, after the publication of "Repeal of the Union."

[5] Victoria and Albert F.48.E.18 item 200 cat. no. 88/5.

which is confirmed by the collation, which shows that there were nine changes of punctuation, two instances of lowercasing, and one correction of spelling, none of which is likely authorial. The article was not further republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

"Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)"

"Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)" first appeared in the *Spectator* 21, no. 1037 (May 13, 1848): 464-65, which was printed by Joseph Clayton. It was originally part of "Legislation for Ireland" (see below), which was completed between May 8 and May 12. Carlyle suggested that Childs reprint this article, as he had those discussed above, but we have not been able to locate any copies, and it is possible Childs decided not to print it. The article was not republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

"Legislation for Ireland"

"Legislation for Ireland" first appeared in the *Examiner* 2102 (May 13, 1848): 308, which was printed by Charles Reynell. Carlyle wrote this article during the week before its publication, sometime between May 8 and May 12 (see *Letters* 23:27). The manuscript survives.[6] Carlyle indicated that he read at least one proof, possibly more (*Letters* 23:24). There are twenty-four changes of wording between the manuscript and published version of "Legislation for Ireland," twenty of which are either expansions of a passage or the substitution of different wording. Given that such changes are likely authorial and that Carlyle usually made substantial changes in proof, we take all of these changes to be authorial and adopt them. We also adopt changes of punctuation (except for regularizations) and expansion of abbreviated words, but not lowercasing or changes of spelling. Childs (see above on "Ireland and the British Chief Governor") reprinted the article as a broadsheet, which introduces six changes of punctuation and four spelling variants. There is no evidence that Carlyle participated in the production of these broadsides, and none of the variants is attributable to him. The article was not further republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

[6] Victoria and Albert F.48.E.18 item 201 cat. no. 85/4. In a letter inquiring about submitting the article, Carlyle expressed concern that it might be "too *big* (were there no other fault) for being got in" to the paper (*Letters* 23:27). The editors of the *Letters* state that it was indeed too long and was divided, with the other part being "Ireland and the British Chief Governor" in the *Spectator*. In fact, as discussed above, it was likely divided into three articles, as there were two articles in the *Spectator*, the other being "Irish Regiments (Of the New Æra)."

"Death of Charles Buller"

"Death of Charles Buller" first appeared in the *Examiner* no. 2131 (December 2, 1848): 777-78, which was printed by Charles Reynell. Carlyle completed the manuscript, which is extant,[7] on December 1 (see *Letters* 23:167). There are only three changes of wording in the published version of "Death of Charles Buller." We adopt two as likely authorial, but consider the third a likely misreading of the manuscript and reject it. The article was not republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

"Ireland and Sir Robert Peel"

"Ireland and Sir Robert Peel" first appeared in the *Spectator* 22, no. 1085 (Apr. 14, 1849): 343-44, which was printed by Joseph Clayton. As discussed in the introduction, Carlyle probably wrote the article sometime after March 29 or April 4, when he began remarking on Peel's speeches (*Letters* 23:26, 24:4, 7-8, 11). Soon after its first appearance, and before he reprinted the articles discussed above (April 19), Childs reprinted this article (*Letters* 24:27). This broadsheet introduced nine changes in punctuation, eleven of spelling and hyphenation, and one instance of uppercasing, none of which is attributable to Carlyle. The article was not further republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

"Indian Meal"

"Indian Meal" first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* 39, no. 233 (May 1849): 561-73, which was printed by George Barclay. Carlyle dated the article May 18 (see also *Letters* 24:28, 40). The article was not republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

"Trees of Liberty"

"Trees of Liberty" first appeared in the *Nation* (Dublin) 7, no. 14 (Dec. 1, 1849): 217; the printer is not indicated but the issue was edited and published by Charles Gavan Duffy. Carlyle sent the manuscript to Duffy on November 26 with an accompanying letter in which he indicated that he had written the piece "a while past" (24:297). The article was not republished during Carlyle's lifetime.

[7] Victoria and Albert F.48.E.18 item 175, cat. no. 85.

"The Opera"

"The Opera" first appeared in its entirety in the *Keepsake*, edited by Marguerite Power (London: Bogue, 1852), 86-92. Carlyle apparently sent the manuscript to B. W. Proctor in the summer of 1850 (*Letters* 25:121), but publication was delayed until 1852. Proctor promised a proof soon after June 29, 1851, presumably the "Paper" Carlyle sent to Proctor's wife, Anne, about July 19 (*Letters* 25:121 headnote, 26:109). In this note Carlyle indicated that he did not expect to be able to read a revised proof because he would be traveling when it arrived.

Apparently by way of advertisement, about half of "The Opera," from "Of the Haymarket Opera" (224.34) to "dwelling place of everlasting despair" (227.13) appeared in a number of publications prior to its publication in the *Keepsake*.[8] Although this publication antedates the first appearance of the essay as a whole in the *Keepsake,* it was probably copied from the *Keepsake* version, which was to appear the following month and had been, as indicated above, in proof since July. Indeed, in the *Examiner* it appeared along with other excerpts. There are nearly a hundred variants from the *Keepsake*, most of them suggesting that it was not taken from Carlyle's manuscript (for example, it lowercases many words that are capitalized in the *Keepsake*). Because there is no evidence that Carlyle had anything to do with these publications and they do not provide any textual information of value, we do not include them in the historical collation.

"The Opera" was reprinted twice in 1857, in *The Dumfries Album*, edited by A. Mercer Adam, M.D., Dumfries and published by the Maxwelltown Mechanics' Institution, 1857: 134-40, and in the new edition of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (for further discussion of this collection, see below). While we cannot definitively determine which appeared first, the evidence indicates that the essay was first reprinted in the *Dumfries Album* with minimal involvement of Carlyle, after which Carlyle used the *Dumfries Album* text to prepare copy for the *Miscellanies.* On February 17, he wrote to his sister Jean granting permission for Adam to reprint the article, and an article commenting on it appeared on June 2 (*Letters* 32:91-92 and n. 2). On April 10, apparently reminded of this article by Adam's request, he instructed Henry Larkin, who assisted him with the production of the 1857 edition of his collected works, to seek out a copy of "The Opera" to add to the fourth volume of the *Miscellanies* (*Letters* 32: 124-25). Both letters indicate that Carlyle did not in 1857 possess a copy of the *Keepsake*,

[8] We have identified the following venues: *Examiner* (Nov. 22, 1851): 741-42; *Falkirk Herald,* Nov. 27, 1851, 4; *Fife Herald,* Nov. 27, 1851, 4; and the *Musical World* (Nov. 29, 1851): 753–54.

for not only did he ask Larkin to seek a copy but he also told his sister that Adam should not—as he seems to have suggested—reprint one of the newspaper versions, of which he had not previously been aware, for fear that they would have misprints (*Letters* 32:91-92). The historical collation confirms that the Dumfries version was set from the *Keepsake* edition, and not from the version published in the *Miscellanies* the same year (as discussed above, it could not have been set from one of the newspaper excerpts). There are sixteen instances in which 1857 Dumfries follows 1852, but 1857 *Miscellanies* varies from the earlier text, a strong indication that 1857 Dumfries was not set from the 1857 *Miscellanies* text. Moreover, there are over twenty instances in which the *Miscellanies* (both 1857 and 1869) follow 1857 Dumfries, suggesting the possibility that Dumfries 1857 served as copy-text for the *Miscellanies*. The seven instances in which they do not follow 1857 Dumfries and return to 1852 could, with the following exception, all be explained as coincidence, given the small number and the fact that they are very minor. The only significant variation is that in the headnote to 1857 Dumfries, Carlyle addresses "Dear A.," whereas in all other editions it is "Dear P." This change could have been made by Adam, presumably to suggest reference to himself, and Carlyle would have restored it for the reason explained in the footnote that he added in the *Miscellanies* (i.e., that it refers to Procter). The historical collation suggests that Carlyle may not be responsible for any changes introduced in 1857 Dumfries, as there are no changes that are likely authorial. "The Opera" was incorporated into all subsequent lifetime editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1857, 1869, 1872).

"Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits"

"Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" first appeared in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 1, part 3 (1855): 284-92, as a letter from Carlyle within an article by David Laing (Carlyle's letter is on pp. 285-91). Carlyle composed the letter on May 3 and sent it to Laing on May 4, 1854. While the letter was presumably circulated at the meeting that took place soon thereafter, the proceedings were not printed until the following May, at which time Carlyle corrected the proofs (29:314-15).

Apparently with the new edition of the *Miscellanies* in mind, he requested on March 23, 1857, that Laing send him a copy so that he could "see whether it is worth reprinting" (*Letters* 32:107; see also 113-14). That November he sent an unidentified essay, which may have been this one, for inclusion in the *Miscellanies* (*Letters* 33:119). The article was incorporated into all subsequent

lifetime editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1857, 1869, 1872).

"Ilias (Americana) in Nuce"

"Ilias (Americana) in Nuce" first appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* 8 (Aug. 1863): 301, printed by R. Clay, Son, and Taylor. We have not been able to trace any records documenting the history of its writing and publication apart from Masson's invitation, made four years earlier, to contribute to *Macmillan's* (see introduction). Carlyle reprinted the article as a footnote to "Shooting Niagara" (below 269) and it was added to the *Miscellanies* in 1869, but it was not otherwise republished during his lifetime.

"Inaugural Address"

As discussed in the introduction, there was never a manuscript of the "Inaugural Address." Carlyle prepared a few notes but spoke extempore and apparently did not consult them. At least two reporters transcribed the address, their reports appearing in the *Scotsman* (Apr. 3, 1866): 5 and the *Times* (Apr. 4, 1866): 10. The reports are similar enough to indicate a fairly high degree of accuracy, but it is also clear that either they misread their own shorthand or a compositor misread their longhand version at certain points where there are homonym variants (for example, thing versus being, and Messene vs Messina). Carlyle gave his notes to Mercure Conway, who revised proof for the *Scotsman*; however, Conway concluded that the notes were of no use for this purpose (*Thomas Carlyle* 46). Almost immediately after the speech appeared in the *Scotsman*, Carlyle began editing this text for the pamphlet edition, and he sent it to the printer by April 5 (*Letters* 43:166). His brother John did a preliminary reading of the proofs, sending them to Carlyle on April 7 or 8 with the comment that he "could find no errors in them as compared with the Scotsman report" but that the subdivisions introduced by Conway (there are none in the *Scotsman* so this must refer to the edited text) "interrupted the discourse" and the suggestion that they be omitted or moved to the margins. Carlyle agreed and ordered John to delete them and to "merely put a *white line* where they are,—or where the main divis*ns* ought to be." John in turn replied, on April 12, with what was the ultimate solution: "Both Mr Douglas [the publisher] & I think it will be best to put those headings of Conway . . . opposite to the headings of 'Inaugural Address' at the top of the pages . . . 'Inaugural Address' on left hand pages, & Conway's headings on right-hand pages" (*Letters* 43:173 and n. 1); that is, they would serve as running heads on the rectos. In the meantime Carlyle had begun

correcting proofs, which he completed by April 15 (*Letters* 43:178, 187-88).[9] The book, published by Edmonston and Douglas of Edinburgh, and printed by Thomas Constable, appeared on April 17.

The two fragments of the proofs that survive suggest that Carlyle reviewed multiple stages of proofs (see plates 3 and 4). The first fragment (NLS 1798), which includes the passage from "appears to me" to "Well, really I" (255.16-28), has one correction in Carlyle's hand, so that "not so eloquent" becomes "never so eloquent" (255.24). The date April 2 has been written on it, but as this was the day of the address itself, it probably refers only to it (it is definitely not a proof of the *Scotsman* report). The historical collation indicates that it is an early proof, however. It introduces ten variants from the version in the *Scotsman*, but in six instances these revisions were further revised, presumably in another round of proofs. For example, "that which" in the Scotsman becomes in the proof "that rap of Phocion's stick which," while in the published version "stick" becomes "staff" (255.17). In another place, the proof introduces a new paragraph, but the first words of the paragraph ("All these considerations") follow the *Scotsman,* whereas the published version alters them to "Such considerations" (255.19). There are also two variants that do not appear in any form in the proof. Finally, the one change in this proof shows Carlyle further revising a passage already altered by the proof. The passage "good speaker—an eloquent speaker—is" becomes "a 'good speaker,' not so eloquent, does not see into the fact, and is" (255.24); Carlyle then cancels the word "not" and substitutes for it "never," the word that appears in the published version.

A page proof numbered 5, which is postmarked on the reverse April 13, 1866, includes the passage from "how they contrived" (244.29) to "you will naturally" (245.21), which corresponds with portions of pp. 14-16 of Edmonston.[10] The historical collation shows that this also is not a final proof, though it is probably of a more advanced stage than the other proof. It introduces seventeen changes of wording and punctuation that appear in the published Edmonston text. However, there are twelve further changes in Edmonston, all of which are likely authorial. These include in two cases the addition of a comma to a dash, which as we discuss elsewhere, is characteristic of Carlyle, and nine changes of wording, some accompanied by changes in punctuation. In one case, the wording in proof revises the *Scotsman*'s "veracity, to promise, to integrity," to "truth, to promise,

[9] We know that he began work in the next few days but not when he finished. Presumably, however, he did so before the death of Jane, on April 21, as that event would have caused a substantial delay.

[10] University of California, Santa Cruz Special Collections PR4421.S75, pt. 2.

to integrity," but the passage was further revised in the published version, as "truth of promise, to thorough veracity, thorough integrity" (245.3) The only change marked on this proof is instructive, as it shows Carlyle indicating that the compositor has failed to make a change of wording apparently indicated on a previous proof by inserting the wording used in the published version (see 244.36-37). Carlyle strikes out the phrase "wildness and ferociousness of their nature," in which the proof follows the *Scotsman*, and inserts "their ruggedly positive, defiant, & fierce ways."[11] It introduces one change that did not appear in the published edition, the insertion of extra leading between two paragraphs that was lost because there was a page break in the published version. Whereas the other proof introduces several changes that were further revised, most of the changes in this proof revise the text into its final form.

The historical collation confirms that Carlyle used the *Scotsman* as copy but made extensive changes (more than a thousand), the majority of which involve changes of wording. Many are expansions adding one or more words, and in a few places an entire clause or sentence. Along with these changes there are necessarily many changes of punctuation. For obvious reasons, the *Scotsman* does not reflect Carlyle's spelling or capitalization; similarly, while the punctuation clearly reflects Carlyle's pauses and the grammar of his speech, it has no authority. For example, the *Scotsman* repeatedly uses the dash without other punctuation, whereas Edmonston follows Carlyle's practice by changing most of these dashes to comma dashes (or semicolon dashes etc.). As for wording, there is no reason to prefer the *Scotsman* text at any point. Moreover, the extensive revisions in Edmonston indicate not only that Carlyle wished to polish his extemporaneous remarks but also that in many particular instances he recalled his own wording and turns of phrase more accurately than did Conway and the *Scotsman* reporter. Therefore, while we report the *Scotsman* text as useful to scholars, we do not use it as copy-text but rather adopt the text of Edmonston, the first version to be prepared by Carlyle. In a very small number of instances, explained in the discussion of editorial decisions, we have reverted to the text of the *Scotsman*.

On April 15, two days before the edition prepared by Carlyle was published by Edmonston, John Hotten published an unauthorized edition under the title *Choice of Books* (London, 1866). Collation indicates that it is based on the *Times* report. As Carlyle had nothing to do with the preparation of either text and they have no authority, we do not include them in the historical collation.

[11] The accompanying letter to the printer, Constable, indicates that Carlyle had accidentally failed to send it along with proofs previously submitted (*Letters* 43:186).

The "Inaugural Address" was added to the 1869 edition of the *Miscellanies*.

"Shooting Niagara: and After?"

"Shooting Niagara: And After?" first appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* 16, no. 4 (Aug. 1867): 319-36, which was printed by Clay and Taylor, Edinburgh. The editor of *Macmillan's*, David Masson, sent the first set of proofs to Carlyle on July 19, 1867 (NLS 526.64; cited in Trela, "Writing and Revising" 31; see also *Letters* 45:17n8). By July 23, Carlyle had apparently corrected the proof and sent instructions about how to divide the essay (NLS 1768.279; cited in Trela, "Writing and Revising" 31). Some fragments of the manuscript, with portions of the pages cut away, survive.[12] These pages have a vertical line drawn through them, which in Carlyle's usual practice meant he had transferred material from this draft to a new draft or fair copy. A collation of these fragments with *Macmillan's* shows that there were numerous changes of punctuation as well as a few changes in capitalization, but only two minor changes of wording. One case, the shift from single quotation marks in the manuscript to double in *Macmillan's* ("Copper-Captaincy" 280.14), confirms that the return to single quotation marks in the 1867 Chapman and Hall edition reflects Carlyle's preferences. Because these are only fragments (with parts of many words cut away) and do not represent Carlyle's fair copy, we have not used them as copy-text.

Chapman and Hall published a separate pamphlet edition (printed by Robson and Son) no later than October 15, 1867 (Tarr, *Bibliography* 207). By the end of August, Carlyle indicated that he was preparing copy for this printing, which was expected by mid-September (NLS 522.26, cited in Trela, "Writing and Revising" 32).[13] As discussed below, he made a number of additions to the original essay. Two manuscripts, dated August 7 and September (no date), contain material that Carlyle composed for this purpose but ultimately decided not to include (NLS 1798.13-18 and 19-21; Trela, "Writing and Revising" 32-33). The historical collation shows that Carlyle made extensive changes when preparing "Shooting Niagara" for the pamphlet version. There are over two hundred variants, including fifty changes of wording. There are three instanc-

[12] Rubenstein Library, Duke University OCLC 78516764 Box 1 c.1. They include the following: "It is not always" to "accordingly, fiercely" (275.21-36), "eyes of the very populace" to "thickest welter" (279.11-280.1); "length cease even" to "was in England," (280.13-281.1), "rightly on fire," to "painfully in Grub" (282.35-283.13), "Shakspeare too," to "of Liberty" (283.29-284.21), "Liberty from them;" to "infinite Star-" (284.21-285.18), "Sense," as" to "my friends;" (285.4-9).

[13] For the text of the manuscripts, see Trela, "Carlyle and the Periodical Press."

es in which words are omitted, but in all other cases they are changed and/or added. The additions range from a sentence or two to entire passages. There are three insertions of from three to ten paragraphs (281.30-286.28, 289.33-291.4, 296.32-299.26) as well as three longer than a sentence (272.28-36, 288.32-37, 294.25-28). These changes caused him to renumber the sections; thus, while there were eight in *Macmillan's* there are ten in Chapman and Hall (the entirety of section 10 is an addition). Along with these changes there were other changes that are likely authorial, including the shift of single to double quotation marks eighteen times, the addition of quotation marks in four instances, the insertion of four new paragraph breaks, one addition of extra leading, and some instances of uppercasing. There are over eighty other changes of punctuation; while we generally do not adopt such changes, we do accept some that accompany changes of wording. "Shooting Niagara" was added to the 1869 edition of the *Miscellanies*.

"Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71"

"Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71" first appeared in the *Times,* Nov. 18, 1870, 8, which was printed by Francis Goodlake. Carlyle dictated the letter between November 2 and 12. There are fragments of a manuscript of the letter, but they are a draft, not a fair copy, and therefore we have not used them as copy-text. The letter was reprinted in *Letters on the War Between Germany and France* (London: Trübner, 1871), but there is no internal or external evidence of Carlyle's involvement with this volume.[14]

The limitations of the 1872 People's Edition aside, we have included in the historical collation its reprinting of "Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71," as this is the only edition of the *Miscellanies* in which it appeared. Many of the changes are characteristic of Carlyle and of the editors of the Library Edition. In addition to the shift from the dash alone to the comma dash, "for ever" becomes "forever," and nouns such as universe and nature are capitalized. Not all of the changes are Carlyle's, however. As in the Library Edition, the double *ll* in comparative adjectives such as "crueller" becomes a single *l* and

[14] Collation demonstrates that Carlyle did not prepare copy for this edition, and it was not used as copy for the People's Edition. There are only twelve variants from 1871 that are repeated in the 1872 People's Edition, eight of these being the change of spelling from Bismark to Bismarck. Two of the others are the spelling out of numbers, one is the correction from transcendant to transcendent, and the last is the addition of a comma with a dash. 1872 does the latter in all cases, whereas 1871 does so sporadically. Just as importantly, there are many more variations in both texts from the *Times* edition in which 1872 does not follow 1871.

hyphens are added to verb-preposition combinations. There are also three minor but likely authorial changes of wording.

"The Portraits of John Knox"

"Portraits of John Knox" first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* n. s. 2, no. 64 (Apr. 1875): 407-39, which was printed by Spottiswoode and Company. Carlyle completed the manuscript in the autumn of 1874 and submitted it sometime in February 1875, with the expectation of receiving proofs in March (NLS 528.29, 528.30). In May 1875, Chapman and Hall reprinted it in a separate volume together with "Early Kings of Norway," printed by Bradbury, Agnew, and Company. Collation demonstrates that, as usual, Carlyle carefully revised the essay for this first book edition. There are twenty-three changes of wording, including the addition of a long footnote. There are a further sixty or so changes of punctuation, capitalization, and spelling. While we do not adopt most of these changes, we do adopt changes in keeping with Carlyle's preference for quotation marks, corrections of spelling, and related changes. Tarr states that the "Early Kings" and "Portraits" volume was incorporated into the Library Edition in 1875 (449). This may refer to the volume indicated above, as we have not been able to locate such a volume. We have, however, located a Library Edition volume dated 1882, which we have employed for the purpose of collation.

THE 1833 VOLUME OF CARLYLE'S ESSAYS

In 1833 Carlyle assembled a collection of his essays and had them bound as a gift for Jane Carlyle. The volume, which is in the Beinecke Library, Yale University (C198 C2) contains most but not all of the essays published by November 1833, the date he inscribed along with Jane Carlyle's name on the flyleaf. To create the volume Carlyle used pages taken from copies of the reviews in which the essays originally appeared. The essays in this volume are represented by "Signs of the Times" and "Characteristics." While some of the essays in the 1833 collection have extensive corrections in Carlyle's hand, there are only three in "Signs of the Times" and two in "Characteristics." Two of the changes in "Signs of the Times" (8.9, 9.22) also appear in 1838, which makes it highly probable that they were on the list of corrections he sent to the editors (see discussion below). However, the other change was never incorporated into any edition (17.15). Similarly, one change in "Characteristics" appears in 1838 (27.22), but the other never appeared in the *Miscellanies* (37.26).

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS

The works collected in Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* were truly miscellaneous. The contents, arranged for the most part in order of publication, changed throughout his lifetime, new material was added to each edition, and on some occasions material was shifted to other parts of the collected works. The Centenary Edition, long considered the standard edition of Carlyle's works, incorporated in the *Miscellanies* works that were never included during Carlyle's lifetime and partially broke with the practice of chronological arrangement. Because the arrangement of the essays in the *Miscellanies* was never authoritatively established, this edition organizes the essays by subject matter but retains the chronological arrangement within each volume.

THE 1838-1839 EDITION

In late 1837, the year *The French Revolution* established Carlyle as a major writer, two Americans decided it was time to publish an edition of his essays. Ellis Loring sought permission to prepare a collected edition, and Ralph Waldo Emerson planned a selected edition (*Letters* 10:5, 9; *Emerson and Carlyle* 178). Neither man initially knew of the other's plans, and much confusion ensued in the early months of 1838 as their letters kept crossing each in other in the mail. In the end, they agreed on a single course of action. They would follow Loring's plan of publishing a collected edition, but Emerson would take charge of the project (*Letters* 10:50; *Emerson and Carlyle* 179, 183). The list of essays and errata that Carlyle had sent to Loring were turned over to two of Emerson's associates, Charles Stearns Wheeler and Henry Swasy McKean, who prepared the texts for the printer (Metcalf, Torry, and Ballou) and corrected proof (*Emerson and Carlyle* 186, 191; Emerson 2:124). The first two volumes were published by James Munroe and Company in July 1838, and Emerson informed Carlyle that he stood to make $1,000 from them.[15]

There was to be an interval before publication of the third and fourth volumes, but Carlyle decided not to furnish corrected copy, in part because he did not have copies of the essays readily available and in part, he suggested, because the newer articles were "of themselves a little more correct," so there was "nothing but *misprints* to deal with" (*Letters* 10:229). Printing began near the end of 1838 but was not completed until summer 1839. More copies were printed this time, but otherwise the history of volumes 3 and 4 is the same as

[15] *Emerson and Carlyle* 190, 197. For further details, see *Historical Essays* lxxxv, n. 12.

that of the first two volumes.[16]

With the minor exceptions mentioned above, Carlyle did not participate in the production of these volumes. The editors used copies of the articles obtained from American sources.[17] When he received the first two volumes, Carlyle praised Loring, McKean, and Wheeler for producing an "extremely correct" edition; however, he meant only that the essays had everywhere been "silently emended," and indeed many minor typesetting errors were corrected (*Letters* 10:229). Yet Carlyle's judgment of the edition's correctness was not based on a careful line-by-line reading, for he spotted only one of several new misprints (*Letters* 11:178; see 227). Unfortunately, because Carlyle's list of errata has not survived, we cannot know for certain which changes he ordered and which were made by the editors. Collation confirms that they made many changes probably not attributable to the typesetters, and these changes are not all simply corrections of typesetting errors.

Of the nearly two hundred variants introduced in the four essays in this volume that appeared in this edition ("Signs of the Times," "Characteristics," "The Death of the Rev. Edward Irving," and "Petition on the Copyright Bill"), the vast majority are changes in punctuation, capitalization, and spelling. As it seems unlikely that Carlyle's list of errata included such changes, they can be attributed to the U. S. editors and compositors. We have therefore rejected them except in a few instances in which they make obvious corrections. The majority of the changes in wording are also probably the work of editors and compositors. The ten changes of wording are very minor, and one is an obvious error. The majority of these changes were retained in later editions, however, and a small number have been adopted as necessary corrections or likely to have been on Carlyle's list of errata (see Discussion of Editorial Decisions). These results suggest both that one must proceed with caution in giving authority to the 1838 edition and that the 1840 edition was prepared with unusual care, often restoring the readings of the essays as originally printed.

[16] *Emerson and Carlyle* 210, 246; Emerson 2:193. Wheeler seems to have done the bulk of the editorial work on these volumes. One thousand five hundred copies were printed at this time (*Emerson and Carlyle* 242), and another 260 were sold under Fraser's imprint. For Emerson's accounting, see Emerson 2:401.

[17] Emerson obtained copies of the essays that had appeared in the *Foreign Review* from his acquaintance Convers Francis and some issues of *Fraser's Magazine* from the *Boston Athenaeum* (*Emerson and Carlyle* 191, 233). In other cases, he probably supplied copies that Carlyle had sent to him for his personal use.

THE 1840 (SECOND) EDITION

On December 8, 1839, Carlyle wrote that he was "revising the American copy" of the *Miscellanies* for a new edition to be published by Fraser in London (*Letters* 11:227; see 236). This comment, together with the evidence of the collations, establishes that the 1840 edition was set from a copy of the 1838 edition. The first two volumes were printed by "J. L. Cox and Sons," and the third through fifth by Charles Robson, who had become Carlyle's preferred printer after his firm set the third volume of *The French Revolution* (see *On Heroes* xc–xci). The four essays in this volume that had appeared in the 1838-1839 edition appeared again in this volume, while none of these essays appeared in 1840 for the first time. Carlyle's interventions in 1840 are so extensive as to indicate that even the smallest change might be attributed to him. By the same token, because he had so thoroughly revised them, he seems to have felt that the essays collected in this edition had reached their final form. As he corrected proof in late December 1840, he remarked: "I am in the last volume now, and shall then have very little fash [bother] farther,—nothing but correcting the Proof-sheets where they *vary* from what we are now settling" (*Letters* 11:236). He finished correcting proof in February, and the *Miscellanies* were available by April 22 (*Letters* 12:46, 117).

There are nearly three hundred variants in the four essays collected in this volume, about a third of them changes in punctuation and spelling. We reject almost all of the latter, excepting instances of Carlyle's spelling preferences and changes of punctuation that accompany other changes that are likely authorial. As established in our edition of the *Historical Essays*, however, there are several classes of changes in 1840 that can be considered authorial and are adopted in this edition (for a full discussion see the discussion of editorial decisions). These classes include the substitution of commas for parentheses, the dropping of the comma with *too, also, perhaps*, and the uppercasing of nouns. Two classes of changes that occur less frequently—the addition of italics and the use of the comma dash—can also be considered Carlyle's. No variant has been accepted automatically because it falls into one of the aforementioned classes. Rather, in each case we have made our decision based on a judgment of whether or not the change was more likely to be the result of Carlyle's pen or of compositorial intervention. There are nearly a hundred changes of capitalization, two-thirds of them lowercasing and one-third uppercasing; except in cases of regularization, we adopt the uppercasing as in keeping with Carlyle's tendencies, but not the lowercasing. In this edition, many parentheses are removed (sometimes accompanied by changes of wording), a change that is most likely authorial

and therefore adopted. There are over thirty changes of wording. Whereas the changes in other editions are most often merely a single word, here the changes often involved the omission, addition, or substitution of several words, and we thus conclude that they are in almost all cases authorial.

In 1842 Chapman and Hall reprinted this edition from the original plates. James Fraser had died in 1841, and Chapman and Hall purchased the plates from Fraser's estate. Hinman collation has previously confirmed that this edition is simply a reprinting of the 1840 edition. Therefore, we have not included it in the historical collation.

THE 1847 (THIRD) EDITION

Edward Chapman broached the subject of a new edition of the *Miscellanies* in January 1846, at a time when new editions of nearly all of Carlyle's works were being prepared (*Letters* 20:115).[18] Later that spring Carlyle included the *Miscellanies* in a list of books he needed to read over and correct for new editions, and in May he reported that he had been "revising" all his old books (*Letters* 20:182, 187, 196). However, because he had so carefully prepared the *Miscellanies* for the 1840 edition, he was not sure he would do anything to them and initially put off the task of looking them over. At the end of May he told his mother that he had been through all his books "but the *Miscellanies,—and* this, after some consideration, we decide to leave standing exactly as it is, and trust altogether to the *Bookseller* Printer [Robson], for it seems quite correct, and he is himself an extremely accurate man" (*Letters* 20:198). Nevertheless, he did give some attention to the *Miscellanies* in the course of the next two weeks, for on June 17 he was writing that he had now "got the *Miscellanies* ready for Printing" (*Letters* 20:206). At this point, Carlyle felt that the edition was "settled," and he decided he need "not trouble [him]self with *proofsheets*" (*Letters* 20:218). Although the copy was ready by the summer of 1846, the new edition of the *Miscellanies* was not published until autumn 1847, perhaps because Chapman and Hall wished to spread out publication of the series of new editions (*Letters* 21:205, 22:154).

Collation confirms that Carlyle did have a hand in the preparation of this edition and that he took special care with "Dr. Francia," which was appearing in the *Miscellanies* for the first time. In the four essays that had previously appeared in the *Miscellanies,* there are about as many changes of punctuation and spelling as in the 1838-1839 and 1840 editions. There are eighteen changes

[18] The negotiations continued into the summer, with Chapman finally agreeing to pay £400 for the edition (*Letters* 20:223).

of wording, all but three of them minor and not likely authorial. Two of the exceptions are in the concluding paragraphs of "Characteristics" and of "Death of Edward Irving." Because these changes are substantial and follow a pattern suggesting that Carlyle tended to make changes in the closing paragraphs of his essays when preparing a new edition, we adopt them. Given Carlyle's casual approach to preparing copy for this edition, however, one cannot attribute to him the patterns of systematic regularization, which are more likely the result of the compositors' attempts to impose consistency.[19]

As indicated above, "Dr. Francia" was thoroughly revised for this edition because this was its first appearance in the *Miscellanies*. There are over five hundred variants, including over a hundred changes of punctuation, two hundred of uppercasing (only a handful of lowercasing), and the addition of many hyphens. Although the first printing generally employed Carlyle's preferred system of quotation marks, it did not do so consistently; consequently, in 1857, there are over seventy cases of reversing single and double quotation marks, about one-third single to double and two-thirds double to single. When, as is the case in most instances, these reversals reflect Carlyle's preference, we adopt them. There are also fifty changes of spelling, most of them regularizations or modernizations, but there are about fifteen corrections as well. There are thirty-six changes of wording, many of them substantive enough to be convincingly authorial.

As noted in our edition of the *Historical Essays*, Carlyle at this time gave permission to the publishers Carey and Hart to produce a new U.S. edition of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (*Letters* 20:202), but both external evidence and our collations have demonstrated that he had no role in the preparation of this edition. Therefore, we do not include it in the historical collation.

THE 1857 UNIFORM EDITION

In 1857 the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* were published as volumes 2 to 5 of the Uniform Edition, the first collected edition of Carlyle's works, which was printed by Robson, Levey, and Franklyn. Several individuals, including Alexander Gilchrist, Henry Larkin, Joseph Neuberg, and Vernon Lushington assisted Carlyle in the preparation of this edition. Carlyle asked these helpers,

[19] One such pattern involves the use of a comma to set off a series. The 1847 edition frequently eliminates the serial comma. This kind of change can also be found in 1840 and in editions after 1847 but is especially frequent here. It conforms with Carlyle's manuscript practice, but given the evidence cited above, it seems unlikely that Carlyle made these changes himself, as he had ample opportunity to do so when he corrected the 1840 edition.

he wrote, "to correct the Press, to make Indexes, etc., and steadily oversee the thing" (*New Letters* 2:178). Although their main task was the preparation of summaries and indexes, their participation is notable because it means that individuals other than Carlyle and his printers were involved in the preparation of the published text. Indeed, it is fairly clear that Lushington and Larkin probably were involved in correcting proof as well as preparing summaries and indexes (see *Sartor* cxx-cxxii).

The historical collation suggests that Carlyle may have had no hand in the changes made to the five essays in this volume that had appeared in previous editions of the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Overall, there were far fewer changes than in previous editions (only about a quarter of the number of changes of punctuation, for example). The one exception is the insertion of many hyphens (see *On Heroes* c and *Sartor* cxx- cxxi). There are only four changes of wording, two of them minor and two errors ("tended" becoming "tendered" and "lying" becoming "flying"). There is no reason to regard any of these changes as authorial. We have in a few cases adopted changes that follow Carlyle's preferred spelling (e.g., "forever," not "for ever"), usually cases in which other instances had been changed in previous editions but this particular instance missed.

By the same token, Carlyle clearly prepared "The Opera" and "Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" for their first appearance in the *Miscellanies* with his usual care (for further discussion of the preparation of "The Opera" for this edition, see the discussion of that essay above). He took some pains to have "The Opera" included in the 1857 *Miscellanies,* and he asked to see proof for it (*Letters* 32: 124-25, 33: 119). That Carlyle did read proof, and possibly also made changes to the copy he provided, is indicated by the fact that there are eight changes of wording in 1857 that are most likely authorial, notably the change of the fictional name Singedelomme to Chatabagues. Similarly, "Scottish Portraits" has only three changes of wording, one of which is a correction and another the addition of a substantial footnote that is clearly authorial, as Carlyle refers to himself in the first person.

THE 1869 LIBRARY EDITION

In 1869 the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* appeared as volumes 6 to 11 of the Library Edition (1869–1871) of Carlyle's works, which was printed by "Robson and sons." As previous editors have noted, John Carlyle reported that his brother "corrected the final proofs himself, making no alterations at all, only

rectifying errors wherever he could discover any."[20] Collation of the essays, like that of *On Heroes* and *Sartor Resartus,* supports the suggestion that revisions of essays that had appeared in previous editions of the *Miscellanies* were kept to a minimum. There are corrections of foreign-language spellings, as well as some English spellings, which must have been made by Carlyle or by others with his approval. By contrast, the insertion of new paragraph breaks and the shifting of question marks and exclamation points from inside to outside of closing quotation marks, which also mirror similar changes in other volumes of the Library Edition, are most likely the result of compositor activity. Furthermore, the dozen changes of wording in the essays that had appeared in previous editions of the *Miscellanies* are not convincingly authorial, some being typesetting errors and others regularizations or attempted, but unnecessary, corrections.

The "Inaugural Address" and "Shooting Niagara: And After?" made their first appearance in the *Miscellanies* in this edition. There are ten changes of wording in the "Inaugural Address," some of which are convincingly authorial, four of them apparently attempts to correct information about Oliver Cromwell's dealings with Parliament. We also deem authorial the addition to the end of the essay of the correspondence between Carlyle and A. Robertson about whether or not Carlyle would return at the conclusion of the university term to deliver a valedictory address. There are about sixty-five additional variants, all of them minor (punctuation, hyphenation, capitalization, and spelling), and none that is likely authorial. In "Shooting Niagara," there are about eighty variants, mostly consisting of changes of punctuation, hyphenation, capitalization, and spelling. The process of converting double to single quotation marks begun in the first Chapman and Hall edition continues with three more instances here. Similarly, of the seven changes of wording in "Shooting Niagara" five appear to be authorial, notable among them a footnote reprinting "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce" and a reference citation.

"Chartism" was also made its first appearance in the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* in this edition, as it had previously been reprinted together with *Past and Present* (see above). The historical collation discovered just over a hundred variants, none of them clearly authorial. Punctuation and spelling account for two-thirds of the changes. There are many added hyphens, and fifteen paragraph breaks are introduced. The latter, like the reversal of closing quotation marks and punctuation and the shift of spelling of comparatives from *ll* to *l* (e.g., wonderfullest to wonderfulest), are characteristic of the Library Edition, not of Carlyle. The three changes of wording might also have been made by a

[20] Unpublished letter in the University of Edinburgh Library (see *On Heroes* ci).

compositor or assistant. Therefore, we adopt none of these changes.

As discussed in the note on the text of the *Historical Essays,* a volume including "Early Kings of Norway" and "Portraits of John Knox" (similar to the Chapman and Hall volume discussed above) was reportedly added to the Library Edition in 1875, but we have only been able to locate exemplars dated 1882 (lxxxii).[21] Although it is posthumous, we have collated this edition on the assumption that it may be a reprint of a lifetime edition. There are only five changes of wording, four of them regularizations. The exception has to do with the location of the Somerville portrait, which Carlyle indicated in 1875 "still hangs" at South Kensington Museum. In the 1882 edition, this has been changed to "remained for above a year" (348.7). This wording implies that the change could not have been made in the 1875 Library Edition and must have appeared no earlier than 1876 or even 1877. Thus the 1882 volume appears not to be a reprinting of an 1875 text. There are about a hundred additional changes of punctuation, hyphenation, capitalization, and spelling; given that the exemplar collated is posthumous, we do not adopt these changes, except for a small number of corrections.

THE 1872 PEOPLE'S EDITION

In 1872 the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* appeared as volumes 6 to 12 of the People's Edition (1871–1874) of Carlyle's works, which, like the Library Edition, was printed by "Robson and sons." John Carlyle's letter regarding the Library Edition, cited above, comments further that "A 'People's Edition' in the same number of volumes has been begun, but [Carlyle] has no charge of it at all, the printers merely having to follow the Library Edition which is stereotyped." The People's Edition was not in fact printed from the stereotyped plates of the Library Edition, as John Carlyle's statement might seem to imply, but his statement does indicate that Thomas Carlyle had little or no role in the preparation of this edition. Intended as an inexpensive alternative to the Library Edition, rather than as a new edition, it did not require special preparation. As reported in the *Historical Essays*, collation of the People's Edition of the *Miscellanies* in all cases supports the external evidence that Carlyle had nothing to do with the preparation of this edition. Therefore, we have not included this edition in the historical collation.

[21] The existence of a 1875 edition is reported by Tarr (449); note that this is the date of the Chapman and Hall volume but that volume was not, like the 1882 volume, part of the Library Edition.

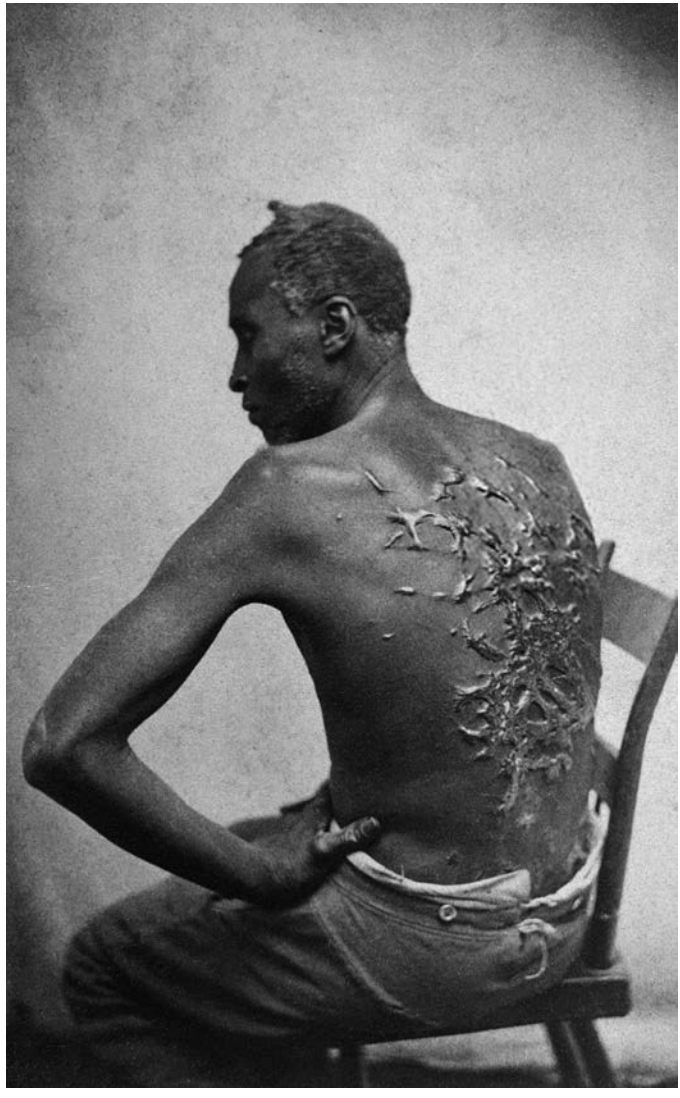

Plate 1. Photograph of an American slave sent to Carlyle by Rev. William Henry Furness in response to "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce." National Library of Scotland.

WISDOM AND WIND-BAG.

CARLYLE. "For if a good speaker—an eloquent speaker—is not speaking the truth, is there a more horrid kind of object in creation?" (*Loud cheers.*)

BRIGHT. "The House of Commons is little better than a Sham and a Farce. Parliament is never hearty in any good work. It hated the Reform Bill, it hated the Repeal of the Corn Laws, it hates this Franchise Bill."

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Plaste 2. "Wisdom and Wind-Bag," *Punch* April 14, 1866, p. 161.

Plate 3. Thomas Carlyle, National Portrait Gallery, London.

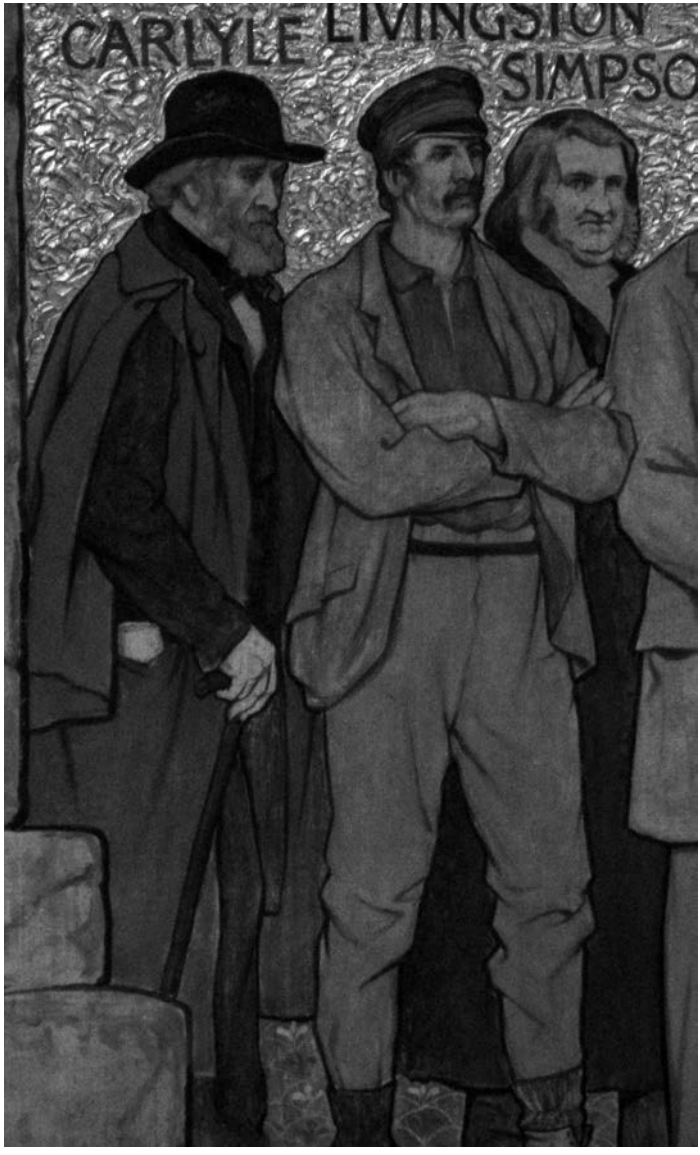
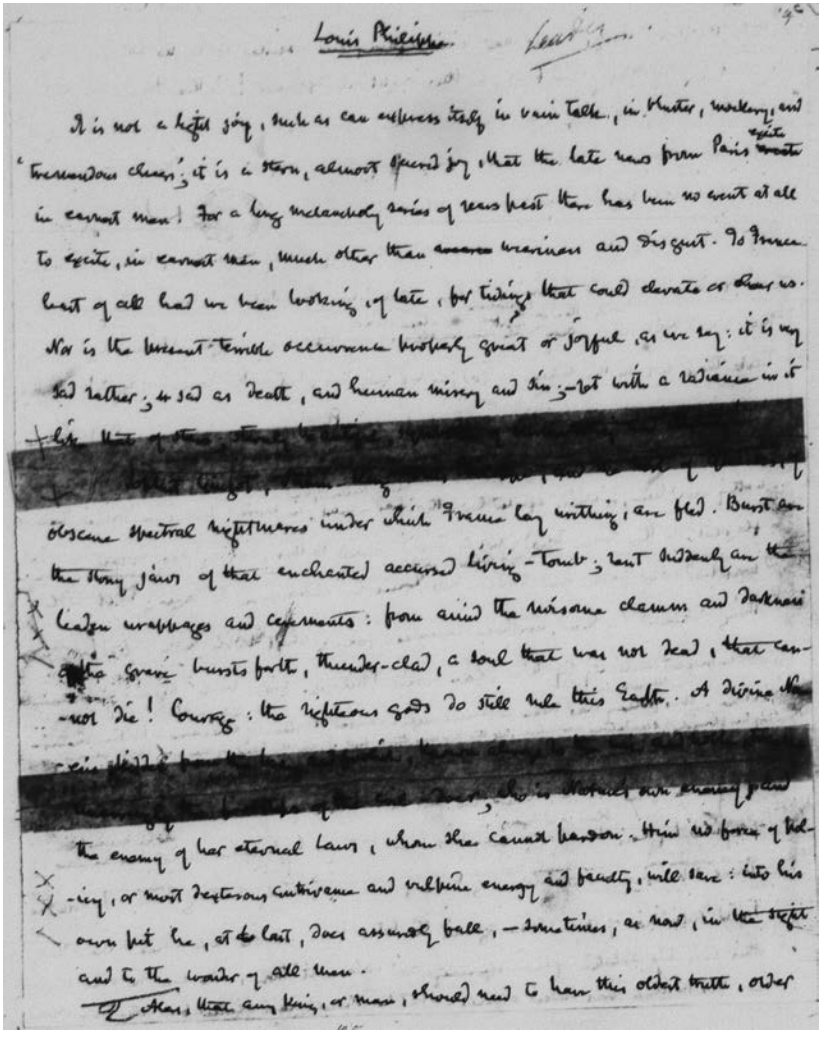


Plate 4. Thomas Carlyle, National Portrait Gallery, London.


Louis Philippe

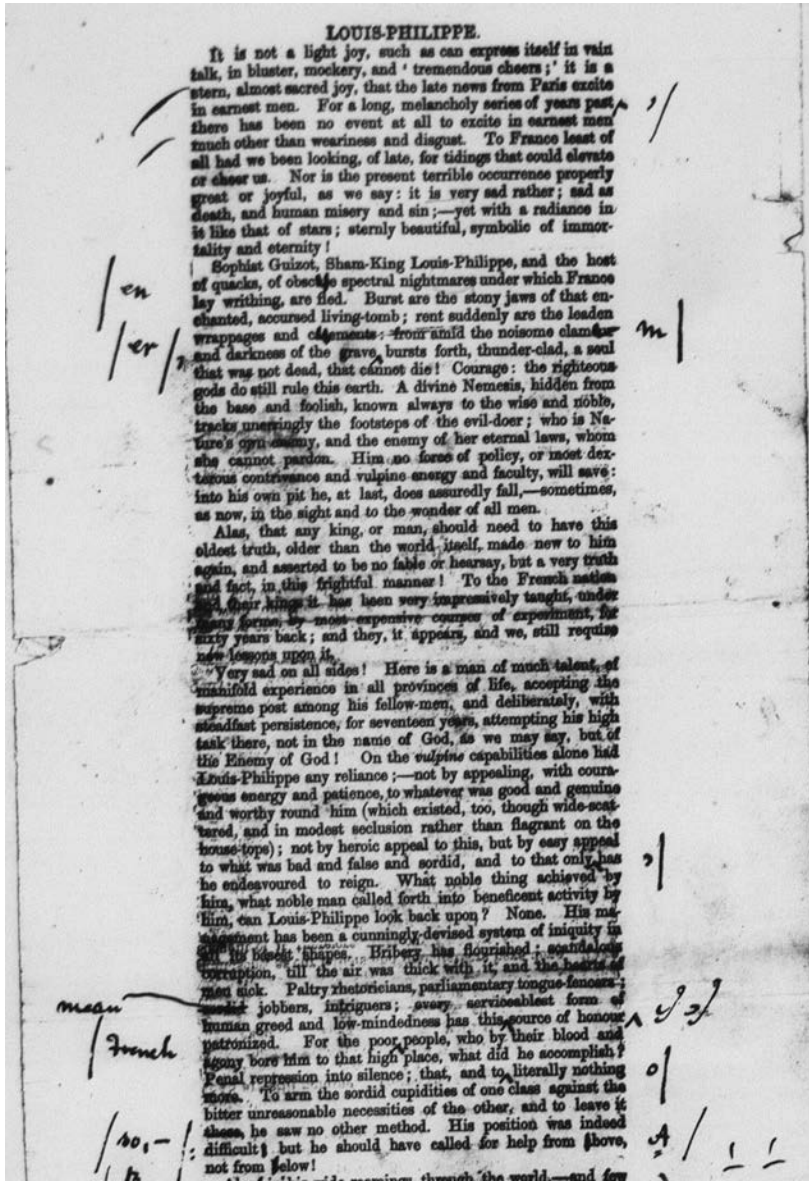
It is not a light song, such as can express itself in vain talk, in flutter, wakeup, and tremendous cheers; it is a stern, almost sacred joy, that the late news from Paris quite in earnest men. For a long melancholy series of years past there has been no event at all to excite, in earnest men, much other than coarse weariness and disgust. To France least of all had we been looking, of late, for tidings that could elevate or cheer us. Nor is the present terrible occurrence hopefully great or joyful, as we say: it is very sad rather; a sad as death, and human misery and sin;—but with a radiance in it

obscene spectral nightmares under which France lay writhing, are fled. Burst are the stony jaws of that enchanted accursed living-tomb; vast suddenly are the leaden wrappages and cerements: from amid the noisome damps and darkness the grave bursts forth, thunder-clad, a soul that was not dead, that cannot die! Courage: the righteous gods do still rule this Earth. A divine Nemesis

the enemy of her eternal laws, whom she cannot harbour. Thin wd forces of falsity, or most pestilent contrivance and valorous energy and faculty, will save: into his own pit he, at the last, does assuredly fall,—sometimes, as now, in the sight and to the wonder of all men.

Alas, that any king, or man, should need to learn this oldest truth, older

Plate 5. Manuscript of "Louis Philippe," Forster Collection F.48.E.17 fol. 54. Victoria and Albert Library.



LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

It is not a light joy, such as can express itself in vain talk, in bluster, mockery, and 'tremendous cheers;' it is a stern, almost sacred joy, that the late news from Paris excite in earnest men. For a long, melancholy series of years past, there has been no event at all to excite in earnest men much other than weariness and disgust. To France least of all had we been looking, of late, for tidings that could elevate or cheer us. Nor is the present terrible occurrence properly great or joyful, as we say: it is very sad rather; sad as death, and human misery and sin;—yet with a radiance in it like that of stars; sternly beautiful, symbolic of immortality and eternity!

Sophist Guizot, Sham-King Louis-Philippe, and the host of quacks, of obscene spectral nightmares under which France lay writhing, are fled. Burst are the stony jaws of that enchanted, accursed living-tomb; rent suddenly are the leaden wrappages and clements: from amid the noisome clamour and darkness of the grave, bursts forth, thunder-clad, a soul that was not dead, that cannot die! Courage: the righteous gods do still rule this earth. A divine Nemesis, hidden from the base and foolish, known always to the wise and noble, tracks unerringly the footsteps of the evil-doer; who is Nature's own enemy, and the enemy of her eternal laws, whom she cannot pardon. Him no force of policy, or most dextrous contrivance and vulpine energy and faculty, will save: into his own pit he, at last, does assuredly fall,—sometimes, as now, in the sight and to the wonder of all men.

Alas, that any king, or man, should need to have this oldest truth, older than the world itself, made new to him again, and asserted to be no fable or hearsay, but a very truth and fact, in this frightful manner! To the French nation and their kings it has been very impressively taught, under many forms, by most expensive courses of experiment, for sixty years back; and they, it appears, and we, still require new lessons upon it.

Very sad on all sides! Here is a man of much talent, of manifold experience in all provinces of life, accepting the supreme post among his fellow-men, and deliberately, with steadfast persistence, for seventeen years, attempting his high task there, not in the name of God, as we may say, but of the Enemy of God! On the *vulpine* capabilities alone had Louis-Philippe any reliance;—not by appealing, with courageous energy and patience, to whatever was good and genuine and worthy round him (which existed, too, though wide-scattered, and in modest seclusion rather than flagrant on the house-tops); not by heroic appeal to this, but by easy appeal to what was bad and false and sordid, and to that only, has he endeavoured to reign. What noble thing achieved by him, what noble man called forth into beneficent activity by him, can Louis-Philippe look back upon? None. His management has been a cunningly-devised system of iniquity in all its basest shapes. Bribery has flourished: scandalous corruption, till the air was thick with it, and the heart of man sick. Paltry rhetoricians, parliamentary tongue-fencers; sordid jobbers, intriguers; every serviceableest form of human greed and low-mindedness has this source of honour patronized. For the poor people, who by their blood and agony bore him to that high place, what did he accomplish? Penal repression into silence; that, and to literally nothing more. To arm the sordid cupidities of one class against the bitter unreasonable necessities of the other, and to leave it these, he saw no other method. His position was indeed difficult; but he should have called for help from above, not from below!

Plate 6. Proof of "Louis Philippe," Forster Collection F.48.E.17. Victoria and Albert Library.

Plate 7. Simon Bolivar, *Memoirs of General Miller* (2:315).

Plate 8. Bernardo O'Higgins Requelme, *Memoirs of General Miller* (2:title page).

Plate 9. E. Harding, James IV, *The Scotish Gallery,* no. 10.

THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

Plate 10. James Caldwell, "The Battle of Worcester," *Cromwelliana* (between pp 114 and 115).

[Snuff-shop Highlander.]

Plate 11. "Snuff Shop Highlander," *London* (3:336).

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

1. *Anticipation; or, an Hundred Years Hence*. 8vo. London, 1829.
2. *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion in Great Britain.* 8vo. London, 1829.
3. *The Last Days; or, Discourses on These Our Times, &c. &c.* By the Rev. Edward Irving. 8vo. London, 1829.

It is no very good symptom either of nations or individuals, that they deal much in vaticination. Happy men are full of the present, for its bounty suffices them; and wise men also, for its duties engage them. Our grand business undoubtedly is, not to *see* what lies dimly at a distance, but to *do* what lies clearly at hand.

> Know'st thou *Yesterday*, its aim and reason;
> Work'st thou well *To-day*, for worthy things?
> Calmly wait the *Morrow's* hidden season,
> Need'st not fear what hap soe'er it brings.

But man's 'large discourse of reason' *will* look 'before and after;' and, impatient of 'the ignorant present time,' will indulge in anticipation far more than profits him. Seldom can the unhappy be persuaded that the evil of the day is sufficient for it; and the ambitious will not be content with present splendour—but paints yet more glorious triumphs, on the cloud-curtain of the future.

The case, however, is still worse with nations. For here the prophets are not one, but many; and each incites and confirms the other—so that the fatidical fury spreads wider and wider, till at last even a Saul must join in it. For there is

still a real magic in the action and reaction of minds on one another. The casual deliration of a few becomes, by this mysterious reverberation, the frenzy of many; men lose the use, not only of their understandings, but of their bodily senses; while the most obdurate, unbelieving hearts melt, like the rest, in the furnace where all are cast, as victims and as fuel. It is grievous to think, that this noble omnipotence of Sympathy has been so rarely the Aaron's-rod of Truth and Virtue, and so often the Enchanter's-rod of Wickedness and Folly! No solitary miscreant, scarcely any solitary maniac, would venture on such actions and imaginations, as large communities of sane men have, in such circumstances, entertained as sound wisdom. Witness long scenes of the French Revolution, in these late times! Levity is no protection against such visitations, nor the utmost earnestness of character. The New England Puritan burns witches, wrestles for months with the horrors of Satan's invisible world, and all ghastly phantasms, the daily and hourly precursors of the Last Day; then suddenly bethinks him that he is frantic, weeps bitterly, prays contritely—and the history of that gloomy season lies behind him like a frightful dream.

Old England too has had her share of such frenzies and panics; though happily, like other old maladies, they have grown milder of late: and since the days of Titus Oates, have mostly passed without loss of men's lives, or indeed without much other loss than that of reason, for the time, in the sufferers. In this mitigated form, however, the distemper is of pretty regular recurrence—and may be reckoned on at intervals, like other natural visitations; so that reasonable men deal with it, as the Londoners do with their fogs—go cautiously out into the groping crowd, and patiently carry lanterns at noon; knowing, by a well-grounded faith, that the sun is still in existence, and will one day reappear. How often have we heard, for the last fifty years, that the country was wrecked, and fast sinking; whereas, up to this date, the country is entire and afloat! The 'State in Danger' is a condition of things, which we have witnessed a hundred times; and as for the Church, it has seldom been out of 'danger' since we can remember it.

All men are aware, that the present is a crisis of this sort; and why it has become so. The repeal of the Test Acts, and then of the Catholic disabilities, has struck many of their admirers with an indescribable astonishment. Those things seemed fixed and immovable—deep as the foundations of the world; and, lo! in a moment they have vanished, and their place knows them no more! Our worthy friends mistook the slumbering Leviathan for an island—often as they had been assured, that Intolerance was, and could be, nothing but a Monster; and so, mooring under the lee, they had anchored comfortably in his scaly rind, thinking to take good cheer—as for some space they did. But now their

Leviathan has suddenly dived under; and they can no longer be fastened in the stream of time; but must drift forward on it, even like the rest of the world—no very appalling fate, we think, could they but understand it; which, however, they will not yet, for a season. Their little island is gone; sunk deep amid confused eddies; and what is left worth caring for in the universe? What is it to them, that the great continents of the earth are still standing; and the polestar and all our loadstars, in the heavens, still shining and eternal? Their cherished little haven is gone, and they will not be comforted! And therefore, day after day, in all manner of periodical or perennial publications, the most lugubrious predictions are sent forth. The King has virtually abdicated; the Church is a widow, without jointure; public principle is gone; private honesty is going; society, in short, is fast falling in pieces; and a time of unmixed evil is come on us. At such a period, it was to be expected that the rage of prophecy should be more than usually excited. Accordingly, the Millennarians have come forth on the right hand, and the Millites on the left. The Fifth-monarchy men prophesy from the Bible, and the Utilitarians from Bentham. The one announces that the last of the seals is to be opened, positively, in the year 1860; and the other assures us, that 'the greatest happiness principle' is to make a heaven of earth, in a still shorter time. We know these symptoms too well, to think it necessary or safe to interfere with them. Time and the hours will bring relief to all parties. The grand encourager of Delphic or other noises is—the Echo. Left to themselves, they will the sooner dissipate, and die away in space.

Meanwhile, we too admit that the present is an important time—as all present time necessarily is. The poorest Day that passes over us is the conflux of two Eternities! and is made up of currents that issue from the remotest Past, and flow onwards into the remotest Future. We were wise indeed, could we discern truly the signs of our own time; and, by knowledge of its wants and advantages, wisely adjust our own position in it. Let us, instead of gazing idly into the obscure distance, look calmly around us, for a little, on the perplexed scene where we stand. Perhaps, on a more serious inspection, something of its perplexity will disappear, some of its distinctive characters, and deeper tendencies, more clearly reveal themselves; whereby our own relations to it, our own true aims and endeavours in it, may also become clearer.

Were we required to characterise this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age. It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word; the age which, with its whole

undivided might, forwards, teaches, and practises the great art of adapting means to ends. Nothing is now done directly, or by hand; all is by rule and calculated contrivance. For the simplest operation, some helps and accompaniments, some cunning, abbreviating process is in readiness. Our old modes of exertion are all discredited, and thrown aside. On every hand, the living artisan is driven from his workshop, to make room for a speedier, inanimate one. The shuttle drops from the fingers of the weaver, and falls into iron fingers that ply it faster. The sailor furls his sail, and lays down his oar, and bids a strong, unwearied servant, on vaporous wings, bear him through the waters. Men have crossed oceans by steam; the Birmingham Fire-king has visited the fabulous East; and the genius of the Cape, were there any Camoens now to sing it, has again been alarmed, and with far stranger thunders than Gama's. There is no end to machinery. Even the horse is stripped of his harness, and finds a fleet fire-horse yoked in his stead. Nay, we have an artist that hatches chickens by steam—the very brood-hen is to be superseded! For all earthly, and for some unearthly purposes, we have machines and mechanic furtherances; for mincing our cabbages; for casting us into magnetic sleep. We remove mountains, and make seas our smooth highway; nothing can resist us. We war with rude Nature; and, by our resistless engines, come off always victorious, and loaded with spoils.

What wonderful accessions have thus been made, and are still making, to the physical power of mankind; how much better fed, clothed, lodged, and, in all outward respects, accommodated, men now are, or might be, by a given quantity of labour, is a grateful reflection which forces itself on every one. What changes, too, this addition of power is introducing into the Social System; how wealth has more and more increased, and at the same time gathered itself more and more into masses, strangely altering the old relations, and increasing the distance between the rich and the poor, will be a question for Political Economists—and a much more complex and important one than any they have yet engaged with. But leaving these matters for the present, let us observe how the mechanical genius of our time has diffused itself into quite other provinces. Not the external and physical alone is now managed by machinery, but the internal and spiritual also. Here too nothing follows its spontaneous course, nothing is left to be accomplished by old, natural methods. Everything has its cunningly devised implements, its pre-established apparatus; it is not done by hand, but by machinery. Thus we have machines for Education: Lancastrian machines; Hamiltonian machines—Monitors, maps, and emblems. Instruction, that mysterious communing of Wisdom with Ignorance, is no longer an indefinable tentative process, requiring a study of individual aptitudes, and a perpetual variation of

means and methods, to attain the same end; but a secure, universal, straightforward business, to be conducted in the gross, by proper mechanism, with such intellect as comes to hand. Then, we have Religious machines, of all imaginable varieties—the Bible Society, professing a far higher and heavenly structure, is found, on enquiry, to be altogether an earthly contrivance, supported by collection of monies, by fomenting of vanities, by puffing, intrigue, and chicane; a machine for converting the Heathen. It is the same in all other departments. Has any man, or any society of men, a truth to speak, a piece of spiritual work to do, they can nowise proceed at once, and with the mere natural organs, but must first call a public meeting, appoint committees, issue prospectuses, eat a public dinner; in a word, construct or borrow machinery, wherewith to speak it and do it. Without machinery they were hopeless, helpless—a colony of Hindoo weavers squatting in the heart of Lancashire. Mark too how every machine must have its moving power, in some of the great currents of society: Every little sect among us, Unitarians, Utilitarians, Anabaptists, Phrenologists, must have its Periodical, its monthly or quarterly magazine—hanging out, like its windmill, into the *popularis aura*, to grind meal for the society.

With individuals, in like manner, natural strength avails little. No individual now hopes to accomplish the poorest enterprise single-handed, and without mechanical aids; he must make interest with some existing corporation, and till his field with their oxen. In these days, more emphatically than ever, 'to live, signifies to unite with a party, or to make one.' Philosophy, Science, Art, Literature, all depend on machinery. No Newton, by silent meditation, now discovers the system of the world from the falling of an apple; but some quite other than Newton stands in his Museum, his Scientific Institution, and behind whole batteries of retorts, digesters, and galvanic piles, imperatively 'interrogates Nature,'—who, however, shows no haste to answer. In defect of Raphaels, and Angelos, and Mozarts, we have Royal Academies of Painting, Sculpture, Music; whereby the languishing spirit of Art may be strengthened, as by the more generous diet of a Public Kitchen. Literature, too, has its Paternoster-row mechanism, its Trade dinners, its Editorial conclaves, and huge subterranean, puffing bellows; so that books are not only printed, but, in a great measure, written and sold, by machinery. National culture, spiritual benefit of all sorts, is under the same management. No Queen Christina, in these times, needs to send for her Descartes: no King Frederick for his Voltaire, and painfully nourish him with pensions and flattery: any sovereign of taste, who wishes to enlighten his people, has only to impose a new tax, and with the proceeds establish Philosophic Institutes. Hence the Royal and Imperial Societies, the Bibliothèques,

Glyptothèques, Technothèques, which front us in all capital cities, like so many well-finished hives, to which it is expected the stray agencies of Wisdom will swarm of their own accord, and hive and make honey. In like manner, among ourselves, when it is thought that religion is declining, we have only to vote half a million's worth of bricks and mortar, and build new churches. In Ireland, it seems they have gone still farther—having actually established a 'Penny-a-week Purgatory Society!' Thus does the Genius of Mechanism stand by to help us in all difficulties and emergencies; and, with his iron back, bears all our burdens.

These things, which we state lightly enough here, are yet of deep import, and indicate a mighty change in our whole manner of existence. For the same habit regulates, not our modes of action alone, but our modes of thought and feeling. Men are grown mechanical in head and in heart, as well as in hand. They have lost faith in individual endeavour, and in natural force, of any kind. Not for internal perfection, but for external combinations and arrangements, for institutions, constitutions—for Mechanism of one sort or other, do they hope and struggle. Their whole efforts, attachments, opinions, turn on mechanism, and are of a mechanical character.

We may trace this tendency in all the great manifestations of our time; in its intellectual aspect, the studies it most favours, and its manner of conducting them; in its practical aspects, its politics, arts, religion, morals; in the whole sources, and throughout the whole currents, of its spiritual, no less than its material activity.

Consider, for example, the state of Science generally, in Europe, at this period. It is admitted, on all sides, that the Metaphysical and Moral Sciences are falling into decay, while the Physical are engrossing, every day, more respect and attention. In most of the European nations, there is now no such thing as a Science of Mind; only more or less advancement in the general science, or the special sciences, of matter. The French were the first to desert Metaphysics; and though they have lately affected to revive their school, it has yet no signs of vitality. The land of Malebranche, Pascal, Descartes, and Fénelon, has now only its Cousins and Villemains; while, in the department of Physics, it reckons far other names. Among ourselves, the Philosophy of Mind, after a rickety infancy, which never reached the vigour of manhood, fell suddenly into decay, languished, and finally died out, with its last amiable cultivator, Professor Stewart. In no nation but Germany has any decisive effort been made in psychological science; not to speak of any decisive result. The science of the age, in short, is physical, chemical, physiological; in all shapes, mechanical. Our favourite Mathematics, the highly prized exponent of all these other sciences, has also become more

and more mechanical. Excellence, in what is called its higher departments, depends less on natural genius, than on acquired expertness in wielding its machinery. Without undervaluing the wonderful results which a Lagrange, or Laplace, educes by means of it, we may remark, that their calculus, differential and integral, is little else than a more cunningly-constructed arithmetical mill, where the factors being put in, are, as it were, ground into the true product, under cover, and without other effort on our part, than steady turning of the handle. We have more Mathematics than ever; but less Mathesis. Archimedes and Plato could not have read the *Mécanique Céleste;* but neither would the whole French Institute see aught in that saying, 'God geometrises!' but a sentimental rodomontade.

Nay, our whole Metaphysics itself, from Locke's time downwards, has been physical; not a spiritual Philosophy, but a material one. The singular estimation in which his Essay was so long held as a scientific work (an estimation grounded, indeed, on the estimable character of the man), will one day be thought a curious indication of the spirit of these times. His whole doctrine is mechanical, in its aim and origin, in its method and its results. It is not a philosophy of the mind: it is a mere discussion concerning the origin of our consciousness, or ideas, or whatever else they are called; a genetic history of what we see *in* the mind. The grand secrets of Necessity and Freewill, of the Mind's vital or non-vital dependence on Matter, of our mysterious relations to Time and Space, to God, to the Universe, are not, in the faintest degree, touched on in these enquiries; and seem not to have the smallest connexion with them.

The last class of our Scotch Metaphysicians had a dim notion that much of this was wrong; but they knew not how to right it. The school of Reid had also from the first taken a mechanical course, not seeing any other. The singular conclusions at which Hume, setting out from their admitted premises, was arriving, brought this school into being; they let loose Instinct, as an undiscriminating bandog, to guard them against these conclusions—they tugged lustily at the logical chain by which Hume was so coldly towing them and the world into bottomless abysses of Atheism and Fatalism. But the chain somehow snapped between them; and the issue has been that nobody now cares about either—any more than about Hartley's, Darwin's, or Priestley's contemporaneous doings in England. Hartley's vibrations and vibratiuncles one would think were material and mechanical enough; but our Continental neighbours have gone still farther. One of their philosophers has lately discovered, that 'as the liver secretes bile, so does the brain secrete thought;' which astonishing discovery Dr. Cabanis, more lately still, in his *Rapports du Physique et du Morale de l'Homme*, has pushed into

its minutest developements. The metaphysical philosophy of this last enquirer is certainly no shadowy or unsubstantial one. He fairly lays open our moral structure with his dissecting-knives and real metal probes; and exhibits it to the inspection of mankind, by Leuwenhoeck microscopes and inflation with the anatomical blowpipe. Thought, he is inclined to hold, is still secreted by the brain; but then Poetry and Religion (and it is really worth knowing) are 'a product of the smaller intestines!' We have the greatest admiration for this learned doctor: with what scientific stoicism he walks through the land of wonders, unwondering—like a wise man through some huge, gaudy, imposing Vauxhall, whose fire-works, cascades, and symphonies, the vulgar may enjoy and believe in—but where he finds nothing real but the saltpetre, pasteboard, and catgut. His book may be regarded as the ultimatum of mechanical metaphysics in our time; a remarkable realization of what in Martinus Scriblerus was still only an idea, that 'as the jack had a meat-roasting quality, so had the body a thinking quality,'—upon the strength of which the Nurembergers were to build a wood and leather man, 'who should reason as well as most country parsons.' Vaucanson did indeed make a wooden duck, that seemed to eat and digest; but that bold scheme of the Nurembergers remained for a more modern virtuoso.

This condition of the two great departments of knowledge; the outward, cultivated exclusively on mechanical principles—the inward finally abandoned, because, cultivated on such principles, it is found to yield no result,—sufficiently indicates the intellectual bias of our time, its all-pervading disposition towards that line of enquiry. In fact, an inward persuasion has long been diffusing itself, and now and then even comes to utterance, that except the external, there are no true sciences; that to the inward world (if there be any) our only conceivable road is through the outward; that, in short, what cannot be investigated and understood mechanically, cannot be investigated and understood at all. We advert the more particularly to these intellectual propensities, as to prominent symptoms of our age; because Opinion is at all times doubly related to Action, first as cause, then as effect; and the speculative tendency of any age, will therefore give us, on the whole, the best indications of its practical tendency.

Nowhere, for example, is the deep, almost exclusive faith, we have in Mechanism, more visible than in the Politics of this time. Civil government does, by its nature, include much that is mechanical, and must be treated accordingly. We term it, indeed, in ordinary language, the Machine of Society, and talk of it as the grand working wheel from which all private machines must derive, or to which they must adapt, their movements. Considered merely as a metaphor, all this is well enough; but here, as in so many other cases, the 'foam hardens itself

into a shell,' and the shadow we have wantonly evoked stands terrible before us, and will not depart at our bidding. Government includes much also that is not mechanical, and cannot be treated mechanically; of which latter truth, as appears to us, the political speculations and exertions of our time are taking less and less cognisance.

Nay, in the very outset, we might note the mighty interest taken in *mere political arrangements*, as itself the sign of a mechanical age. The whole discontent of Europe takes this direction. The deep, strong cry of all civilized nations—a cry which, every one now sees, must and will be answered, is, Give us a reform of Government! A good structure of legislation—a proper check upon the executive—a wise arrangement of the judiciary, is *all* that is wanting for human happiness. The Philosopher of this age is not a Socrates, a Plato, a Hooker, or Taylor, who inculcates on men the necessity and infinite worth of moral goodness, the great truth that our happiness depends on the mind which is within us, and not on the circumstances which are without us; but a Smith, a De Lolme, a Bentham, who chiefly inculcates the reverse of this—that our happiness depends entirely on external circumstances; nay that the strength and dignity of the mind within us is itself the creature and consequence of these. Were the laws, the government, in good order, all were well with us; the rest would care for itself! Dissentients from this opinion, expressed or implied, are now rarely to be met with; widely and angrily as men differ in its application, the principle is admitted by all.

Equally mechanical, and of equal simplicity, are the methods proposed by both parties for completing or securing this all-sufficient perfection of arrangement. It is no longer the moral, religious, spiritual condition of the people that is our concern, but their physical, practical, economical condition, as regulated by public laws. Thus is the Body-politic more than ever worshipped and tended: But the Soul-politic less than ever. Love of country, in any high or generous sense, in any other than an almost animal sense, or mere habit, has little importance attached to it in such reforms, or in the opposition shown them. Men are to be guided only by their self-interests. Good government is a good balancing of these; and, except a keen eye and appetite for self-interest, requires no virtue in any quarter. To both parties it is emphatically a machine: to the discontented, a 'taxing-machine;' to the contented, a 'machine for securing property.' Its duties and its faults are not those of a father, but of an active parish constable.

Thus it is by the mere condition of the machine; by preserving it untouched, or else by re-constructing it, and oiling it anew, that man's salvation as a social being is to be insured and indefinitely promoted. Contrive the fabric of law

aright, and without farther effort on your part, that divine spirit of Freedom which all hearts venerate and long for, will of herself come to inhabit it; and under her healing wings every noxious influence will wither, every good and salutary one more and more expand. Nay, so devoted are we to this principle, and at the same time so curiously mechanical, that a new trade, specially grounded on it, has arisen among us, under the name of 'Codification,' or code-making in the abstract; whereby any people, for a reasonable consideration, may be accommodated with a patent code—more easily than curious individuals with patent breeches, for the people does *not* need to be measured first.

To us who live in the midst of all this, and see continually the faith, hope, and practice of every one founded on Mechanism of one kind or other, it is apt to seem quite natural, and as if it could never have been otherwise. Nevertheless, if we recollect or reflect a little, we shall find both that it has been, and might again be, otherwise. The domain of Mechanism,—meaning thereby political, ecclesiastical, or other outward establishments,—was once considered as embracing, and we are persuaded can at any time embrace, but a limited portion of man's interests, and by no means the highest portion.

To speak a little pedantically, there is a science of *Dynamics* in man's fortunes and nature, as well as of *Mechanics*. There is a science which treats of, and practically addresses, the primary, unmodified forces and energies of man, the mysterious springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all which have a truly vital and *infinite* character; as well as a science which practically addresses the finite, modified developements of these, when they take the shape of immediate 'motives,' as hope of reward, or as fear of punishment.

Now it is certain, that in former times the wise men, the enlightened lovers of their kind, who appeared generally as Moralists, Poets, or Priests, did, without neglecting the Mechanical province, deal chiefly with the Dynamical; applying themselves chiefly to regulate, increase, and purify the inward primary powers of man; and fancying that herein lay the main difficulty, and the best service they could undertake. But a wide difference is manifest in our age. For the wise men, who now appear as Political Philosophers, deal exclusively with the Mechanical province; and occupying themselves in counting up and estimating men's motives, strive by curious checking and balancing, and other adjustments of Profit and Loss, to guide them to their true advantage: while, unfortunately, those same 'motives' are so innumerable, and so variable in every individual, that no really useful conclusion can ever be drawn from their enumeration. But though Mechanism, wisely contrived, has done much for man, in a social and moral point of view, we cannot be persuaded that it has

ever been the chief source of his worth or happiness. Consider the great elements of human enjoyment, the attainments and possessions that exalt man's life to its present height, and see what part of these he owes to institutions, to Mechanism of any kind; and what to the instinctive, unbounded force, which Nature herself lent him, and still continues to him. Shall we say, for example, that Science and Art are indebted principally to the founders of Schools and Universities? Did not Science originate rather, and gain advancement, in the obscure closets of the Roger Bacons, Keplers, Newtons; in the workshops of the Fausts and the Watts—wherever, and in what guise soever Nature, from the first times downwards, had sent a gifted spirit upon the earth? Again, were Homer and Shakspeare members of any beneficed guild, or made Poets by means of it? Was Painting and Sculpture created by forethought, brought into the world by institutions for that end? No; Science and Art have, from first to last, been the free gift of Nature; an unsolicited, unexpected gift—often even a fatal one. These things rose up, as it were, by spontaneous growth, in the free soil and sunshine of Nature. They were not planted or grafted, nor even greatly multiplied or improved by the culture or manuring of institutions. Generally speaking, they have derived only partial help from these; often enough have suffered damage. They made constitutions for themselves. They originated in the Dynamical nature of man, not in his Mechanical nature.

Or, to take an infinitely higher instance, that of the Christian Religion, which, under every theory of it, in the believing or unbelieving mind, must ever be regarded as the crowning glory, or rather the life and soul, of our whole modern culture: How did Christianity arise and spread abroad among men? Was it by institutions and establishments, and well-arranged systems of mechanism? Not so; on the contrary, in all past and existing institutions for those ends, its divine spirit has invariably been found to languish and decay. It arose in the mystic deeps of man's soul; and was spread abroad by the 'preaching of the word,' by simple, altogether natural and individual efforts; and flew, like hallowed fire, from heart to heart, till all were purified and illuminated by it; and its heavenly light shone, as it still shines, and (as sun or star) will ever shine, through the whole dark destinies of man. Here again was no Mechanism; man's highest attainment was accomplished, Dynamically, not Mechanically. Nay, we will venture to say that no high attainment, not even any far-extending movement among men, was ever accomplished otherwise. Strange as it may seem, if we read History with any degree of thoughtfulness, we shall find, that the checks and balances of Profit and Loss have never been the grand agents with men; that they have never been roused into deep, thorough, all-pervading efforts by any

computable prospect of Profit and Loss, for any visible, finite object; but always for some invisible and infinite one. The Crusades took their rise in Religion; their visible object was, commercially speaking, worth nothing. It was the boundless, Invisible world that was laid bare in the imaginations of those men; and in its burning light, the visible shrunk as a scroll. Not mechanical, nor produced by mechanical means, was this vast movement. No dining at Freemasons' Tavern, with the other long train of modern machinery; no cunning reconciliation of 'vested interests,' was required here: only the passionate voice of one man, the rapt soul looking through the eyes of one man; and rugged, steel-clad Europe trembled beneath his words, and followed him whither he listed. In later ages, it was still the same. The Reformation had an invisible, mystic, and ideal aim: the result was indeed to be embodied in external things; but its spirit, its worth, was internal, invisible, infinite. Our English Revolution too originated in Religion. Men did battle, in those old days, not for Purse sake, but for Conscience sake. Nay, in our own days, it is no way different. The French Revolution itself had something higher in it than cheap bread and a Habeas-corpus act. Here too was an Idea; a Dynamic, not a Mechanic force. It was a struggle, though a blind and at last an insane one, for the infinite, divine nature of Right, of Freedom, of Country.

Thus does man, in every age, vindicate, consciously or unconsciously, his celestial birthright. Thus does Nature hold on her wondrous, unquestionable course; and all our systems and theories are but so many froth-eddies or sand-banks, which from time to time she casts up and washes away. When we can drain the Ocean into mill-ponds, and bottle up the Force of Gravity, to be sold by retail, in gas-jars; then may we hope to comprehend the infinitudes of man's soul under formulas of Profit and Loss; and rule over this too, as over a patent engine, by checks, and valves, and balances.

Nay, even with regard to Government itself, can it be necessary to remind any one that Freedom, without which indeed all spiritual life is impossible, depends on infinitely more complex influences than either the extension or the curtailment of the 'democratic interest?' Who is there that 'taking the high *priori* road,' shall point out what these influences are; what deep, subtle, inextricably entangled influences they have been, and may be? For man is not the creature and product of Mechanism; but, in a far truer sense, its creator and producer: it is the noble People that makes the noble Government; rather than conversely. On the whole, Institutions are much; but they are not all. The freest and highest spirits of the world have often been found under strange outward circumstances: Saint Paul and his brother Apostles were politically slaves; Epictetus was person-

ally one. Again, forget the influences of Chivalry and Religion, and ask,—what countries produced Columbus and Las Casas? Or, descending from virtue and heroism, to mere energy and spiritual talent: Cortes, Pizarro, Alba, Ximenes? The Spaniards of the sixteenth century were indisputably the noblest nation of Europe; yet they had the Inquisition, and Philip II. They have the same government at this day; and are the lowest nation. The Dutch too have retained their old constitution; but no Siege of Leyden, no William the Silent, not even an Egmont or De Witt, any longer appears among them. With ourselves also, where much has changed, effect has nowise followed cause, as it should have done: two centuries ago, the Commons' Speaker addressed Queen Elizabeth on bended knees, happy that the virago's foot did not even smite him; yet the people were then governed, not by a Castlereagh, but by a Burghley; they had their Shakspeare and Philip Sidney, where we have our Sheridan Knowles and Beau Brummel.

These and the like facts are so familiar, the truths which they preach so obvious, and have in all past times been so universally believed and acted on, that we should almost feel ashamed for repeating them; were it not that, on every hand, the memory of them seems to have passed away, or at best died into a faint tradition, of no value as a practical principle. To judge by the loud clamour of our Constitution-builders, Statists, Economists, directors, creators, reformers of Public Societies; in a word, all manner of Mechanists, from the Cartwright up to the Code-maker; and by the nearly total silence of all Preachers and Teachers who should give a voice to Poetry, Religion, and Morality, we might fancy either that man's Dynamical nature was, to all spiritual intents, extinct—or else so perfected, that nothing more was to be made of it by the old means; and henceforth only in his Mechanical contrivances did any hope exist for him.

To define the limits of these two departments of man's activity, which work into one another, and by means of one another, so intricately and inseparably, were by its nature an impossible attempt. Their relative importance, even to the wisest mind, will vary in different times, according to the special wants and dispositions of these times. Meanwhile, it seems clear enough that only in the right co-ordination of the two, and the vigorous forwarding of *both*, does our true line of action lie. Undue cultivation of the inward or Dynamical province leads to idle, visionary, impracticable courses, and especially in rude eras, to Superstition and Fanaticism, with their long train of baleful and well-known evils. Undue cultivation of the outward, again, though less immediately prejudicial, and even for the time productive of many palpable benefits, must, in the long run, by destroying Moral Force, which is the parent of all other Force, prove

not less certainly, and perhaps still more hopelessly, pernicious. This, we take it, is the grand characteristic of our age. By our skill in Mechanism, it has come to pass that, in the management of external things, we excel all other ages; while in whatever respects the pure moral nature, in true dignity of soul and character, we are perhaps inferior to most civilized ages.

In fact, if we look deeper, we shall find that this faith in Mechanism has now struck its roots down into man's most intimate, primary sources of conviction; and is thence sending up, over his whole life and activity, innumerable stems—fruit-bearing and poison-bearing. The truth is, men have lost their belief in the Invisible, and believe, and hope, and work only in the Visible; or, to speak it in other words, This is not a Religious age. Only the material, the immediately practical, not the divine and spiritual, is important to us. The infinite, absolute character of Virtue has passed into a finite, conditional one; it is no longer a worship of the Beautiful and Good; but a calculation of the Profitable. Worship, indeed, in any sense, is not recognised among us, or is mechanically explained into Fear of pain, or Hope of pleasure. Our true Deity is Mechanism. It has subdued external Nature for us, and, we think, it will do all other things. We are Giants in physical power: in a deeper than metaphorical sense, we are Titans, that strive, by heaping mountain on mountain, to conquer Heaven also.

The strong Mechanical character, so visible in the spiritual pursuits and methods of this age, may be traced much farther into the condition and prevailing disposition of our spiritual nature itself. Consider, for example, the general fashion of Intellect in this era. Intellect, the power man has of knowing and believing, is now nearly synonymous with Logic, or the mere power of arranging and communicating. Its implement is not Meditation, but Argument. 'Cause and effect' is almost the only category under which we look at, and work with, all Nature. Our first question with regard to any object is not, What is it? but, How is it? We are no longer instinctively driven to apprehend, and lay to heart, what is Good and Lovely, but rather to enquire, as onlookers, how it is produced, whence it comes, whither it goes? Our favourite Philosophers have no love and no hatred; they stand among us not to do, or to create anything, but as a sort of Logic-mills to grind out the true causes and effects of all that is done and created. To the eye of a Smith, a Hume, or a Constant, all is well that works quietly. An Order of Ignatius Loyola, a Presbyterianism of John Knox, a Wickliffe, or a Henry the Eighth, are simply so many mechanical phenomena, caused or causing.

The *Euphuist* of our day differs much from his pleasant predecessors. An intellectual dapperling of these times boasts chiefly of his irresistible perspicacity,

his 'dwelling in the daylight of truth,' and so forth; which, on examination, turns out to be a dwelling in the *rush*-light of 'closet-logic,' and a deep unconsciousness that there is any other light to dwell in; or any other objects to survey with it. Wonder, indeed, is, on all hands, dying out: it is the sign of uncultivation to wonder. Speak to any small man of a high, majestic Reformation, of a high, majestic Luther, and forthwith he sets about 'accounting' for it! how the 'circumstances of the time' called for such a character, and found him, we suppose, standing girt and road-ready, to do its errand; how the 'circumstances of the time' created, fashioned, floated him quietly along into the result; how, in short, this small man, had he been there, could have performed the like himself! For it is the 'force of circumstances' that does everything; the force of one man can do nothing. Now all this is grounded on little more than a metaphor. We figure Society as a 'Machine,' and that mind is opposed to mind, as body is to body; whereby two, or at most ten, little minds must be stronger than one great mind. Notable absurdity! For the plain truth, very plain, we think, is, that minds are opposed to minds in quite a different way; and *one* man that has a higher Wisdom, a hitherto unknown spiritual Truth in him, is stronger, not than ten men that have it not, or than ten thousand, but than *all* men, that have it not; and stands among them with a quite ethereal, angelic power, as with a sword out of Heaven's own armoury, sky-tempered, which no buckler, and no tower of brass, will finally withstand.

But to us, in these times, such considerations rarely occur. We enjoy, we see nothing by direct vision; but only by reflexion, and in anatomical dismemberment. Like Sir Hudibras, for every Why we must have a Wherefore. We have our little *theory* on all human and divine things. Poetry, the workings of genius itself, which in all times, with one or another meaning, has been called Inspiration, and held to be mysterious and inscrutable, is no longer without its scientific exposition. The building of the lofty rhyme is like any other masonry or bricklaying: we have theories of its rise, height, decline, and fall—which latter, it would seem, is now near, among all people. Of our 'Theories of Taste,' as they are called, wherein the deep, infinite, unspeakable Love of Wisdom and Beauty, which dwells in all men, is 'explained,' made mechanically visible, from 'Association,' and the like, why should we say anything? Hume has written us a 'Natural History of Religion;' in which one Natural History, all the rest are included. Strangely, too, does the general feeling coincide with Hume's in this wonderful problem; for whether his 'Natural History' be the right one or not, that Religion must have a Natural History, all of us, cleric and laic, seem to be

agreed. He indeed regards it as a Disease, we again as Health; so far there is a difference; but in our first principle we are at one.

To what extent theological Unbelief, we mean intellectual dissent from the Church, in its view of Holy Writ, prevails at this day, would be a highly important, were it not, under any circumstances, an almost impossible enquiry. But the Unbelief, which is of a still more fundamental character, every man may see prevailing, with scarcely any but the faintest contradiction, all around him; even in the Pulpit itself. Religion, in most countries, more or less in every country, is no longer what it was, and should be—a thousand-voiced psalm from the heart of Man to his invisible Father, the fountain of all Goodness, Beauty, Truth, and revealed in every revelation of these; but for the most part, a wise prudential feeling grounded on mere calculation; a matter, as all others now are, of Expediency and Utility; whereby some smaller quantum of earthly enjoyment may be exchanged for a far larger quantum of celestial enjoyment. Thus Religion too is Profit; a working for wages; not Reverence, but vulgar Hope or Fear. Many, we know, very many, we hope, are still religious in a far different sense; were it not so, our case were too desperate: But to witness that such is the temper of the times, we take any calm observant man, who agrees or disagrees in our feeling on the matter, and ask him whether our *view* of it is not in general well-founded.

Literature too, if we consider it, gives similar testimony. At no former era has Literature, the printed communication of Thought, been of such importance as it is now. We often hear that the Church is in danger; and truly so it is—in a danger it seems not to know of: For, with its tithes in the most perfect safety, its functions are becoming more and more superseded. The true Church of England, at this moment, lies in the Editors of its Newspapers. These preach to the people daily, weekly; admonishing kings themselves; advising peace or war, with an authority which only the first Reformers, and a long-past class of Popes, were possessed of; inflicting moral censure; imparting moral encouragement, consolation, edification; in all ways, diligently 'administering the Discipline of the Church.' It may be said, too, that in private disposition, the new Preachers somewhat resemble the Mendicant Friars of old times: outwardly full of holy zeal; inwardly not without stratagem, and hunger for terrestrial things. But omitting this class, and the boundless host of watery personages who pipe, as they are able, on so many scrannel straws, let us look at the higher regions of Literature, where, if anywhere, the pure melodies of Poesy and Wisdom should be heard. Of natural talent there is no deficiency: one or two richly-endowed individuals even give us a superiority in this respect. But what is the song they sing? Is it a tone of the Memnon Statue, breathing music as the *light* first touches it? a 'liquid

wisdom,' disclosing to our sense the deep, infinite harmonies of Nature and man's soul? Alas, no! It is not a matin or vesper hymn to the Spirit of Beauty, but a fierce clashing of cymbals, and shouting of multitudes, as children pass through the fire to Moloch! Poetry itself has no eye for the Invisible. Beauty is no longer the god it worships, but some brute image of Strength; which we may well call an idol, for true Strength is one and the same with Beauty, and its worship also is a hymn. The meek, silent Light can mould, create, and purify all Nature; but the loud Whirlwind, the sign and product of Disunion, of Weakness, passes on, and is forgotten. How widely this veneration for the physically Strongest has spread itself through Literature, any one may judge, who reads either criticism or poem. We praise a work, not as 'true,' but as 'strong;' our highest praise is that it has 'affected' us, has 'terrified' us. All this, it has been well observed, is the 'maximum of the Barbarous,' the symptom, not of vigorous refinement, but of luxurious corruption. It speaks much, too, for men's indestructible love of truth, that nothing of this kind will abide with them; that even the talent of a Byron cannot permanently seduce us into idol-worship; that he too, with all his wild syren charming, already begins to be disregarded and forgotten.

Again, with respect to our Moral condition: here also, he who runs may read that the same physical, mechanical influences are everywhere busy. For the 'superior morality,' of which we hear so much, we too would desire to be thankful: at the same time, it were but blindness to deny that this 'superior morality' is properly rather an 'inferior criminality,' produced not by greater love of Virtue, but by greater perfection of Police; and of that far subtler and stronger Police, called Public Opinion. This last watches over us with its Argus eyes more keenly than ever; but the 'inward eye' seems heavy with sleep. Of any belief in invisible, divine things, we find as few traces in our Morality as elsewhere. It is by tangible, material considerations that we are guided, not by inward and spiritual. Self-denial, the parent of all virtue, in any true sense of that word, has perhaps seldom been rarer: so rare is it, that the most, even in their abstract speculations, regard its existence as a chimera. Virtue is Pleasure, is Profit; no celestial, but an earthly thing. Virtuous men, Philanthropists, Martyrs, are happy accidents; their 'taste' lies the right way! In all senses, we worship and follow after Power; which may be called a physical pursuit. No man now loves Truth, as Truth must be loved, with an infinite love; but only with a finite love, and as it were *par amours*. Nay, properly speaking, he does not *believe* and know it, but only '*thinks*' it, and that 'there is every probability!' He preaches it aloud, and rushes courageously forth with it—if there is a multitude huzzaing at his back! yet ever keeps looking over his shoulder, and the instant the huzzaing languishes, he too stops short. In

fact, what morality we have takes the shape of Ambition, of Honour; beyond money and money's worth, our only rational blessedness is Popularity. It were but a fool's trick to die for conscience. Only for 'character,' by duel, or, in case of extremity, by suicide, is the wise man bound to die. By arguing on the 'force of circumstances,' we have argued away all force from ourselves; and stand leashed together, uniform in dress and movement, like the rowers of some boundless galley. This and that may be right and true; *but* we must not do it. Wonderful 'Force of Public Opinion!' We must act and walk in all points as it prescribes; follow the traffic it bids us, realize the sum of money, the degree of 'influence' it expects of us, *or* we shall be lightly esteemed; certain mouthfuls of articulate wind will be blown at us, and this what mortal courage can front? Thus, while civil Liberty is more and more secured to us, our moral Liberty is all but lost. Practically considered, our creed is Fatalism; and, free in hand and foot, we are shackled in heart and soul, with far straiter than feudal chains. Truly may we say, with the Philosopher, 'the deep meaning of the Laws of Mechanism lies heavy on us;' and in the closet, in the marketplace, in the temple, by the social hearth, encumbers the whole movements of our mind, and over our noblest faculties is spreading a nightmare sleep.

These dark features, we are aware, belong more or less to other ages, as well as to ours. This faith in Mechanism, in the all-importance of physical things, is in every age the common refuge of Weakness and blind Discontent; of all who believe, as many will ever do, that man's true good lies without him, not within. We are aware also, that, as applied to ourselves in all their aggravation, they form but half a picture; that in the whole picture there are bright lights as well as gloomy shadows. If we here dwell chiefly on the latter, let us not be blamed: it is in general more profitable to reckon up our defects than to boast of our attainments.

Neither, with all these evils more or less clearly before us, have we at any time despaired of the fortunes of society. Despair, or even despondency, in that respect, appears to us, in all cases, a groundless feeling. We have a faith in the imperishable dignity of man; in the high vocation to which, throughout this his earthly history, he has been appointed. However it may be with individual nations, whatever melancholic speculators may assert, it seems a well-ascertained fact that, in all times, reckoning even from those of the Heraclides and Pelasgi, the happiness and greatness of mankind at large has been continually progressive. Doubtless this age also is advancing. Its very unrest, its ceaseless activity, its discontent, contains matter of promise. Knowledge, education, are opening the

eyes of the humblest—are increasing the number of thinking minds without limit. This is as it should be; for, not in turning back, not in resting, but only in resolutely struggling forward, does our life consist. Nay, after all, our spiritual maladies are but of Opinion; we are but fettered by chains of our own forging, and which ourselves also can rend asunder. This deep, paralysed subjection to physical objects comes not from Nature, but from our own unwise mode of *viewing* Nature. Neither can we understand that man wants, at this hour, any faculty of heart, soul, or body, that ever belonged to him. 'He who has been born, has been a First Man;' has had lying before his young eyes, and as yet unhardened into scientific shapes, a world as plastic, infinite, divine, as lay before the eyes of Adam himself. If Mechanism, like some glass bell, encircles and imprisons us, if the soul looks forth on a fair heavenly country which it cannot reach, and pines, and in its scanty atmosphere is ready to perish—yet the bell is but of glass; 'one bold stroke to break the bell in pieces, and thou art delivered!' Not the invisible world is wanting, for it dwells in man's soul, and this last is still here. Are the solemn temples, in which the Divinity was once visibly revealed among us, crumbling away? We can repair them, we can rebuild them. The wisdom, the heroic worth of our forefathers, which we have lost, we can recover. That admiration of old nobleness, which now so often shows itself as a faint *dilettantism*, will one day become a generous emulation, and man may again be all that he has been, and more than he has been. Nor are these the mere daydreams of fancy—they are clear possibilities; nay, in this time they are even assuming the character of hopes. Indications we do see, in other countries and in our own, signs infinitely cheering to us, that Mechanism is not always to be our hard taskmaster, but one day to be our pliant, all-ministering servant; that a new and brighter spiritual era is slowly evolving itself for all men. But on these things our present course forbids us to enter.

Meanwhile that great outward changes are in progress can be doubtful to no one. The time is sick and out of joint. Many things have reached their height; and it is a wise adage that tells us, 'the darkest hour is nearest the dawn.' Wherever we can gather any indication of the public thought, whether from printed books, as in France or Germany, or from Carbonari rebellions and other political tumults, as in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece, the voice it utters is the same. The thinking minds of all nations call for change. There is a deep-lying struggle in the whole fabric of society; a boundless, grinding collision of the New with the Old. The French Revolution, as is now visible enough, was not the parent of this mighty movement, but its offspring. Those two hostile influences, which always exist in human things, and on the constant intercom-

munion of which depends their health and safety, had lain in separate masses accumulating through generations, and France was the scene of their fiercest explosion; but the final issue was not unfolded in that country; nay, it is not yet anywhere unfolded. Political freedom is hitherto the object of these efforts; but they will not and cannot stop there. It is towards a higher freedom than mere freedom from oppression by his fellow-mortal, that man dimly aims. Of this higher, heavenly freedom, which is 'man's reasonable service,' all his noble institutions, his faithful endeavours and loftiest attainments, are but the body, and more and more approximated emblem.

On the whole, as this wondrous planet, Earth, is journeying with its fellows through infinite Space, so are the wondrous destinies embarked on it journeying through infinite Time, under a higher guidance than ours. For the present, as our Astronomy informs us, its path lies towards *Hercules*, the constellation of *Physical Power:* But that is not our most pressing concern. Go where it will, the deep HEAVEN will be around it. Therein let us have hope and sure faith. To reform a world, to reform a nation, no wise man will undertake; and all but foolish men know that the only solid, though a far slower reformation, is what each begins and perfects on *himself*.

CHARACTERISTICS.

1. *An Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man.* By Thomas Hope. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1831.
2. *Philosophische Vorlesungen, insbesondere über Philosophie der Sprache und des Wortes. Geschrieben und vorgetragen zu Dresden im December* 1828*, und in den ersten Tagen des Januars* 1829. (Philosophical Lectures, especially on the Philosophy of Language and the Gift of Speech. Written and delivered at Dresden in December 1828, and the early days of January 1829.) By Friedrich von Schlegel. 8vo. Vienna: 1830.

The healthy know not of their health, but only the sick: this is the Physician's Aphorism; and applicable in a far wider sense than he gives it. We may say, it holds no less in moral, intellectual, political, poetical, than in merely corporeal therapeutics; that wherever, or in what shape soever, powers of the sort which can be named *vital* are at work, herein lies the test of their working right or working wrong.

In the Body, for example, as all doctors are agreed, the first condition of complete health is, that each organ perform its function unconsciously, unheeded; let but any organ announce its separate existence, were it even boastfully, and for pleasure, not for pain, then already has one of those unfortunate 'false centres of sensibility' established itself, already is derangement there. The perfection of bodily wellbeing is, that the collective bodily activities seem one; and be manifested, moreover, not in themselves, but in the action they accomplish. If a Dr. Kitchiner boast that his system is in high order, Dietetic Philosophy may indeed take credit; but the true Peptician was that Countryman who answered

that, "for his part, he had no system." In fact, unity, agreement, is always silent, or soft-voiced; it is only discord that loudly proclaims itself. So long as the several elements of Life, all fitly adjusted, can pour forth their movement like harmonious tuned strings, it is a melody and unison; Life, from its mysterious fountains, flows out as in celestial music and diapason,—which also, like that other music of the spheres, even because it is perennial and complete, without interruption and without imperfection, might be fabled to escape the ear. Thus, too, in some languages, is the state of health well denoted by a term expressing unity; when we feel ourselves as we wish to be, we say that we are *whole*.

Few mortals, it is to be feared, are permanently blessed with that felicity of 'having no system:' nevertheless, most of us, looking back on young years, may remember seasons of a light, aerial translucency and elasticity, and perfect freedom; the body had not yet become the prison-house of the soul, but was its vehicle and implement, like a creature of the thought, and altogether pliant to its bidding. We knew not that we had limbs, we only lifted, hurled, and leapt; through eye and ear, and all avenues of sense, came clear unimpeded tidings from without, and from within issued clear victorious force; we stood as in the centre of Nature, giving and receiving, in harmony with it all; unlike Virgil's Husbandmen, 'too happy *because* we did not know our blessedness.' In those days, health and sickness were foreign traditions that did not concern us; our whole being was as yet One, the whole man like an incorporated Will. Such, were Rest or ever-successful Labour the human lot, might our life continue to be: a pure, perpetual, unregarded music; a beam of perfect white light, rendering all things visible, but itself unseen, even because it was of that perfect whiteness, and no irregular obstruction had yet broken it into colours. The beginning of Inquiry is Disease: all Science, if we consider well, as it must have originated in the feeling of something being wrong, so it is and continues to be but Division, Dismemberment, and partial healing of the wrong. Thus, as was of old written, the Tree of Knowledge springs from a root of evil, and bears fruits of good and evil. Had Adam remained in Paradise, there had been no Anatomy and no Metaphysics.

But, alas, as the Philosopher declares, 'Life itself is a disease; a working incited by suffering;' action from passion! The memory of that first state of Freedom and paradisiac Unconsciousness has faded away into an ideal poetic dream. We stand here too conscious of many things: with Knowledge, the symptom of Derangement, we must even do our best to restore a little Order. Life is, in few instances, and at rare intervals, the diapason of a heavenly melody; oftenest the fierce jar of disruptions and convulsions, which, do what we will, there is no

disregarding. Nevertheless such is still the wish of Nature on our behalf; in all vital action, her manifest purpose and effort is, that we should be unconscious of it, and, like the peptic Countryman, never know that we 'have a system.' For indeed vital action everywhere is emphatically a means, not an end; Life is not given us for the mere sake of Living, but always with an ulterior external Aim: neither is it on the process, on the means, but rather on the result, that Nature, in any of her doings, is wont to intrust us with insight and volition. Boundless as is the domain of man, it is but a small fractional proportion of it that he rules with Consciousness and by Forethought: what he can contrive, nay, what he can altogether know and comprehend, is essentially the mechanical, small; the great is ever, in one sense or other, the vital, it is essentially the mysterious, and only the surface of it can be understood. But Nature, it might seem, strives, like a kind mother, to hide from us even this, that she is a mystery: she will have us rest on her beautiful and awful bosom as if it were our secure home; on the bottomless boundless Deep, whereon all human things fearfully and wonderfully swim, she will have us walk and build, as if the film which supported us there (which any scratch of a bare bodkin will rend asunder, any sputter of a pistol-shot instantaneously burn up) were no film, but a solid rock-foundation. Forever in the neighbourhood of an inevitable Death, man can forget that he is born to die; of his Life, which, strictly meditated, contains in it an Immensity and an Eternity, he can conceive lightly, as of a simple implement wherewith to do day-labour and earn wages. So cunningly does Nature, the mother of all highest Art, which only apes her from afar, 'body forth the Finite from the Infinite;' and guide man safe on his wondrous path, not more by endowing him with vision, than, at the right place, with blindness! Under all her works, chiefly under her noblest work, Life, lies a basis of Darkness, which she benignantly conceals; in Life, too, the roots and inward circulations which stretch down fearfully to the regions of Death and Night, shall not hint of their existence, and only the fair stem with its leaves and flowers, shone on by the fair sun, disclose itself, and joyfully grow.

However, without venturing into the abstruse, or too eagerly asking Why and How, in things where our answer must needs prove, in great part, an echo of the question, let us be content to remark farther, in the merely historical way, how that Aphorism of the bodily Physician holds good in quite other departments. Of the Soul, with her activities, we shall find it no less true than of the Body: nay, cry the Spiritualists, is not that very division of the unity, Man, into a dualism of Soul and Body, itself the symptom of disease; as, perhaps, your frightful theory of Materialism, of his being but a Body, and therefore, at least, once more a unity,

may be the paroxysm which was critical, and the beginning of cure! But omitting this, we observe, with confidence enough, that the truly strong mind, view it as Intellect, as Morality, or under any other aspect, is nowise the mind acquainted with its strength; that here as before the sign of health is Unconsciousness. In our inward, as in our outward world, what is mechanical lies open to us; not what is dynamical and has vitality. Of our Thinking, we might say, it is but the mere upper surface that we shape into articulate Thoughts;—underneath the region of argument and conscious discourse, lies the region of meditation; here, in its quiet mysterious depths, dwells what vital force is in us; here, if aught is to be created, and not merely manufactured and communicated, must the work go on. Manufacture is intelligible, but trivial; Creation is great, and cannot be understood. Thus, if the Debater and Demonstrator, whom we may rank as the lowest of true thinkers, knows what he has done, and how he did it, the Artist, whom we rank as the highest, knows not; must speak of Inspiration, and in one or the other dialect, call his work the gift of a divinity.

But, on the whole, 'genius is ever a secret to itself;' of this old truth we have, on all sides, daily evidence. The Shakspeare takes no airs for writing *Hamlet* and the *Tempest*, understands not that it is anything surprising: Milton, again, is more conscious of his faculty, which accordingly is an inferior one. On the other hand, what cackling and strutting must we not often hear and see, when, in some shape of academical prolusion, maiden speech, review article, this or the other well-fledged goose has produced its goose-egg, of quite measurable value, were it the pink of its whole kind; and wonders why all mortals do not wonder!

Foolish enough, too, was the College Tutor's surprise at Walter Shandy: how, though unread in Aristotle, he could nevertheless argue; and not knowing the name of any dialectic tool, handled them all to perfection. Is it the skilfullest Anatomist that cuts the best figure at Sadler's Wells? or does the Boxer hit better for knowing that he has a flexor longus and a flexor brevis? But, indeed, as in the higher case of the Poet, so here in that of the Speaker and Inquirer, the true force is an unconscious one. The healthy Understanding, we should say, is not the Logical, argumentative, but the Intuitive; for the end of Understanding is not to prove, and find reasons, but to know and believe. Of Logic, and its limits, and uses and abuses, there were much to be said and examined; one fact, however, which chiefly concerns us here, has long been familiar: that the man of logic and the man of insight; the Reasoner and the Discoverer, or even Knower, are quite separable,—indeed, for most part, quite separate characters. In practical matters, for example, has it not become almost proverbial that the man of logic cannot prosper? This is he whom business people call Systematic

and Theorizer and Word-monger; his *vital* intellectual force lies dormant or extinct, his whole force is mechanical, conscious: of such a one it is foreseen that, when once confronted with the infinite complexities of the real world, his little compact theorem of the world will be found wanting; that unless he can throw it overboard, and become a new creature, he will necessarily founder. Nay, in mere Speculation itself, the most ineffectual of all characters, generally speaking, is your dialectic man-at-arms; were he armed cap-a-pie in syllogistic mail of proof, and perfect master of logic-fence, how little does it avail him! Consider the old Schoolmen, and their pilgrimage towards Truth: the faithfullest endeavour, incessant unwearied motion, often great natural vigour; only no progress: nothing but antic feats of one limb poised against the other; there they balanced, somersetted, and made postures; at best gyrated swiftly, with some pleasure, like Spinning Dervishes, and ended where they began. So is it, so will it always be, with all System-makers and builders of logical card-castles; of which class a certain remnant must, in every age, as they do in our own, survive and build. Logic is good, but it is not the best. The Irrefragable Doctor, with his chains of induction, his corollaries, dilemmas, and other cunning logical diagrams and apparatus, will cast you a beautiful horoscope, and speak reasonable things; nevertheless your stolen jewel, which you wanted him to find you, is not forthcoming. Often by some winged word, winged as the thunderbolt is, of a Luther, a Napoleon, a Goethe, shall we see the difficulty split asunder, and its secret laid bare; while the Irrefragable, with all his logical tools, hews at it, and hovers round it, and finds it on all hands too hard for him.

Again, in the difference between Oratory and Rhetoric, as indeed everywhere in that superiority of what is called the Natural over the Artificial, we find a similar illustration. The Orator persuades and carries all with him, he knows not how; the Rhetorician can prove that he ought to have persuaded and carried all with him: the one is in a state of healthy unconsciousness, as if he 'had no system;' the other, in virtue of regimen and dietetic punctuality, feels at best that 'his system is in high order.' So stands it, in short, with all forms of Intellect, whether as directed to the finding of Truth, or to the fit imparting thereof; to Poetry, to Eloquence, to depth of Insight, which is the basis of both these; always the characteristic of right performance is a certain spontaneity, an unconsciousness; 'the healthy know not of their health, but only the sick.' So that the old precept of the critic, as crabbed as it looked to his ambitious disciple, might contain in it a most fundamental truth, applicable to us all, and in much else than Literature: "Whenever you have written any sentence that looks particularly excellent, be sure to blot it out." In like manner, under milder

phraseology, and with a meaning purposely much wider, a living Thinker has taught us: 'Of the Wrong we are always conscious, of the Right never.'

But if such is the law with regard to Speculation and the Intellectual power of man, much more is it with regard to Conduct, and the power, manifested chiefly therein, which we name Moral. 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth:' whisper not to thy own heart, How worthy is this action; for then it is already becoming worthless. The good man is he who *works* continually in well-doing; to whom well-doing is as his natural existence, awakening no astonishment, requiring no commentary; but there, like a thing of course, and as if it could not but be so. Self-contemplation, on the other hand, is infallibly the symptom of disease, be it or be it not the sign of cure: an unhealthy Virtue is one that consumes itself to leanness in repenting and anxiety; or, still worse, that inflates itself into dropsical boastfulness and vain glory: either way, it is a self-seeking; an unprofitable looking behind us to measure the way we have made: whereas the sole concern is to walk continually forward, and make more way. If in any sphere of Man's Life, then in the Moral sphere, as the inmost and most vital of all, it is good that there be wholeness; that there be unconsciousness, which is the evidence of this. Let the free reasonable Will, which dwells in us, as in our Holy of Holies, be indeed free, and obeyed like a Divinity, as is its right and its effort: the perfect obedience will be the silent one. Such perhaps were the sense of that maxim, enunciating, as is usual, but the half of a truth: To say that we have a clear conscience is to utter a solecism; had we never sinned, we should have had no conscience. Were defeat unknown, neither would victory be celebrated by songs of triumph.

This, true enough, is an ideal, impossible state of being; yet ever the goal towards which our actual state of being strives; which it is the more perfect the nearer it can approach. Nor, in our actual world, where Labour must often prove *in*effectual, and thus in all senses Light alternate with Darkness, and the nature of an ideal Morality be much modified, is the case, thus far, materially different. It is a fact which escapes no one, that, generally speaking, whoso is acquainted with his worth has but a little stock to cultivate acquaintance with. Above all, the public acknowledgment of such acquaintance, indicating that it has reached quite an intimate footing, bodes ill. Already, to the popular judgment, he who talks much about Virtue in the abstract, begins to be suspect; it is shrewdly guessed that where there is great preaching, there will be little almsgiving. Or again, on a wider scale, we can remark that ages of Heroism are not ages of Moral Philosophy; Virtue, when it can be philosophized of, has become aware of itself, is sickly, and beginning to decline. A spontaneous

habitual all-pervading spirit of Chivalrous Valour shrinks together, and perks itself up into shriveled Points of Honour; humane Courtesy and Nobleness of mind dwindle into punctilious Politeness, 'avoiding meats;' 'paying tithe of mint and anise, neglecting the weightier matters of the law.' Goodness, which was a rule to itself, must appeal to Precept, and seek strength from Sanctions; the Freewill no longer reigns unquestioned and by divine right, but like a mere earthly sovereign, by expediency, by Rewards and Punishments: or rather, let us say, the Freewill, so far as may be, has abdicated and withdrawn into the dark, and a spectral nightmare of a Necessity usurps its throne; for now that mysterious Self-impulse of the whole man, heaven-inspired and in all senses partaking of the Infinite, being captiously questioned in a finite dialect, and answering, as it needs must, by silence,—is conceived as non-extant, and only the outward Mechanism of it remains acknowledged: of Volition, except as the synonym of Desire, we hear nothing; of 'Motives,' without any Mover, more than enough.

So, too, when the generous Affections have become wellnigh paralytic, we have the reign of Sentimentality. The greatness, the profitableness, at any rate the extremely ornamental nature of high feeling, and the luxury of doing good; charity, love, self-forgetfulness, devotedness, and all manner of godlike magnanimity, are everywhere insisted on, and pressingly inculcated in speech and writing, in prose and verse; Socinian Preachers proclaim 'Benevolence' to all the four winds, and have TRUTH engraved on their watch-seals: unhappily with little or no effect. Were the Limbs in right walking order, why so much demonstrating of Motion? The barrenest of all mortals is the Sentimentalist. Granting even that he were sincere, and did not wilfully deceive us, or without first deceiving himself, what good is in him? Does he not lie there as a perpetual lesson of despair, and type of bedrid valetudinarian impotence? His is emphatically a Virtue that has become, through every fibre, conscious of itself; it is all sick, and feels as if it were made of glass, and durst not touch or be touched: in the shape of work, it can do nothing; at the utmost, by incessant nursing and caudling, keep itself alive. As the last stage of all, when Virtue, properly so called, has ceased to be practised, and become extinct, and a mere remembrance, we have the era of Sophists, descanting of its existence, proving it, denying it, mechanically 'accounting' for it;—as dissectors and demonstrators cannot operate till once the body be dead.

Thus is true Moral genius, like true Intellectual, which indeed is but a lower phasis thereof, 'ever a secret to itself.' The healthy moral nature loves Goodness, and without wonder wholly lives in it: the unhealthy makes love to it, and would fain get to live in it; or, finding such courtship fruitless, turns round, and not without contempt abandons it. These curious relations of the Voluntary and

Conscious to the Involuntary and Unconscious, and the small proportion which, in all departments of our life, the former bears to the latter,—might lead us into deep questions of Psychology and Physiology: such, however, belong not to our present object. Enough, if the fact itself become apparent, that Nature so meant it with us; that in this wise we are made. We may now say, that view man's individual Existence under what aspect we will, under the highest Spiritual, as under the merely Animal aspect, everywhere the grand vital energy, while in its sound state, is an unseen unconscious one; or, in the words of our old Aphorism, 'the healthy know not of their health, but only the sick.'

To understand man, however, we must look beyond the individual man and his actions or interests, and view him in combination with his fellows. It is in Society that man first feels what he is; first becomes what he can be. In Society an altogether new set of spiritual activities are evolved in him, and the old immeasurably quickened and strengthened. Society is the genial element wherein his nature first lives and grows; the solitary man were but a small portion of himself, and must continue forever folded in, stunted, and only half alive. 'Already,' says a deep Thinker, with more meaning than will disclose itself at once, 'my opinion, my conviction, gains *infinitely* in strength and sureness, the moment a second mind has adopted it.' Such, even in its simplest form, is association; so wondrous the communion of soul with soul as directed to the mere act of Knowing! In other higher acts, the wonder is still more manifest; as in that portion of our being which we name the Moral: for properly, indeed, all communion is of a moral sort, whereof such intellectual communion (in the act of knowing) is itself an example. But with regard to Morals strictly so called, it is in Society, we might almost say, that Morality begins; here at least it takes an altogether new form, and on every side, as in living growth, expands itself. The Duties of Man to himself, to what is Highest in himself, make but the First Table of the Law: to the First Table is now superadded a Second, with the Duties of Man to his Neighbour; whereby also the significance of the First now assumes its true importance. Man has joined himself with man; soul acts and reacts on soul; a mystic miraculous unfathomable Union establishes itself; Life, in all its elements, has become intensated, consecrated. The lightning-spark of Thought, generated, or say rather heaven-kindled, in the solitary mind, awakens its express likeness in another mind, in a thousand other minds, and all blaze up together in combined fire; reverberated from mind to mind, fed also with fresh fuel in each, it acquires incalculable new Light as Thought, incalculable new Heat as converted into Action. By and by, a common store of Thought can accumulate, and be transmitted as an everlasting possession: Literature, whether as preserved

in the memory of Bards, in Runes and Hieroglyphs engraved on stone, or in Books of written or printed paper, comes into existence, and begins to play its wondrous part. Polities are formed; the weak submitting to the strong; with a willing loyalty, giving obedience that he may receive guidance: or say rather, in honour of our nature, the ignorant submitting to the wise; for so it is in all even the rudest communities, man never yields himself wholly to brute Force, but always to moral Greatness; thus the universal title of respect, from the Oriental *Scheik*, from the *Sachem* of the red Indians, down to our English *Sir*, implies only that he whom we mean to honour is our *senior*. Last, as the crown and all-supporting keystone of the fabric, Religion arises. The devout Meditation of the isolated man, which flitted through his soul, like a transient tone of Love and Awe from unknown lands, acquires certainty, continuance, when it is shared in by his brother men. 'Where two or three are gathered together' in the name of the Highest, then first does the Highest, as it is written, 'appear among them to bless them;' then first does an Altar and act of united Worship open a way from Earth to Heaven; whereon, were it but a simple Jacob's-ladder, the heavenly Messengers will travel, with glad tidings and unspeakable gifts for men. Such is Society, the vital articulation of many individuals into a new collective individual: greatly the most important of man's attainments on this earth; that in which, and by virtue of which, all his other attainments and attempts find their arena, and have their value. Considered well, Society is the standing wonder of our existence; a true region of the Supernatural; as it were, a second all-embracing Life, wherein our first individual Life becomes doubly and trebly alive, and whatever of Infinitude was in us bodies itself forth, and becomes visible and active.

To figure Society as endowed with Life is scarcely a metaphor; but rather the statement of a fact by such imperfect methods as language affords. Look at it closely, that mystic Union, Nature's highest work with man, wherein man's volition plays an indispensable yet so subordinate a part, and the small Mechanical grows so mysteriously and indissolubly out of the infinite Dynamical, like Body out of Spirit,—is truly enough vital, what we can call vital, and bears the distinguishing character of life. In the same style also, we can say that Society has its periods of sickness and vigour, of youth, manhood, decrepitude, dissolution, and new-birth; in one or other of which stages we may, in all times, and all places where men inhabit, discern it; and do ourselves, in this time and place, whether as co-operating or as contending, as healthy members or as diseased ones, to our joy and sorrow, form part of it. The question, What is the actual condition of Society? has in these days unhappily become important enough.

No one of us is unconcerned in that question; but for the majority of thinking men a true answer to it, such is the state of matters, appears almost as the one thing needful. Meanwhile as the true answer, that is to say, the complete and fundamental answer and settlement, often as it has been demanded, is nowhere forthcoming, and indeed by its nature is impossible, any honest approximation towards such is not without value. The feeblest light, or even so much as a more precise recognition of the darkness, which is the first step to attainment of light, will be welcome.

This once understood, let it not seem idle if we remark that here too our old Aphorism holds; that again in the Body Politic, as in the animal body, the sign of right performance is Unconsciousness. Such indeed is virtually the meaning of that phrase 'artificial state of Society,' as contrasted with the natural state, and indicating something so inferior to it. For, in all vital things, men distinguish an Artificial and a Natural; founding on some dim perception or sentiment of the very truth we here insist on: the Artificial is the conscious, mechanical; the Natural is the unconscious, dynamical. Thus as we have an artificial Poetry, and prize only the natural; so likewise we have an artificial Morality, an artificial Wisdom, an artificial Society. The artificial Society is precisely one that knows its own structure, its own internal functions; not in watching, not in knowing which, but in working outwardly to the fulfilment of its aim, does the wellbeing of a Society consist. Every Society, every Polity, has a spiritual principle; is the embodyment, tentative, and more or less complete, of an Idea: all its tendencies of endeavour, specialities of custom, its laws, politics, and whole procedure (as the glance of some Montesquieu across innumerable superficial entanglements can partly decipher) are prescribed by an Idea, and flow naturally from it, as movements from the living source of motion. This Idea, be it of devotion to a Man or class of Men, to a Creed, to an Institution, or even, as in more ancient times, to a piece of Land, is ever a true Loyalty; has in it something of a religious, paramount, quite infinite character; it is properly the Soul of the State, its Life; mysterious as other forms of Life, and like these working secretly, and in a depth beyond that of consciousness.

Accordingly, it is not in the vigorous ages of a Roman Republic that Treatises of the Commonwealth are written: while the Decii are rushing with devoted bodies on the enemies of Rome, what need of preaching Patriotism? The virtue of Patriotism has already sunk from its pristine, all-transcendent condition, before it has received a name. So long as the Commonwealth continues rightly athletic, it cares not to dabble in anatomy. Why teach Obedience to the Sovereign; why so much as admire it, or separately recognise it, while a divine idea

of Obedience perennially inspires all men? Loyalty, like Patriotism, of which it is a form, was not praised till it had begun to decline; the *Preux Chevaliers* first became rightly admirable, when 'dying for their king,' had ceased to be a habit with chevaliers. For if the mystic significance of the State, let this be what it may, dwells vitally in every heart, encircles every life as with a second higher life, how should it stand self-questioning? It must rush outward, and express itself by works. Besides, if perfect, it is there as by necessity, and does not excite inquiry: it is also by nature, infinite, has no limits; therefore can be circumscribed by no conditions and definitions; cannot be reasoned of; except *musically*, or in the language of Poetry, cannot yet so much as be spoken of.

In those days, Society was what we name healthy, sound at heart. Not, indeed, without suffering enough; not without perplexities, difficulty on every side: for such is the appointment of man; his highest and sole blessedness is, that he toil, and know what to toil at: not in ease, but in united victorious labour, which is at once evil and the victory over evil, does his Freedom lie. Nay, often, looking no deeper than such superficial perplexities of the early Time, historians have taught us that it was all one mass of contradiction and disease; and in the antique Republic, or feudal Monarchy, have seen only the confused chaotic quarry, not the robust labourer, or the stately edifice he was building of it. If Society, in such ages, had its difficulty, it had also its strength; if sorrowful masses of rubbish so encumbered it, the tough sinews to hurl them aside, with indomitable heart, were not wanting. Society went along without complaint; did not stop to scrutinize itself, to say, How well I perform, or, Alas, how ill! Men did not yet feel themselves to be 'the envy of surrounding nations;' and were enviable on that very account. Society was what we can call *whole*, in both senses of the word. The individual man was in himself a whole, or complete union; and could combine with his fellows as the living member of a greater whole. For all men, through their life, were animated by one great Idea; thus all efforts pointed one way, everywhere there was *wholeness*. Opinion and Action had not yet become disunited; but the former could still produce the latter, or attempt to produce it, as the stamp does its impression while the wax is not hardened. Thought, and the Voice of thought, were also a unison; thus, instead of Speculation we had Poetry; Literature, in its rude utterance, was as yet a heroic Song, perhaps too a devotional Anthem. Religion was everywhere; Philosophy lay hid under it, peacefully included in it. Herein, as in the life-centre of all, lay the true health and oneness. Only at a later era must Religion split itself into Philosophies; and thereby the vital union of Thought being lost, disunion and mutual collision in all provinces of Speech and of Action more and more prevail. For if the

Poet, or Priest, or by whatever title the inspired thinker may be named, is the sign of vigour and wellbeing; so likewise is the Logician, or uninspired thinker, the sign of disease, probably of decrepitude and decay. Thus, not to mention other instances, one of them much nearer hand,—so soon as Prophecy among the Hebrews had ceased, then did the reign of Argumentation begin; and the ancient Theocracy, in its Sadduceeisms and Phariseeisms, and vain jangling of sects and doctors, give token that the *soul* of it had fled, and that the *body* itself, by natural dissolution, 'with the old forces still at work, but working in reverse order,' was on the road to final disappearance.

We might pursue this question into innumerable other ramifications; and everywhere, under new shapes, find the same truth, which we here so imperfectly enunciate, disclosed: that throughout the whole world of man, in all manifestations and performances of his nature, outward and inward, personal and social, the Perfect, the Great is a mystery to itself, knows not itself; whatsoever does know itself is already little, and more or less imperfect. Or otherwise, we may say, Unconsciousness belongs to pure unmixed Life; Consciousness to a diseased mixture and conflict of Life and Death: Unconsciousness is the sign of Creation; Consciousness at best, that of Manufacture. So deep, in this existence of ours, is the significance of Mystery. Well might the Ancients make Silence a god; for it is the element of all godhood, infinitude, or transcendental greatness; at once the source and the ocean wherein all such begins and ends. In the same sense too, have Poets sung 'Hymns to the Night;' as if Night were nobler than Day; as if Day were but a small motley-coloured veil spread transiently over the infinite bosom of Night, and did but deform and hide from us its purely transparent, eternal deeps. So likewise have they spoken and sung as if Silence were the grand epitome and complete sum-total of all Harmony; and Death, what mortals call Death, properly the beginning of Life. Under such figures, since except in figures there is no speaking of the Invisible, have men endeavoured to express a great Truth;—a Truth, in our Times, as nearly as is perhaps possible, forgotten by the most; which nevertheless continues forever true, forever all-important, and will one day, under new figures, be again brought home to the bosoms of all.

But, indeed, in a far lower sense, the rudest mind has still some intimation of the greatness there is in Mystery. If Silence was made a god of by the Ancients, he still continues a government clerk among us Moderns. To all Quacks, moreover, of what sort soever, the effect of Mystery is well known: here and there some Cagliostro, even in latter days, turns it to notable account: the Blockhead also, who is ambitious, and has no talent, finds sometimes in 'the talent of silence,' a

kind of succedaneum. Or again, looking on the opposite side of the matter, do we not see, in the common understanding of mankind, a certain distrust, a certain contempt of what is altogether self-conscious and mechanical? As nothing that is wholly seen through has other than a trivial character; so anything professing to be great, and yet wholly to see through itself, is already known to be false, and a failure. The evil repute your 'theoretical men' stand in, the acknowledged inefficiency of 'Paper Constitutions,' and all that class of objects, are instances of this. Experience often repeated, and perhaps a certain instinct of something far deeper that lies under such experiences, has taught men so much. They know, beforehand, that the loud is generally the insignificant, the empty. Whatsoever can proclaim itself from the housetops may be fit for the hawker, and for those multitudes that must needs buy of him; but for any deeper use, might as well continue unproclaimed. Observe too, how the converse of the proposition holds; how the insignificant, the empty, is usually the loud; and, after the manner of a drum, is loud even because of its emptiness. The uses of some Patent Dinner Calefactor can be bruited abroad over the whole world in the course of the first winter; those of the Printing Press are not so well seen into for the first three centuries: the passing of the Select Vestries Bill raises more noise and hopeful expectancy among mankind, than did the promulgation of the Christian Religion. Again, and again, we say, the great, the creative and enduring, is ever a secret to itself; only the small, the barren and transient, is otherwise.

If we now, with a practical medical view, examine, by this same test of Unconsciousness, the Condition of our own Era, and of man's Life therein, the diagnosis we arrive at is nowise of a flattering sort. The state of Society, in our days, is of all possible states the least an unconscious one: this is specially the Era when all manner of Inquiries into what was once the unfelt, involuntary sphere of man's existence, find their place, and as it were occupy the whole domain of thought. What, for example, is all this that we hear, for the last generation or two, about the Improvement of the Age, the Spirit of the Age, Destruction of Prejudice, Progress of the Species, and the March of Intellect, but an unhealthy state of self-sentience, self-survey; the precursor and prognostic of still worse health? That Intellect do march, if possible at double-quick time, is very desirable; nevertheless why should she turn round at every stride, and cry: See you what a stride I have taken! Such a marching of Intellect is distinctly of the spavined kind; what the Jockeys call 'all action and no go.' Or at best, if we examine well, it is the marching of that gouty Patient, whom his Doctors had clapt on a metal floor artificially heated to the searing point, so that he was obliged to march, and

marched with a vengeance—nowhither. Intellect did not awaken for the first time yesterday; but has been under way from Noah's Flood downwards: greatly her best progress, moreover, was in the old times, when she said nothing about it. In those same 'dark ages,' Intellect (metaphorically as well as literally) could invent *glass*, which now she has enough ado to grind into *spectacles*. Intellect built not only Churches, but a Church, *the* Church, based on this firm Earth, yet reaching up, and leading up, as high as Heaven; and now it is all she can do to keep its doors bolted, that there be no tearing of the Surplices, no robbery of the Alms-box. She built a Senate-house likewise, glorious in its kind; and now it costs her a wellnigh mortal effort to sweep it clear of vermin, and get the roof made rain-tight.

But the truth is, with Intellect, as with most other things, we are now passing from that first or boastful stage of Self-sentience into the second or painful one: out of these often asseverated declarations that 'our system is in high order,' we come now, by natural sequence, to the melancholy conviction that it is altogether the reverse. Thus, for instance, in the matter of Government, the period of the 'Invaluable Constitution' must be followed by a Reform Bill; to laudatory De Lolmes succeed objurgatory Benthams. At any rate, what Treatises on the Social Contract, on the Elective Franchise, the Rights of Man, the Rights of Property, Codifications, Institutions, Constitutions, have we not, for long years, groaned under! Or again, with a wider survey, consider those Essays on Man, Thoughts on Man, Inquiries concerning Man; not to mention Evidences of the Christian Faith, Theories of Poetry, Considerations on the Origin of Evil, which during the last century have accumulated on us to a frightful extent. Never since the beginning of Time, was there, that we hear or read of, so intensely self-conscious a Society. Our whole relations to the Universe and to our fellow man have become an Inquiry, a Doubt: nothing will go on of its own accord, and do its function quietly; but all things must be probed into, the whole working of man's world be anatomically studied. Alas, anatomically studied, that it may be medically aided! Till at length, indeed, we have come to such a pass, that except in this same *medicine*, with its artifices and appliances, few can so much as imagine any strength or hope to remain for us. The whole Life of Society must now be carried on by drugs: doctor after doctor appears with his nostrum, of Co-operative Societies, Universal Suffrage, Cottage-and-Cow systems, Repression of Population, Vote by Ballot. To such height has the dyspepsia of Society reached; as indeed the constant grinding internal pain, or from time to time the mad spasmodic throes, of all Society do otherwise too mournfully indicate.

Far be it from us to attribute, as some unwise persons do, the disease itself to this unhappy sensation that there is a disease! The Encyclopedists did not produce the troubles of France; but the troubles of France produced the Encyclopedists, and much else. The Self-consciousness is the symptom merely; nay, it is also the attempt towards cure. We record the fact, without special censure; not wondering that Society should feel itself, and in all ways complain of aches and twinges, for it has suffered enough. Napoleon was but a Job's-comforter, when he told his wounded Staff-officer, twice unhorsed by cannon balls, and with half his limbs blown to pieces: "*Vous vous écoutez trop!*"

On the outward, as it were Physical diseases of Society, it were beside our purpose to insist here. These are diseases which he who runs may read; and sorrow over, with or without hope. Wealth has accumulated itself into masses; and Poverty, also in accumulation enough, lies impassably separated from it; opposed, uncommunicating, like forces in positive and negative poles. The gods of this lower world sit aloft on glittering thrones, less happy than Epicurus' gods, but as indolent, as impotent; while the boundless living chaos of Ignorance and Hunger welters terrific, in its dark fury, under their feet. How much among us might be likened to a whited sepulchre; outwardly all Pomp and Strength; but inwardly full of horror and despair and dead men's bones! Iron highways, with their wains fire-winged, are uniting all ends of the firm Land; quays and moles, with their innumerable stately fleets, tame the Ocean into our pliant bearer of burdens; Labour's thousand arms, of sinew and of metal, all-conquering, everywhere, from the tops of the mountain down to the depths of the mine and the caverns of the sea, ply unweariedly for the service of man: Yet man remains unserved. He has subdued this Planet, his habitation and inheritance, yet reaps no profit from the victory. Sad to look upon: in the highest stage of civilisation, nine-tenths of mankind must struggle in the lowest battle of savage or even animal man, the battle against Famine. Countries are rich, prosperous in all manner of increase, beyond example: but the Men of those countries are poor, needier than ever of all sustenance outward and inward; of Belief, of Knowledge, of Money, of Food. The rule, *Sic vos non vobis*, never altogether to be got rid of in men's Industry, now presses with such incubus weight, that Industry must shake it off, or utterly be strangled under it; and, alas, can as yet but gasp and rave, and aimlessly struggle, like one in the final deliration. Thus Change, or the inevitable approach of Change, is manifest everywhere. In one Country we have seen lava-torrents of fever-frenzy envelope all things; Government succeed Government, like the fantasms of a dying brain: in another Country, we can even now see, in maddest alternation, the Peasant governed by such guidance

as this: To labour earnestly one month in raising wheat, and the next month labour earnestly in burning it. So that Society, were it not by nature immortal, and its death ever a new-birth, might appear, as it does in the eyes of some, to be sick to dissolution, and even now writhing in its last agony. Sick enough we must admit it to be, with disease enough, a whole nosology of diseases; wherein he perhaps is happiest that is not called to prescribe as physician;—wherein, however, one small piece of policy, that of summoning the Wisest in the Commonwealth, by the sole method yet known or thought of, to come together and with their whole soul consult for it, might, but for late tedious experiences, have seemed unquestionable enough.

But leaving this, let us rather look within, into the Spiritual condition of Society, and see what aspects and prospects offer themselves there. For, after all, it is there properly that the secret and origin of the whole is to be sought: the Physical derangements of Society are but the image and impress of its Spiritual; while the heart continues sound, all other sickness is superficial, and temporary. False Action is the fruit of false Speculation; let the spirit of Society be free and strong, that is to say, let true Principles inspire the members of Society, then neither can disorders accumulate in its Practice; each disorder will be promptly, faithfully inquired into, and remedied as it arises. But alas, with us the Spiritual condition of Society is no less sickly than the Physical. Examine man's internal world, in any of its social relations and performances, here too all seems diseased self-consciousness, collision, and mutually-destructive struggle. Nothing acts from within outwards in undivided healthy force; everything lies impotent, lamed, its force turned inwards, and painfully 'listens to itself.'

To begin with our highest Spiritual function, with Religion, we might ask, whither has Religion now fled? Of Churches and their establishments we here say nothing; nor of the unhappy domains of Unbelief, and how innumerable men, blinded in their minds, must 'live without God in the world:' but, taking the fairest side of the matter, we ask, What is the nature of that same Religion, which still lingers in the hearts of the few who are called, and call themselves, specially the Religious? Is it a healthy Religion, vital, unconscious of itself; that shines forth spontaneously in doing of the Work, or even in preaching of the Word? Unhappily, no. Instead of heroic martyr Conduct, and inspired and soul-inspiring Eloquence, whereby Religion itself were brought home to our living bosoms, to live and reign there, we have 'Discourses on the Evidences,' endeavouring, with smallest result, to make it probable that such a thing as Religion exists. The most enthusiastic Evangelicals do not preach a Gospel, but keep describing how it should and might be preached; to awaken the sacred fire

of Faith, as by a sacred contagion, is not their endeavour; but, at most, to describe how Faith shows and acts, and scientifically distinguish true Faith from false. Religion, like all else, is conscious of itself, listens to itself; it becomes less and less creative, vital; more and more mechanical. Considered as a whole, the Christian Religion, of late ages, has been continually dissipating itself into Metaphysics; and threatens now to disappear, as some rivers do, in deserts of barren sand.

Of Literature, and its deep-seated, wide-spread maladies, why speak? Literature is but a branch of Religion, and always participates in its character: However, in our time, it is the only branch that still shows any greenness; and, as some think, must one day become the main stem. Now, apart from the subterranean and tartarean regions of Literature;—leaving out of view the frightful, scandalous statistics of Puffing, the mystery of Slander, Falsehood, Hatred, and other convulsion-work of rabid Imbecility, and all that has rendered Literature on that side a perfect 'Babylon the mother of Abominations,' in very deed, making the world 'drunk' with the wine of her iniquity;—forgetting all this, let us look only to the regions of the upper air; to such Literature as can be said to have some attempt towards truth in it, some tone of music, and if it be not poetical, to hold of the poetical. Among other characteristics, is not this manifest enough: that it knows itself? Spontaneous devotedness to the object, being wholly possessed by the object, what we can call Inspiration, has wellnigh ceased to appear in Literature. Which melodious Singer forgets that he is singing melodiously? We have not the love of greatness, but the love of the love of greatness. Hence infinite Affectations, Distractions; in every case inevitable Error. Consider, for one example, this peculiarity of modern Literature, the sin that has been named View-hunting. In our elder writers, there are no paintings of scenery for its own sake; no euphuistic gallantries with Nature, but a constant heart-love for her, a constant dwelling in communion with her. View-hunting, with so much else that is of kin to it, first came decisively into action through the *Sorrows of Werter;* which wonderful Performance, indeed, may in many senses be regarded as the progenitor of all that has since become popular in Literature; whereof, in so far as concerns spirit and tendency, it still offers the most instructive image; for nowhere, except in its own country, above all in the mind of its illustrious Author, has it yet fallen wholly obsolete. Scarcely ever, till that late epoch, did any worshipper of Nature become entirely aware that he was worshipping, much to his own credit, and think of saying to himself: Come let us make a description! Intolerable enough: when every puny whipster draws out his pencil, and insists on painting you a scene; so that the instant you discern such a thing as 'wavy outline,' 'mirror of the lake,' 'stern headland,' or the like, in any Book, you

must timorously hasten on; and scarcely the Author of Waverley himself can tempt you not to skip.

Nay, is not the diseased self-conscious state of Literature disclosed in this one fact, which lies so near us here, the prevalence of Reviewing! Sterne's wish for a reader 'that would give up the reins of his imagination into his author's hands, and be pleased he knew not why, and cared not wherefore,' might lead him a long journey now. Indeed, for our best class of readers, the chief pleasure, a very stinted one, is this same knowing of the Why; which many a Kames and Bossu has been, ineffectually enough, endeavouring to teach us: till at last these also have laid down their trade; and now your Reviewer is a mere *taster;* who tastes, and says, by the evidence of such palate, such tongue, as he has got—It is good; it is bad. Was it thus that the French carried out certain inferior creatures on their Algerine Expedition, to taste the wells for them, and try whether they were poisoned? Far be it from us to disparage our own craft, whereby we have our living! Only we must note these things: that Reviewing spreads with strange vigour; that such a man as Byron reckons the Reviewer and the Poet equal; that, at the last Leipzig Fair, there was advertised a Review of Reviews. By and by it will be found that all Literature has become one boundless self-devouring Review; and as in London routs, we have to *do* nothing, but only to *see* others do nothing.—Thus does Literature also, like a sick thing, superabundantly 'listen to itself.'

No less is this unhealthy symptom manifest, if we cast a glance on our Philosophy, on the character of our speculative Thinking. Nay already, as above hinted, the mere existence and necessity of a Philosophy is an evil. Man is sent hither not to question, but to work: 'the end of man,' it was long ago written, 'is an Action, not a Thought.' In the perfect state, all Thought were but the Picture and inspiring Symbol of Action; Philosophy, except as Poetry and Religion, had no being. And yet how, in this imperfect state, can it be avoided, can it be dispensed with? Man stands as in the centre of Nature; his fraction of Time encircled by Eternity, his handbreadth of Space encircled by Infinitude: how shall he forbear asking himself, What am I; and Whence; and Whither? How too, except in slight partial hints, in kind asseverations and assurances such as a mother quiets her fretfully inquisitive child with, shall he get answer to such inquiries?

The disease of Metaphysics, accordingly, is a perennial one. In all ages, those questions of Death and Immortality, Origin of Evil, Freedom and Necessity, must, under new forms, anew make their appearance; ever, from time to time, must the attempt to shape for ourselves some Theorem of the Universe be

repeated. And ever unsuccessfully: for what Theorem of the Infinite can the Finite render complete? We, the whole species of Mankind, and our whole existence and history, are but a floating speck in the illimitable ocean of the All; yet *in* that ocean; indissoluble portion thereof; partaking of its infinite tendencies; borne this way and that by its deep-swelling tides, and grand ocean currents;—of which what faintest chance is there that we should ever exhaust the significance, ascertain the goings and comings? A region of Doubt, therefore, hovers forever in the background; in Action alone can we have certainty. Nay properly Doubt is the indispensable, inexhaustible material whereon Action works, which Action has to fashion into Certainty and Reality; only on a canvass of Darkness, such is man's way of being, could the many-coloured picture of our Life paint itself and shine.

Thus if our eldest system of Metaphysics is as old as the *Book of Genesis*, our latest is that of Mr. Thomas Hope, published only within the current year. It is a chronic malady that of Metaphysics, as we said, and perpetually recurs on us. At the utmost, there is a better and a worse in it; a stage of convalescence, and a stage of relapse with new sickness: these forever succeed each other, as is the nature of all Life-movement here below. The first, or convalescent stage, we might also name that of Dogmatical or Constructive Metaphysics; when the mind constructively endeavours to scheme out, and assert for itself an actual Theorem of the Universe, and therewith for a time rests satisfied. The second or sick stage might be called that of Sceptical or Inquisitory Metaphysics; when the mind having widened its sphere of vision, the existing Theorem of the Universe no longer answers the phenomena, no longer yields contentment; but must be torn in pieces, and certainty anew sought for in the endless realms of Denial. All Theologies and sacred Cosmogonies belong, in some measure, to the first class: in all Pyrrhonism from Pyrrho down to Hume and the innumerable disciples of Hume, we have instances enough of the second. In the former, so far as it affords satisfaction, a temporary anodyne to Doubt, an arena for wholesome Action, there may be much good; indeed, in this case, it holds rather of Poetry than of Metaphysics, might be called Inspiration rather than Speculation. The latter is Metaphysics proper; a pure, unmixed, though from time to time a necessary evil.

For truly, if we look into it, there is no more fruitless endeavour than this same, which the Metaphysician proper toils in: to educe Conviction out of Negation. How, by merely testing and rejecting what is not, shall we ever attain knowledge of what is? Metaphysical Speculation, as it begins in No or Nothingness, so it must needs end in Nothingness; circulates and must circulate in endless vortices; creating, swallowing—itself. Our being is made up of Light and Darkness, the

Light resting on the Darkness, and balancing it; everywhere there is Dualism, Equipoise; a perpetual Contradiction dwells in us: "where shall I place myself to escape from my own shadow?" Consider it well, Metaphysics is the attempt of the mind to rise above the mind; to environ, and shut in, or as we say, *comprehend* the mind. Hopeless struggle, for the wisest, as for the foolishest! What strength of sinew, or athletic skill, will enable the stoutest athlete to fold his own body in his arms, and, by lifting, lift up *himself?* The Irish Saint swam the Channel 'carrying his head in his teeth:' but the feat has never been imitated.

That this is the age of Metaphysics, in the proper, or sceptical Inquisitory sense; that there was a necessity for its being such an age, we regard as our indubitable misfortune. From many causes, the arena of free Activity has long been narrowing, that of sceptical Inquiry becoming more and more universal, more and more perplexing. The Thought conducts not to the Deed; but in boundless chaos, self-devouring, engenders monstrosities, fantasms, fire-breathing chimeras. Profitable Speculation were this: What is to be done; and How is it to be done? But with us not so much as the What can be got sight of. For some generations, all Philosophy has been a painful, captious, hostile question towards everything in the Heaven above, in the Earth beneath: Why art thou there? Till at length it has come to pass that the worth and authenticity of all things seems dubitable or deniable: our best effort must be unproductively spent not in working, but in ascertaining our mere Whereabout, and so much as whether we are to work at all. Doubt, which, as was said, ever hangs in the background of our world, has now become our middle-ground and foreground; whereon, for the time, no fair Life-picture can be painted, but only the dark air-canvass itself flow round us, bewildering and benighting.

Nevertheless, doubt as we will, man is actually Here; not to ask questions, but to do work: in this time, as in all times, it must be the heaviest evil for him, if his faculty of Action lie dormant, and only that of sceptical Inquiry exert itself. Accordingly, whoever looks abroad upon the world, comparing the Past with the Present, may find that the practical condition of man, in these days, is one of the saddest; burdened with miseries which are in a considerable degree peculiar. In no time was man's life what he calls a happy one; in no time can it be so. A perpetual dream there has been of Paradises, and some luxurious Lubberland, where the brooks should run wine, and the trees bend with ready-baked viands; but it was a dream merely, an impossible dream. Suffering, Contradiction, Error, have their quite perennial, and even indispensable, abode in this Earth. Is not Labour the inheritance of man? And what Labour for the present is joyous, and not grievous? Labour, Effort, is the very interruption of that Ease, which man

foolishly enough fancies to be his Happiness: and yet without Labour there were no Ease, no Rest, so much as conceivable. Thus Evil, what we call Evil, must ever exist while man exists: Evil, in the widest sense we can give it, is precisely the dark, disordered material out of which man's Freewill has to create an edifice of order, and Good. Ever must Pain urge us to Labour; and only in free Effort can any blessedness be imagined for us.

But if man has, in all ages, had enough to encounter, there has, in most civilized ages, been an inward force vouchsafed him, whereby the pressure of things outward might be withstood. Obstruction abounded; but Faith also was not wanting. It is by Faith that man removes mountains: while he had Faith, his limbs might be wearied with toiling, his back galled with bearing; but the heart within him was peaceable and resolved. In the thickest gloom there burnt a lamp to guide him. If he struggled and suffered, he felt that it even should be so; knew for what he was suffering and struggling. Faith gave him an inward Willingness; a world of Strength wherewith to front a world of Difficulty. The true wretchedness lies here: that the Difficulty remain and the Strength be lost; that Pain cannot relieve itself in free Effort; that we have the Labour, and want the Willingness. Faith strengthens us, enlightens us, for all endeavours and endurances; with Faith we can do all, and dare all, and life itself has a thousand times been joyfully given away. But the sum of man's misery is even this, that he feel himself crushed under the Juggernaut wheels, and know that Juggernaut is no divinity, but a dead mechanical idol.

Now this is specially the misery which has fallen on man in our Era. Belief, Faith has wellnigh vanished from the world. The youth on awakening in this wondrous Universe, no longer finds a competent theory of its wonders. Time was, when if he asked himself: What is man; what are the duties of man? the answer stood ready written for him. But now the ancient 'ground-plan of the All' belies itself when brought into contact with reality; Mother Church has, to the most, become a superannuated Stepmother, whose lessons go disregarded; or are spurned at, and scornfully gainsayed. For young Valour and thirst of Action no ideal Chivalry invites to heroism, prescribes what is heroic: the old ideal of Manhood has grown obsolete, and the new is still invisible to us, and we grope after it in darkness, one clutching this phantom, another that; Werterism, Byronism, even Brummelism, each has its day. For Contemplation and love of Wisdom no Cloister now opens its religious shades; the Thinker must, in all senses, wander homeless, too often aimless, looking up to a Heaven which is dead for him, round to an Earth which is deaf. Action, in those old days, was easy, was voluntary, for the divine worth of human things lay acknowledged;

Speculation was wholesome, for it ranged itself as the handmaid of Action; what could not so range itself died out by its natural death, by neglect. Loyalty still hallowed obedience, and made rule noble; there was still something to be loyal to: the Godlike stood embodied under many a symbol in men's interests and business; the Finite shadowed forth the Infinite; Eternity looked through Time. The Life of man was encompassed and overcanopied by a glory of Heaven, even as his dwelling-place by the azure vault.

How changed in these new days! Truly may it be said, the Divinity has withdrawn from the Earth; or veils himself in that wide-wasting Whirlwind of a departing Era, wherein the fewest can discern his goings. Not Godhood, but an iron, ignoble circle of Necessity embraces all things; binds the youth of these times into a sluggish thrall, or else exasperates him into a rebel. Heroic Action is paralysed; for what worth now remains unquestionable with him? At the fervid period when his whole nature cries aloud for Action, there is nothing sacred under whose banner he can act; the course and kind and conditions of free Action are all but undiscoverable. Doubt storms in on him through every avenue; inquiries of the deepest, painfullest sort must be engaged with; and the invincible energy of young years waste itself in sceptical, suicidal cavillings; in passionate 'questionings of Destiny,' whereto no answer will be returned.

For men, in whom the old perennial principle of Hunger (be it Hunger of the poor Day-drudge who stills it with eighteenpence a-day, or of the ambitious Place-hunter who can nowise still it with so little) suffices to fill up existence, the case is bad; but not the worst. These men have an aim, such as it is; and can steer towards it, with chagrin enough truly; yet, as their hands are kept full, without desperation. Unhappier are they to whom a higher instinct has been given; who struggle to be persons, not machines; to whom the Universe is not a warehouse, or at best fancy-bazaar, but a mystic temple and hall of doom. For such men there lie properly two courses open. The lower, yet still an estimable class, take up with worn-out Symbols of the Godlike; keep trimming and trucking between these and Hypocrisy, purblindly enough, miserably enough. A numerous intermediate class end in Denial; and form a theory that there is no theory; that nothing is certain in the world, except this fact of Pleasure being pleasant; so they try to realize what trifling modicum of Pleasure they can come at, and to live contented therewith, winking hard. Of these we speak not here; but only of the second nobler class, who also have dared to say No, and cannot yet say Yea; but feel that in the No they dwell as in a Golgotha, where life enters not, where peace is not appointed them. Hard, for most part, is the fate of such men; the harder the nobler they are. In dim forecastings, wrestles within them

the 'Divine Idea of the World,' yet will nowhere visibly reveal itself. They have to realise a Worship for themselves, or live unworshipping. The Godlike has vanished from the world; and they, by the strong cry of their soul's agony, like true wonder-workers, must again evoke its presence. This miracle is their appointed task; which they must accomplish, or die wretchedly: this miracle has been accomplished by such; but not in our land; our land yet knows not of it. Behold a Byron, in melodious tones, 'cursing his day:' he mistakes earth-born passionate Desire for heaven-inspired Freewill; without heavenly loadstar, rushes madly into the dance of meteoric lights that hover on the mad Mahlstrom; and goes down among its eddies. Hear a Shelley filling the earth with inarticulate wail; like the infinite, inarticulate grief and weeping of forsaken infants. A noble Friedrich Schlegel, stupified in that fearful loneliness, as of a silenced battle-field, flies back to Catholicism; as a child might to its slain mother's bosom, and cling there. In lower regions, how many a poor Hazlitt must wander on God's verdant earth, like the Unblest on burning deserts; passionately dig wells, and draw up only the dry quicksand; believe that he is seeking Truth, yet only wrestle among endless Sophisms, doing desperate battle as with spectre-hosts; and die and make no sign!

To the better order of such minds any mad joy of Denial has long since ceased: the problem is not now to deny, but to ascertain and perform. Once in destroying the False, there was a certain inspiration; but now the genius of Destruction has done its work, there is now nothing more to destroy. The doom of the Old has long been pronounced, and irrevocable; the Old has passed away: but, alas, the New appears not in its stead; the Time is still in pangs of travail with the New. Man has walked by the light of conflagrations, and amid the sound of falling cities; and now there is darkness, and long watching till it be morning. The voice even of the faithful can but exclaim: 'As yet struggles the twelfth hour of the Night: birds of darkness are on the wing, spectres uproar, the dead walk, the living dream.—Thou, Eternal Providence, wilt cause the day to dawn!'*

Such being the condition, temporal and spiritual, of the world at our Epoch, can we wonder that the world 'listens to itself,' and struggles and writhes, everywhere externally and internally, like a thing in pain? Nay, is not even this unhealthy action of the world's Organization, if the symptom of universal disease, yet also the symptom and sole means of restoration and cure? The effort of Nature, exerting her medicative force to cast out foreign impediments, and once more become One, become whole? In Practice, still more in Opinion, which is the precursor and prototype of Practice, there must needs be collision,

* Jean Paul's *Hesperus. Vorrede*.

convulsion; much has to be ground away. Thought must needs be Doubt and Inquiry, before it can again be Affirmation and Sacred Precept. Innumerable 'Philosophies of Man,' contending in boundless hubbub, must annihilate each other, before an inspired Poesy and Faith for Man can fashion itself together.

From this stunning hubbub, a true Babylonish confusion of tongues, we have here selected two Voices; less as objects of praise or condemnation, than as signs how far the confusion has reached, what prospect there is of its abating. Friedrich Schlegel's *Lectures*, delivered at Dresden, and Mr. Hope's *Essay*, published in London, are the latest utterances of European Speculation: far asunder in external place, they stand at a still wider distance in inward purport; are, indeed, so opposite and yet so cognate that they may, in many senses, represent the two Extremes of our whole modern system of Thought; and be said to include between them all the Metaphysical Philosophies, so often alluded to here, which, of late times, from France, Germany, England, have agitated and almost overwhelmed us. Both in regard to matter and to form, the relation of these two Works is significant enough.

Speaking first of their cognate qualities, let us remark, not without emotion, one quite extraneous point of agreement; the fact that the Writers of both have departed from this world; they have now finished their search, and had all doubts resolved: while we listen to the voice, the tongue that uttered it has gone silent forever. But the fundamental, all-pervading similarity lies in this circumstance, well worthy of being noted, that both these Philosophies are of the Dogmatic, or Constructive sort: each in its way is a kind of Genesis; an endeavour to bring the Phenomena of man's Universe once more under some theoretic Scheme: in both there is a decided principle of unity; they strive after a result which shall be positive; their aim is not to question, but to establish. This, especially if we consider with what comprehensive concentrated force it is here exhibited, forms a new feature in such works.

Under all other aspects, there is the most irreconcilable opposition; a staring contrariety, such as might provoke contrasts were there far fewer points of comparison. If Schlegel's Work is the apotheosis of Spiritualism; Hope's again is the apotheosis of Materialism: in the one, all Matter is evaporated into a Phenomenon, and terrestrial Life itself, with its whole doings and showings, held out as a Disturbance (*Zerrüttung*) produced by the *Zeitgeist* (Spirit of Time); in the other, Matter is distilled and sublimated into some semblance of Divinity: the one regards Space and Time as mere forms of man's mind, and without external existence or reality; the other supposes Space and Time to

be 'incessantly created,' and rayed in upon us like a sort of 'gravitation.' Such is their difference in respect of purport; no less striking is it in respect of manner, talent, success, and all outward characteristics. Thus, if in Schlegel we have to admire the power of Words, in Hope we stand astonished, it might almost be said, at the want of an articulate Language. To Schlegel his Philosophic Speech is obedient, dexterous, exact, like a promptly-ministering genius; his names are so clear, so precise and vivid, that they almost (sometimes altogether) become things for him: with Hope there is no Philosophical Speech; but a painful, confused, stammering, and struggling after such; or the tongue, as in dotish forgetfulness, maunders low, longwinded, and speaks not the word intended, but another; so that here the scarcely intelligible, in these endless convolutions, becomes the wholly unreadable; and often we could ask, as that mad pupil did of his tutor in Philosophy, "But whether is Virtue a fluid, then, or a gas?" If the fact, that Schlegel, in the city of Dresden, could find audience for such high discourse, may excite our envy; this other fact, that a person of strong powers, skilled in English Thought and master of its Dialect, could write the *Origin and Prospects of Man*, may painfully remind us of the reproach, that England has now no language for Meditation; that England, the most Calculative, is the least Meditative, of all civilized countries.

It is not our purpose to offer any criticism of Schlegel's Book; in such limits as were possible here, we should despair of communicating even the faintest image of its significance. To the mass of readers, indeed, both among the Germans themselves, and still more elsewhere, it nowise addresses itself, and may lie forever sealed. We point it out as a remarkable document of the Time and of the Man; can recommend it, moreover, to all earnest Thinkers, as a work deserving their best regard; a work full of deep meditation, wherein the infinite mystery of Life, if not represented, is decisively recognised. Of Schlegel himself, and his character, and spiritual history, we can profess no thorough or final understanding; yet enough to make us view him with admiration and pity, nowise with harsh contemptuous censure; and must say, with clearest persuasion, that the outcry of his being 'a renegade,' and so forth, is but like other such outcries, a judgment where there was neither jury, nor evidence, nor judge. The candid reader, in this Book itself, to say nothing of all the rest, will find traces of a high, far-seeing, earnest spirit, to whom 'Austrian Pensions,' and the Kaiser's crown, and Austria altogether, were but a light matter to the finding and vitally appropriating of Truth. Let us respect the sacred mystery of a Person; rush not irreverently into man's Holy of Holies! Were the lost little one, as we said already, found 'sucking its dead mother, on the field of carnage,' could it be other than a spectacle for

tears? A solemn mournful feeling comes over us when we see this last Work of Friedrich Schlegel, the unwearied seeker, end abruptly in the middle; and, as if he *had not* yet found, as if emblematically of much, end with an 'Aber—,' with a 'But—!' This was the last word that came from the Pen of Friedrich Schlegel: about eleven at night he wrote it down, and there paused sick; at one in the morning, Time for him had merged itself in Eternity; he was, as we say, no more.

Still less can we attempt any criticism of Mr. Hope's new Book of Genesis. Indeed, under any circumstances, criticism of it were now impossible. Such an utterance could only be responded to in peals of laughter; and laughter sounds hollow and hideous through the vaults of the dead. Of this monstrous Anomaly, where all sciences are heaped and huddled together, and the principles of all are, with a childlike innocence, plied hither and thither, or wholly abolished in case of need; where the First Cause is figured as a huge Circle, with nothing to do but radiate 'gravitation' towards its centre; and so construct a Universe, wherein all, from the lowest cucumber with its coolness, up to the highest seraph with his love, were but 'gravitation,' direct or reflex, 'in more or less central globes,'— what can we say, except, with sorrow and shame, that it could have originated nowhere save in England? It is a general agglomerate of all facts, notions, whims, and observations, as they lie in the brain of an English gentleman; as an English gentleman, of unusual thinking power, is led to fashion them, in his schools and in his world: all these thrown into the crucible, and if not fused, yet soldered or conglutinated with boundless patience; and now tumbled out here, heterogeneous, amorphous, unspeakable, a world's wonder. Most melancholy must we name the whole business; full of long-continued thought, earnestness, loftiness of mind; not without glances into the Deepest, a constant fearless endeavour after truth; and with all this nothing accomplished, but the perhaps absurdest Book written in our century by a thinking man. A shameful Abortion; which, however, need not now be smothered or mangled, for it is already dead; only, in our love and sorrowing reverence for the writer of *Anastasius*, and the heroic seeker of Light, though not bringer thereof, let it be buried and forgotten.

For ourselves, the loud discord which jars in these two Works, in innumerable works of the like import, and generally in all the Thought and Action of this period, does not any longer utterly confuse us. Unhappy who, in such a time, felt not, at all conjunctures, ineradicably in his heart the knowledge that a God made this Universe, and a Demon not! And shall Evil always prosper, then? Out of all Evil comes Good; and no Good that is possible but shall one day be real. Deep and sad as is our feeling that we stand yet in the bodeful Night;

equally deep, indestructible is our assurance that the Morning also will not fail. Nay, already, as we look round, streaks of a dayspring are in the east: it is dawning; when the time shall be fulfilled, it will be day. The progress of man towards higher and nobler Developements of whatever is highest and noblest in him, lies not only prophesied to Faith, but now written to the eye of Observation, so that he who runs may read.

One great step of progress, for example, we should say, in actual circumstances, was this same; the clear ascertainment that we are in progress. About the grand Course of Providence, and his final Purposes with us, we can know nothing, or almost nothing: man begins in darkness, ends in darkness; mystery is everywhere around us and in us, under our feet, among our hands. Nevertheless so much has become evident to every one, that this wondrous Mankind is advancing somewhither; that at least all human things are, have been, and forever will be, in Movement and Change;—as, indeed, for beings that exist in Time, by virtue of Time, and are made of Time, might have been long since understood. In some provinces, it is true, as in Experimental Science, this discovery is an old one; but in most others it belongs wholly to these latter days. How often, in former ages, by eternal Creeds, eternal Forms of Government, and the like, has it been attempted, fiercely enough, and with destructive violence, to chain the Future under the Past; and say to the Providence, whose ways with man are mysterious, and through the great Deep: Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther! A wholly insane attempt; and for man himself, could it prosper, the frightfullest of all enchantments, a very Life-in-Death. Man's task here below, the destiny of every individual man, is to be in turns Apprentice and Workman; or say rather, Scholar, Teacher, Discoverer: by nature he has a strength for learning, for imitating; but also a strength for acting, for knowing on his own account. Are we not in a World seen to be Infinite; the relations lying closest together modified by those latest-discovered, and lying farthest asunder? Could you ever spell-bind man into a Scholar merely, so that he had nothing to discover, to correct; could you ever establish a Theory of the Universe that were entire, unimprovable, and which needed only to be got by heart; man then were spiritually defunct, the Species we now name Man had ceased to exist. But the gods, kinder to us than we are to ourselves, have forbidden such suicidal acts. As Phlogiston is displaced by Oxygen, and the Epicycles of Ptolemy by the Ellipses of Kepler; so does Paganism give place to Catholicism, Tyranny to Monarchy, and Feudalism to Representative Government,—where also the process does not stop. Perfection of Practice, like completeness of Opinion, is

always approaching, never arrived; Truth, in the words of Schiller, *immer wird, nie ist;* never *is*, always *is a-being*.

Sad, truly, were our condition did we know but this, that Change is universal and inevitable. Launched into a dark shoreless sea of Pyrrhonism, what would remain for us but to sail aimless, hopeless; or make madly merry, while the devouring Death had not yet engulfed us? As, indeed, we have seen many, and still see many do. Nevertheless so stands it not. The venerator of the Past (and to what pure heart is the Past, in that 'moonlight of memory,' other than sad and holy?) sorrows not over its departure, as one utterly bereaved. The true Past departs not, nothing that was worthy in the Past departs; no Truth or Goodness realized by man ever dies, or can die; but is all still here, and, recognised or not, lives and works through endless changes. If all things, to speak in the German dialect, are discerned by us, and exist for us, in an element of Time, and therefore of Mortality and Mutability; yet Time itself reposes on Eternity: the truly Great and Transcendental has its basis and substance in Eternity; stands revealed to us as Eternity in a vesture of Time. Thus in all Poetry, Worship, Art, Society, as one form passes into another, nothing is lost: it is but the superficial, as it were the *body* only, that grows obsolete and dies; under the mortal body lies a *soul* which is immortal; which anew incarnates itself in fairer revelation; and the Present is the living sum-total of the whole Past.

In Change, therefore, there is nothing terrible, nothing supernatural: on the contrary, it lies in the very essence of our lot, and life in this world. To-day is not yesterday: we ourselves change; how can our Works and Thoughts, if they are always to be the fittest, continue always the same? Change, indeed, is painful; yet ever needful: and if Memory have its force and worth, so also has Hope. Nay, if we look well to it, what is all Derangement, and necessity of great Change, in itself such an evil, but the product simply of *increased resources* which the old *methods* can no longer administer; of new wealth which the old coffers will no longer contain? What is it, for example, that in our own day bursts asunder the bonds of ancient Political Systems, and perplexes all Europe with the fear of Change, but even this: the increase of social resources, which the old social methods will no longer sufficiently administer? The new omnipotence of the Steam-engine is hewing asunder quite other mountains than the physical. Have not our economical distresses, those barnyard Conflagrations themselves, the frightfullest madness of our mad epoch, their rise also in what is a real increase: increase of Men; of human Force; properly, in such a Planet as ours, the most precious of all increases? It is true again, the ancient methods of administration will no longer suffice. Must the indomitable millions, full of old Saxon

energy and fire, lie cooped up in this Western Nook, choking one another, as in a Blackhole of Calcutta, while a whole fertile untenanted Earth, desolate for want of the ploughshare, cries: Come and till me, come and reap me? If the ancient Captains can no longer yield guidance, new must be sought after: for the difficulty lies not in nature, but in artifice: the European Calcutta-Blackhole has no walls but air ones, and paper ones.—So too, Scepticism itself, with its innumerable mischiefs, what is it but the sour fruit of a most blessed increase, that of Knowledge; a fruit, too, that will not always continue *sour?*

In fact, much as we have said and mourned about the unproductive prevalence of Metaphysics, it was not without some insight into the use that lies in them. Metaphysical Speculation, if a necessary evil, is the forerunner of much good. The fever of Scepticism must needs burn itself out, and burn out thereby the Impurities that caused it; then again will there be clearness, health. The principle of Life, which now struggles painfully, in the outer, thin, and barren domain of the Conscious or Mechanical, may then withdraw into its inner Sanctuaries, its abysses of mystery and miracle; withdraw deeper than ever into that domain of the Unconscious, by nature infinite and inexhaustible; and creatively work there. From that mystic region, and from that alone, all wonders, all Poesies, and Religions, and Social Systems have proceeded: the like wonders, and greater and higher, lie slumbering there; and, brooded on by the spirit of the waters, will evolve themselves, and rise like exhalations from the Deep.

Of our modern Metaphysics, accordingly, may not this already be said, that if they have produced no Affirmation, they have destroyed much Negation? It is a disease expelling a disease: the fire of Doubt, as above hinted, consuming away the Doubtful; that so the Certain come to light, and again lie visible on the surface. English or French Metaphysics, in reference to this last stage of the speculative process, are not what we allude to here; but only the Metaphysics of the Germans. In France or England, since the days of Diderot and Hume, though all thought has been of a sceptico-metaphysical texture, so far as there was any Thought,—we have seen no Metaphysics; but only more or less ineffectual questionings whether such could be. In the Pyrrhonism of Hume and the Materialism of Diderot, Logic had, as it were, overshot itself, overset itself. Now, though the athlete, to use our old figure, cannot, by much lifting, lift up his own body, he may shift it out of a laming posture, and get to stand in a free one. Such a service have German Metaphysics done for man's mind. The second sickness of Speculation has abolished both itself and the first. Friedrich Schlegel complains much of the fruitlessness, the tumult and transiency of German as of all Metaphysics; and with reason. Yet in that wide-spreading, deep-whirling vortex

of Kantism, so soon metamorphosed into Fichteism, Schellingism, and then as Hegelism, and Cousinism, perhaps finally evaporated, is not this issue visible enough, That Pyrrhonism and Materialism, themselves necessary phenomena in European culture, have disappeared; and a Faith in Religion has again become possible and inevitable for the scientific mind; and the word *Free*-thinker no longer means the Denier or Caviller, but the Believer, or the Ready to believe? Nay, in the higher Literature of Germany, there already lies, for him that can read it, the beginning of a new revelation of the Godlike; as yet unrecognised by the mass of the world; but waiting there for recognition, and sure to find it when the fit hour comes. This age also is not wholly without its Prophets.

Again, under another aspect, if Utilitarianism, or Radicalism, or the Mechanical Philosophy, or by whatever name it is called, has still its long task to do; nevertheless we can now see through it and beyond it: in the better heads, even among us English, it has become obsolete; as in other countries, it has been, in such heads, for some forty or even fifty years. What sound mind among the French, for example, now fancies that men can be governed by 'Constitutions;' by the never so cunning mechanizing of Self-interests, and all conceivable adjustments of checking and balancing; in a word, by the best possible solution of this quite insoluble and impossible problem, *Given a world of Knaves, to produce an Honesty from their united action?* Were not experiments enough of this kind tried before all Europe, and found wanting, when, in that doomsday of France, the infinite gulf of human Passion shivered asunder the thin rinds of Habit; and burst forth all-devouring, as in seas of Nether Fire? Which cunningly-devised 'Constitution,' constitutional, republican, democratic, sansculottic, could bind that raging chasm together? Were they not all burnt up, like Paper as they were, in its molten eddies; and still the fire-sea raged fiercer than before? It is not by Mechanism, but by Religion; not by Self-interest, but by Loyalty, that men are governed or governable.

Remarkable it is, truly, how everywhere the eternal fact begins again to be recognised, that there is a Godlike in human affairs; that God not only made us and beholds us, but is in us and around us; that the Age of Miracles, as it ever was, now is. Such recognition we discern on all hands, and in all countries: in each country after its own fashion. In France, among the younger nobler minds, strangely enough; where, in their loud contention with the Actual and Conscious, the Ideal or Unconscious is, for the time, without exponent; where Religion means not the parent of Polity, as of all that is highest, but Polity itself; and this and the other earnest man has not been wanting, who could audibly whisper to himself: "Go to, I will make a Religion." In England still more strangely; as in all

things, worthy England will have its way: by the shrieking of hysterical women, casting out of devils, and other 'gifts of the Holy Ghost.' Well might Jean Paul say, in this his twelfth hour of the Night, 'the living dream;' well might he say, 'the dead walk.' Meanwhile let us rejoice rather that so much has been seen into, were it through never so diffracting media, and never so madly distorted; that in all dialects, though but half-articulately, this high Gospel begins to be preached: Man is still Man. The genius of Mechanism, as was once before predicted, will not always sit like a choking incubus on our soul; but at length when by a new magic Word the old spell is broken, become our slave, and as familiar-spirit do all our bidding. 'We are near awakening when we dream that we dream.'

He that has an eye and a heart can even now say: Why should I falter? Light has come into the world; to such as love Light, so as Light must be loved, with a boundless all-doing, all-enduring love. For the rest, let that vain struggle to read the mystery of the Infinite cease to harass us. It is a mystery which, through all ages, we shall only read here a line of, there another line of. Do we not already know that the name of the Infinite is Good, is God? Here on Earth we are as Soldiers, fighting in a foreign land; that understand not the plan of the campaign, and have no need to understand it; seeing well what is at our hand to be done. Let us do it like Soldiers, with submission, with courage, with a heroic joy. 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might.' Behind us, behind each one of us, lie Six Thousand Years of human effort, human conquest: before us is the boundless Time, with its as yet uncreated and unconquered Continents and Eldorados, which we, even we, have to conquer, to create; and from the bosom of Eternity there shine for us celestial guiding stars.

> 'My inheritance how wide and fair!
> Time is my fair seed-field, of Time I'm heir.'

DEATH OF EDWARD IRVING.

Edward Irving's warfare has closed; if not in victory, yet in invincibility, and faithful endurance to the end. The Spirit of the Time, which could not enlist him as its soldier, must needs, in all ways, fight against him as its enemy: it has done its part, and he has done his. One of the noblest natures—a man of antique heroic nature, in questionable modern garniture, which he could not wear! Around him a distracted society, vacant, prurient; heat and darkness, and what these two may breed: mad extremes of flattery, followed by madder contumely, by indifference and neglect!—these were the conflicting elements; this is the result they have made out among them. The voice of our 'son of thunder,'—with its deep tone of wisdom that belonged to all articulate-speaking ages, never inaudible amid wildest dissonances that belong to this inarticulate age, which slumbers and somnambulates, which cannot *speak*, but only screech and gibber,—has gone silent so soon. Closed are those lips. The large heart, with its large bounty, where wretchedness found solacement, and they that were wandering in darkness the light as of a home, has paused. The strong man can no more: beaten on from without, undermined from within, he must sink overwearied, as at nightfal, when it was yet but the mid-season of day. Irving was forty-two years and some months old: Scotland sent him forth a Herculean man; our mad Babylon wore him and wasted him, with all her engines; and it took her twelve years. He sleeps with his fathers, in that loved birth-land: Babylon with its deafening inanity rages on; but to him henceforth innocuous, unheeded—forever.

Reader, thou hast seen and heard the man, as who has not,—with wise or unwise wonder; thou shalt not see or hear him again. The work, be what it might, is *done;* dark curtains sink over it, enclose it ever deeper into the unchangeable

Past. Think, for perhaps thou art one of a thousand, and worthy so to think, That here once more was a genuine man sent into this our *un*genuine phantasmagory of a world, which would go to ruin without such; that here once more, under thy own eyes, in this last decade, was enacted the old Tragedy, and has had its fifth-act now, of *The Messenger of Truth in the Age of Shams*,—and what relation thou thyself mayest have to that. Whether any? Beyond question, thou thyself art *here;* either a dreamer or awake; and one day shalt cease to dream.

This man was appointed a Christian Priest; and strove with the whole force that was in him to *be* it. To be it: in a time of Tithe Controversy, Encyclopedism, Catholic Rent, Philanthropism, and the Revolution of Three Days! He might have been so many things; not a speaker only, but a doer; the leader of hosts of men. For his head, when the Fog-Babylon had not yet obscured it, was of strong far-searching insight; his very enthusiasm was sanguine, not atrabiliar; he was so loving, full of hope, so simple-hearted, and made all that approached him his. A giant force of activity was in the man; speculation was accident, not nature. Chivalry, adventurous field-life of the old Border, and a far nobler sort than that, ran in his blood. There was in him a courage dauntless, not pugnacious; hardly fierce, by no possibility ferocious: as of the generous war-horse, gentle in its strength, yet that laughs at the shaking of the spear.—But, above all, be what he might, to be a *reality* was indispensable for him. In his simple Scottish circle, the highest form of manhood attainable or known was that of Christian; the highest Christian was the Teacher of such. Irving's lot was cast. For the foray-spears were all rusted into earth there; Annan Castle had become a Townhall; and Prophetic Knox had sent tidings thither: Prophetic Knox—and, alas, also Sceptic Hume; and, as the natural consequence, Diplomatic Dundas! In such mixed incongruous element had the young soul to grow.

Grow nevertheless he did, with that strong vitality of his; grow and ripen. What the Scottish uncelebrated Irving was they that have only seen the London celebrated and distorted one can never know. Bodily and spiritually, perhaps there was not, in that November, 1822, when he first arrived here, a man more full of genial energetic life in all these Islands.

By a fatal chance, Fashion cast her eye on him, as on some impersonation of Novel-Cameronianism, some wild Product of Nature from the wild mountains; Fashion crowded round him, with her meteor lights, and Bacchic dances; breathed her foul incense on him; intoxicating, poisoning. One may say, it was his own nobleness that forwarded such ruin: the excess of his sociability and sympathy, of his value for the suffrages and sympathies of men. Syren songs,

as of a new Moral Reformation (sons of Mammon, and high sons of Belial and Beelzebub, to become sons of God, and the gumflowers of Almack's to be made living roses in a new Eden), sound in the inexperienced ear and heart. Most seductive, most delusive! Fashion went her idle way, to gaze on Egyptian Crocodiles, Iroquois Hunters, or what else there might be; forgot this man,—who unhappily could not in his turn forget. The intoxicating poison had been swallowed; no force of natural health could cast it out. Unconsciously, for most part in deep unconsciousness, there was now the impossibility to live neglected; to walk on the quiet paths, where alone it is well with us. Singularity must henceforth succeed Singularity. O foulest Circean draught, thou poison of Popular Applause! madness is in thee, and death; thy end is Bedlam and the Grave. For the last seven years, Irving, forsaken by the world, strove either to recall it, or to forsake it; shut himself up in a lesser world of ideas and persons, and lived isolated there. Neither in this was there health: for this man such isolation was not fit; such ideas, such persons.

One light still shone on him; alas, through a medium more and more turbid: the light from Heaven. His Bible was there, wherein must lie healing for all sorrows. To the Bible he more and more exclusively addressed himself. If it is the written Word of God, shall it not be the acted Word too? Is it mere sound, then; black printer's-ink on white rag-paper? A half-man could have passed on without answering; a whole man must answer. Hence Prophecies of Millenniums, Gifts of Tongues,—whereat Orthodoxy prims herself into decent wonder, and waves her Avaunt! Irving clave to his Belief, as to his soul's soul; followed it whithersoever, through earth or air, it might lead him; toiling as never man toiled to spread it, to gain the world's ear for it,—in vain. Ever wilder waxed the confusion without and within. The misguided noble-minded had now nothing left to do but die. He died the death of the true and brave. His last words, they say, were: "In life and in death, I am the Lord's."—Amen! Amen!

One who knew him well, and may with good cause love him, has said: "But for Irving, I had never known what the communion of man with man means. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with: I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world, or now hope to find.

"The first time I saw Irving was six-and-twenty years ago, in his native town, Annan. He was fresh from Edinburgh, with College prizes, high character, and promise: he had come to see our Schoolmaster, who had also been his. We heard of famed Professors, of high matters classical, mathematical, a whole Wonderland of Knowledge: nothing but joy, health, hopefulness without end,

looked out from the blooming young man. The last time I saw him was three months ago, in London. Friendliness still beamed in his eyes, but now from amid unquiet fire; his face was flaccid, wasted, unsound; hoary as with extreme age: he was trembling over the brink of the grave.—Adieu, thou first Friend; adieu, while this confused Twilight of Existence lasts! Might we meet where Twilight has become Day!"

PETITION ON THE COPYRIGHT BILL.

To the Honourable the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, the Petition of Thomas Carlyle, a Writer of Books.

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner has written certain books, being incited thereto by various innocent or laudable considerations, chiefly by the thought that said books might in the end be found to be worth something.

That your petitioner had not the happiness to receive from Mr. Thomas Tegg, or any Publisher, Republisher, Printer, Bookseller, Book-buyer, or other the like man or body of men, any encouragement or countenance in writing of said books, or to discern any chance of receiving such; but wrote them by effort of his own and the favor of Heaven.

That all useful labour is worthy of recompense; that all honest labour is worthy of the chance of recompense; that the giving and assuring to each man what recompense his labour has actually merited may be said to be the business of all Legislation, Polity, Government, and Social Arrangement whatsoever among men;—a business indispensable to attempt, impossible to accomplish accurately, difficult to accomplish without inaccuracies that become enormous, insupportable, and the parent of social confusions which never altogether end.

That your petitioner does not undertake to say what recompense in money this labour of his may deserve; whether it deserves any recompense in money, or whether money in any quantity could hire him to do the like.

That this his labour has found hitherto, in money or monies' worth, small recompense or none; that he is by no means sure of its ever finding recompense, but

thinks that, if so, it will be at a distant time, when he, the labourer, will probably no longer be in need of money, and those dear to him will still be in need of it.

That the law does at least protect all persons in selling the production of their labour at what they can get for it, in all market-places, to all lengths of time. Much more than this the law does to many, but so much it does to all, and less than this to none.

That your petitioner cannot discover himself to have done unlawfully in this his said labour of writing books, or to have become criminal, or have forfeited the law's protection thereby. Contrariwise your petitioner believes firmly that he is innocent in said labour; that if he be found in the long run to have written a genuine enduring book, his merit therein, and desert towards England and English and other men, will be considerable, not easily estimable in money; that, on the other hand, if his book prove false and ephemeral, he and it will be abolished and forgotten, and no harm done.

That, in this manner, your petitioner plays no unfair game against the world; his stake being life itself, so to speak (for the penalty is death by starvation), and the world's stake nothing till once it see the dice thrown; so that in any case the world cannot lose.

That in the happy and long-doubtful event of the game's going in his favour, your petitioner submits that the small winnings thereof do belong to him or his, and that no other mortal has justly either part or lot in them at all, now, henceforth, or forever.

May it therefore please your Honourable House to protect him in said happy and long-doubtful event; and (by passing your Copyright Bill) forbid all Thomas Teggs and other extraneous persons, entirely unconcerned in this adventure of his, to steal from him his small winnings, for a space of sixty years at shortest. After sixty years, unless your Honourable House provide otherwise, they may begin to steal.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

CHARTISM.

"It never smokes but there is fire."—Old Proverb.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION-OF-ENGLAND QUESTION.

A FEELING very generally exists that the condition and disposition of the Working Classes is a rather ominous matter at present; that something ought to be said, something ought to be done, in regard to it. And surely, at an epoch of history when the 'National Petition' carts itself in waggons along the streets, and is presented 'bound with iron hoops, four men bearing it,' to a Reformed House of Commons; and Chartism numbered by the million and half, taking nothing by its iron-hooped Petition, breaks out into brickbats, cheap pikes, and even into sputterings of conflagration, such very general feeling cannot be considered unnatural! To us individually this matter appears, and has for many years appeared, to be the most ominous of all practical matters whatever; a matter in regard to which if something be not done, something will *do* itself one day, and in a fashion that will please nobody. The time is verily come for acting in it; how much more for consultation about acting in it, for speech and articulate inquiry about it!

We are aware that, according to the newspapers, Chartism is extinct; that a Reform Ministry has 'put down the chimera of Chartism' in the most felicitous effectual manner. So say the newspapers;—and yet, alas, most readers of newspapers know withal that it is indeed the 'chimera' of Chartism, not the reality, which has been put down. The distracted incoherent embodiment of Chartism, whereby in late months it took shape and became visible, this has been put down; or rather has fallen down and gone asunder by gravitation and law of nature: but the living essence of Chartism has not been put down. Chartism means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition therefore or the wrong disposition, of the Working Classes of England. It is a new name for

a thing which has had many names, which will yet have many. The matter of Chartism is weighty, deep-rooted, far-extending; did not begin yesterday; will by no means end this day or to-morrow. Reform Ministry, constabulary rural police, new levy of soldiers, grants of money to Birmingham; all this is well, or is not well; all this will put down only the embodiment or 'chimera' of Chartism. The essence continuing, new and ever new embodiments, chimeras madder or less mad, have to continue. The melancholy fact remains, that this thing known at present by the name Chartism does exist; has existed; and, either 'put down,' into secret treason, with rusty pistols, vitriol-bottle and match-box, or openly brandishing pike and torch (one knows not in which case *more* fatal-looking), is like to exist till quite other methods have been tried with it. What means this bitter discontent of the Working Classes? Whence comes it, whither goes it? Above all, at what price, on what terms, will it probably consent to depart from us and die into rest? These are questions.

To say that it is mad, incendiary, nefarious, is no answer. To say all this, in never so many dialects, is saying little. 'Glasgow Thuggery,' 'Glasgow Thugs;' it is a witty nickname: the practice of 'Number 60' entering his dark room, to contract for and settle the price of blood with operative assassins, in a Christian city, once distinguished by its rigorous Christianism, is doubtless a fact worthy of all horror: but what will horror do for it? What will execration; nay at bottom, what will condemnation and banishment to Botany Bay do for it? Glasgow Thuggery, Chartist torch-meetings, Birmingham riots, Swing conflagrations, are so many symptoms on the surface; you abolish the symptom to no purpose, if the disease is left untouched. Boils on the surface are curable or incurable,—small matter which, while the virulent humour festers deep within; poisoning the sources of life; and certain enough to find for itself ever new boils and sore issues; ways of announcing that it continues there, that it would fain not continue there.

Delirious Chartism will not have raged entirely to no purpose, as indeed no earthly thing does so, if it have forced all thinking men of the community to think of this vital matter, too apt to be overlooked otherwise. Is the condition of the English working people wrong; so wrong that rational working men cannot, will not, and even should not rest quiet under it? A most grave case, complex beyond all others in the world; a case wherein Botany Bay, constabulary rural police, and such like, will avail but little. Or is the discontent itself mad, like the shape it took? Not the condition of the working people that is wrong; but their disposition, their own thoughts, beliefs and feelings that are wrong? This too were a most grave case, little less alarming, little less complex than the former one. In this case too, where constabulary police and mere rigour of coercion seems

more at home, coercion will by no means do all, coercion by itself will not even do much. If there do exist general madness of discontent, then sanity and some measure of content must be brought about again,—not by constabulary police alone. When the thoughts of a people, in the great mass of it, have grown mad, the combined issue of that people's workings will be a madness, an incoherency and ruin! Sanity will have to be recovered for the general mass; coercion itself will otherwise cease to be able to coerce.

We have heard it asked, Why Parliament throws no light on this question of the Working Classes, and the condition or disposition they are in? Truly to a remote observer of Parliamentary procedure it seems surprising, especially in late Reformed times, to see what space this question occupies in the Debates of the Nation. Can any other business whatsoever be so pressing on legislators? A Reformed Parliament, one would think, should inquire into popular discontents *before* they get the length of pikes and torches! For what end at all are men, Honourable Members and Reform Members, sent to St. Stephen's, with clamour and effort; kept talking, struggling, motioning and counter-motioning? The condition of the great body of people in a country is the condition of the country itself: this you would say is a truism in all times; a truism rather pressing to get recognised as a truth now, and be acted upon, in these times. Yet read Hansard's Debates, or the Morning Papers, if you have nothing to do! The old grand question, whether A is to be in office or B, with the innumerable subsidiary questions growing out of that, courting paragraphs and suffrages for a blessed solution of that: Canada question, Irish Appropriation question, West India question, Queen's Bedchamber question; Game Laws, Usury Laws; African Blacks, Hill Coolies, Smithfield cattle, and Dog-carts,—all manner of questions and subjects, except simply this the alpha and omega of all! Surely Honourable Members ought to speak of the Condition-of-England question too. Radical Members, above all; friends of the people; chosen with effort, by the people, to interpret and articulate the dumb deep want of the people! To a remote observer they seem oblivious of their duty. Are they not there, by trade, mission, and express appointment of themselves and others, to speak for the good of the British Nation? Whatsoever great British interest can the least speak for itself, for that beyond all they are called to speak. They are either speakers for that great dumb toiling class which cannot speak, or they are nothing that one can well specify.

Alas, the remote observer knows not the nature of Parliaments: how Parliaments, extant there for the British Nation's sake, find that they are extant withal for their own sake; how Parliaments travel so naturally in their deep-rutted

routine, common-place worn into ruts axle-deep, from which only strength, insight and courageous generous exertion can lift any Parliament or vehicle; how in Parliaments, Reformed or Unreformed, there may chance to be a strong man, an original, clear-sighted, great-hearted, patient and valiant man, or to be none such;—how, on the whole, Parliaments, lumbering along in their deep ruts of common-place, find, as so many of us otherwise do, that the ruts *are* axle-deep, and the travelling very toilsome of itself, and for the day the evil thereof sufficient! What Parliaments ought to have done in this business, what they will, can or cannot yet do, and where the limits of their faculty and culpability may lie, in regard to it, were a long investigation; into which we need not enter at this moment. What they have done is unhappily plain enough. Hitherto, on this most national of questions, the Collective Wisdom of the Nation has availed us as good as nothing whatever.

And yet, as we say, it is a question which cannot be left to the Collective Folly of the Nation! In or out of Parliament, darkness, neglect, hallucination must contrive to cease in regard to it; true insight into it must be had. How inexpressibly useful were true insight into it; a genuine understanding by the upper classes of society what it is that the under classes intrinsically mean; a clear interpretation of the thought which at heart torments these wild inarticulate souls, struggling there, with inarticulate uproar, like dumb creatures in pain, unable to speak what is in them! Something they do mean; some true thing withal, in the centre of their confused hearts,—for they are hearts created by Heaven too: to the Heaven it is clear what thing; to us not clear. Would that it were! Perfect clearness on it were equivalent to remedy of it. For, as is well said, all battle is misunderstanding; did the parties know one another, the battle would cease. No man at bottom means injustice; it is always for some obscure distorted image of a right that he contends: an obscure image diffracted, exaggerated, in the wonderfullest way, by natural dimness and selfishness; getting tenfold more diffracted by exasperation of contest, till at length it become all but irrecognisable; yet still the image of a right. Could a man own to himself that the thing he fought for was wrong, contrary to fairness and the law of reason, he would own also that it thereby stood condemned and hopeless; he could fight for it no longer. Nay independently of right, could the contending parties get but accurately to discern one another's might and strength to contend, the one would peaceably yield to the other and to Necessity; the contest in this case too were over. No African expedition now, as in the days of Herodotus, is fitted out *against the South-wind*. One expedition was satisfactory in that department. The South-wind Simoom continues blowing occasionally, hateful as ever,

maddening as ever; but one expedition was enough. Do we not all submit to Death? The highest sentence of the law, sentence of death, is passed on all of us by the fact of birth; yet we live patiently under it, patiently undergo it when the hour comes. Clear undeniable right, clear undeniable might: either of these once ascertained puts an end to battle. All battle is a confused experiment to ascertain one and both of these.

What are the rights, what are the mights of the discontented Working Classes in England at this epoch? He were an Œdipus, and deliverer from sad social pestilence, who could resolve us fully! For we may say beforehand, The struggle that divides the upper and lower in society over Europe, and more painfully and notably in England than elsewhere, this too is a struggle which will end and adjust itself as all other struggles do and have done, by making the right clear and the might clear; not otherwise than by that. Meantime, the questions, Why are the Working Classes discontented; what is their condition, economical, moral, in their houses and their hearts, as it is in reality and as they figure it to themselves to be; what do they complain of; what ought they, and ought they not to complain of?—these are measurable questions; on some of these any common mortal, did he but turn his eyes to them, might throw some light. Certain researches and considerations of ours on the matter, since no one else will undertake it, are now to be made public. The researches have yielded us little, almost nothing; but the considerations are of old date, and press to have utterance. We are not without hope that our general notion of the business, if we can get it uttered at all, will meet some assent from many candid men.

CHAPTER II.

STATISTICS.

A WITTY statesman said you might prove anything by figures. We have looked into various statistic works, Statistic-Society Reports, Poor-Law Reports, Reports and Pamphlets not a few, with a sedulous eye to this question of the Working Classes and their general condition in England; we grieve to say, with as good as no result whatever. Assertion swallows assertion; according to the old Proverb, 'as the *statist* thinks, the bell clinks!' Tables are like cobwebs, like the sieve of the Danaides; beautifully reticulated, orderly to look upon, but which will hold no conclusion. Tables are abstractions, and the object a most concrete one, so difficult to read the essence of. There are innumerable circumstances; and one circumstance left out may be the vital one on which all turned. Statistics is a science which ought to be honourable, the basis of many most important sciences; but it is not to be carried on by steam, this science, any more than others are; a wise head is requisite for carrying it on. Conclusive facts are inseparable from inconclusive except by a head that already understands and knows. Vain to send the purblind and blind to the shore of a Pactolus never so golden: these find only gravel; the seer and finder alone picks up gold grains there. And now the purblind offering you, with asseveration and protrusive importunity, his basket of gravel as gold, what steps are to be taken with him?—Statistics, one may hope, will improve gradually, and become good for something. Meanwhile it is to be feared, the crabbed satirist was partly right, as things go: 'A judicious man,' says he, 'looks at Statistics, not to get knowledge, but to save himself from having ignorance foisted on him.' With what serene conclusiveness a member of some Useful-Knowledge Society stops your mouth with a figure of arithmetic! To him it seems he has there extracted the elixir of the matter, on which now

nothing more can be said. It is needful that you look into his said extracted elixir; and ascertain, alas, too probably, not without a sigh, that it is wash and vapidity, good only for the gutters.

Twice or three times have we heard the lamentations and prophecies of a humane Jeremiah, mourner for the poor, cut short by a statistic fact of the most decisive nature: How can the condition of the poor be other than good, be other than better; has not the average duration of life in England, and therefore among the most numerous class in England, been proved to have increased? Our Jeremiah had to admit that, if so, it was an astounding fact; whereby all that ever he, for his part, had observed on other sides of the matter was overset without remedy. If life last longer, life must be less worn upon, by outward suffering, by inward discontent, by hardship of any kind; the general condition of the poor must be bettering instead of worsening. So was our Jeremiah cut short. And now for the 'proof'? Readers who are curious in statistic proofs may see it drawn out with all solemnity, in a Pamphlet 'published by Charles Knight and Company,'*—and perhaps himself draw inferences from it. Northampton Tables, compiled by Dr. Price 'from registers of the Parish of All Saints from 1735 to 1780;' Carlisle Tables, collected by Dr. Heysham from observation of Carlisle City for eight years, 'the calculations founded on them' conducted by another Doctor; incredible 'document considered satisfactory by men of science in France:'—alas, is it not as if some zealous scientific son of Adam had proved the deepening of the Ocean, by survey, accurate or cursory, of two mud-plashes on the coast of the Isle of Dogs? 'Not to get knowledge, but to save yourself from having ignorance foisted on you!'

The condition of the working man in this country, what it is and has been, whether it is improving or retrograding,—is a question to which from statistics hitherto no solution can be got. Hitherto, after many tables and statements, one is still left mainly to what he can ascertain by his own eyes, looking at the concrete phenomenon for himself. There is no other method; and yet it is a most imperfect method. Each man expands his own handbreadth of observation to the limits of the general whole; more or less, each man must take what he himself has seen and ascertained for a sample of all that is seeable and ascertainable. Hence discrepancies, controversies, wide-spread, long-continued; which there is at present no means or hope of satisfactorily ending. When Parliament takes up 'the Condition-of-England question,' as it will have to do one day, then indeed much may be amended! Inquiries wisely gone into, even on this most complex

* An Essay on the Means of Insurance against the Casualties of &c. &c. London, Charles Knight and Company, 1836. Price two shillings.

matter, will yield results worth something, not nothing. But it is a most complex matter; on which, whether for the past or the present, Statistic Inquiry, with its limited means, with its short vision and headlong extensive dogmatism, as yet too often throws not light, but error worse than darkness.

What constitutes the well-being of a man? Many things; of which the wages he gets, and the bread he buys with them, are but one preliminary item. Grant, however, that the wages were the whole; that once knowing the wages and the price of bread, we know all; then what are the wages? Statistic Inquiry, in its present unguided condition, cannot tell. The average rate of day's wages is not correctly ascertained for any portion of this country; not only not for half-centuries, it is not even ascertained anywhere for decades or years: far from instituting comparisons with the past, the present itself is unknown to us. And then, given the average of wages, what is the constancy of employment; what is the difficulty of finding employment; the fluctuation from season to season, from year to year? Is it constant, calculable wages; or fluctuating, incalculable, more or less of the nature of gambling? This secondary circumstance, of quality in wages, is perhaps even more important than the primary one of quantity. Farther we ask, Can the labourer, by thrift and industry, hope to rise to mastership; or is such hope cut off from him? How is he related to his employer; by bonds of friendliness and mutual help; or by hostility, opposition, and chains of mutual necessity alone? In a word, what degree of contentment can a human creature be supposed to enjoy in that position? With hunger preying on him, his contentment is likely to be small! But even with abundance, his discontent, his real misery may be great. The labourer's feelings, his notion of being justly dealt with or unjustly; his wholesome composure, frugality, prosperity in the one case, his acrid unrest, recklessness, gin-drinking, and gradual ruin in the other,—how shall figures of arithmetic represent all this? So much is still to be ascertained; much of it by no means easy to ascertain! Till, among the 'Hill Cooly' and 'Dog-cart' questions, there arise in Parliament and extensively out of it a 'Condition-of-England question,' and quite a new set of inquirers and methods, little of it is likely to be ascertained.

One fact on this subject, a fact which arithmetic *is* capable of representing, we have often considered would be worth all the rest: Whether the labourer, whatever his wages are, is saving money? Laying up money, he proves that his condition, painful as it may be without and within, is not yet desperate; that he looks forward to a better day coming, and is still resolutely steering towards the same; that all the lights and darknesses of his lot are united under a blessed radiance of hope,—the last, first, nay one may say the sole blessedness of man.

Is the habit of saving increased and increasing, or the contrary? Where the present writer has been able to look with his own eyes, it is decreasing, and in many quarters all but disappearing. Statistic science turns up her Savings-Bank Accounts, and answers, "Increasing rapidly." Would that one could believe it! But the Danaides'-sieve character of such statistic reticulated documents is too manifest. A few years ago, in regions where thrift, to one's own knowledge, still was, Savings-Banks were not; the labourer lent his money to some farmer, of capital, or supposed to be of capital,—and has too often lost it since; or he bought a cow with it, bought a cottage with it; nay hid it under his thatch: the Savings-Banks books then exhibited mere blank and zero. That they swell yearly now, if such be the fact, indicates that what thrift exists does gradually resort more and more thither rather than elsewhither; but the question, Is thrift increasing? runs through the reticulation, and is as water spilt on the ground, not to be gathered here.

These are inquiries on which, had there been a proper 'Condition-of-England question,' some light would have been thrown, before 'torch-meetings' arose to illustrate them! Far as they lie out of the course of Parliamentary routine, they should have been gone into, should have been glanced at, in one or the other fashion. A Legislature making laws for the Working Classes, in total uncertainty as to these things, is legislating in the dark; not wisely, nor to good issues. The simple fundamental question, Can the labouring man in this England of ours, who is willing to labour, find work, and subsistence by his work? is matter of mere conjecture and assertion hitherto; not ascertainable by authentic evidence: the Legislature, satisfied to legislate in the dark, has not yet sought any evidence on it. They pass their New Poor-Law Bill, without evidence as to all this. Perhaps their New Poor-Law Bill is itself only intended as an *experimentum crucis* to ascertain all this? Chartism is an answer, seemingly not in the affirmative.

CHAPTER III.

NEW POOR-LAW.

To read the Reports of the Poor-Law Commissioners, if one had faith enough, would be a pleasure to the friend of humanity. One sole recipe seems to have been needful for the woes of England: 'refusal of out-door relief.' England lay in sick discontent, writhing powerless on its fever-bed, dark, nigh desperate, in wastefulness, want, improvidence, and eating care, till like Hyperion down the eastern steeps, the Poor-Law Commissioners arose, and said, Let there be workhouses, and bread of affliction and water of affliction there! It was a simple invention; as all truly great inventions are. And see, in any quarter, instantly as the walls of the workhouse arise, misery and necessity fly away, out of sight,—out of being, as is fondly hoped, and dissolve into the inane; industry, frugality, fertility, rise of wages, peace on earth and goodwill towards men do,—in the Poor-Law Commissioners' Reports,—infallibly, rapidly or not so rapidly, to the joy of all parties, supervene. It was a consummation devoutly to be wished. We have looked over these four annual Poor-Law Reports with a variety of reflections; with no thought that our Poor-Law Commissioners are the inhuman men their enemies accuse them of being; with a feeling of thankfulness rather that there do exist men of that structure too; with a persuasion deeper and deeper that Nature, who makes nothing to no purpose, has not made either them or their Poor-Law Amendment Act in vain. We hope to prove that they and it were an indispensable element, harsh but salutary, in the progress of things.

That this Poor-Law Amendment Act meanwhile should be, as we sometimes hear it named, the 'chief glory' of a Reform Cabinet, betokens, one would imagine, rather a scarcity of glory there. To say to the poor, Ye shall eat the bread of affliction and drink the water of affliction, and be very miserable while here,

required not so much a stretch of heroic faculty in any sense, as due toughness of bowels. If paupers are made miserable, paupers will needs decline in multitude. It is a secret known to all rat-catchers: stop up the granary-crevices, afflict with continual mewing, alarm, and going-off of traps, your 'chargeable labourers' disappear, and cease from the establishment. A still briefer method is that of arsenic; perhaps even a milder, where otherwise permissible. Rats and paupers can be abolished; the human faculty was from of old adequate to grind them down, slowly or at once, and needed no ghost or Reform Ministry to teach it. Furthermore when one hears of 'all the labour of the country being absorbed into employment' by this new system of affliction, when labour complaining of want can find no audience, one cannot but pause. That misery and unemployed labour should 'disappear' in that case is natural enough; should go out of sight,—but out of existence? What we do know is that 'the rates are diminished,' as they cannot well help being; that no statistic tables as yet report much increase of deaths by starvation: this we do know, and not very conclusively anything more than this. If this be absorption of all the labour of the country, then all the labour of the country is absorbed.

To believe practically that the poor and luckless are here only as a nuisance to be abraded and abated, and in some permissible manner made away with, and swept out of sight, is not an amiable faith. That the arrangements of good and ill success in this perplexed scramble of a world, which a blind goddess was always thought to preside over, are in fact the work of a seeing goddess or god, and require only not to be meddled with: what stretch of heroic faculty or inspiration of genius was needed to teach one that? To button your pockets and stand still, is no complex recipe. *Laissez faire, laissez passer!* Whatever goes on, ought it not to go on; 'the widow picking nettles for her children's dinner, and the perfumed seigneur delicately lounging in the Œil-du-Bœuf, who has an alchemy whereby he will extract from her the third nettle, and name it rent and law?' What is written and enacted, has it not black-on-white to shew for itself? Justice is justice; but all attorney's parchment is of the nature of Targum or sacred-parchment. In brief, ours is a world requiring only to be well let alone. Scramble along, thou insane scramble of a world, with thy pope's tiaras, king's mantles and beggar's gabardines, chivalry-ribbons and plebeian gallows-ropes, where a Paul shall die on the gibbet and a Nero sit fiddling as imperial Cæsar; *thou* art all right, and shalt scramble even so; and whoever in the press is trodden down, has only to lie there and be trampled broad:—Such at bottom seems to be the chief social principle, if principle it have, which the Poor-Law Amendment Act has the merit of courageously asserting, in opposition to many

things. A chief social principle which this present writer, for one, will by no manner of means believe in, but pronounce at all fit times to be false, heretical and damnable, if ever aught was!

And yet, as we said, Nature makes nothing in vain; not even a Poor-Law Amendment Act. For withal we are far from joining in the outcry raised against these poor Poor-Law Commissioners, as if they were tigers in men's shape; as if their Amendment Act were a mere monstrosity and horror, deserving instant abrogation. They are not tigers; they are men filled with an idea of a theory: their Amendment Act, heretical and damnable as a whole truth, is orthodox laudable as a *half*-truth; and was imperatively required to be put in practice. To create men filled with a theory that refusal of out-door relief was the one thing needful: Nature had no readier way of getting out-door relief refused. In fact, if we look at the old Poor-Law, in its assertion of the opposite social principle, that Fortune's awards are *not* those of Justice, we shall find it to have become still more unsupportable, demanding, if England was not destined for speedy anarchy, to be done away with.

Any law, however well meant as a law, which has become a bounty on unthrift, idleness, bastardy and beer-drinking, must be put an end to. In all ways it needs, especially in these times, to be proclaimed aloud that for the idle man there is no place in this England of ours. He that will not work, and save according to his means, let him go elsewhither; let him know that for *him* the Law has made no soft provision, but a hard and stern one; that by the Law of Nature, which the Law of England would vainly contend against in the long-run, *he* is doomed either to quit these habits, or miserably be extruded from this Earth, which is made on principles different from these. He that will not work according to his faculty, let him perish according to his necessity: there is no law juster than that. Would to Heaven one could preach it abroad into the hearts of all sons and daughters of Adam, for it is a law applicable to all; and bring it to bear, with practical obligation strict as the Poor-Law Bastille, on all! We had then, in good truth, a 'perfect constitution of society;' and 'God's fair Earth and Task-garden, where whosoever is not working must be begging or stealing,' were then actually what always, through so many changes and struggles, it is endeavouring to become.

That this law of No work no recompense, should first of all be enforced on the *manual* worker, and brought stringently home to him and his numerous class, while so many other classes and persons still go loose from it, was natural to the case. Let it be enforced there, and rigidly made good. It behoves to be enforced everywhere, and rigidly made good;—alas, not by such simple meth-

ods as 'refusal of out-door relief,' but by far other and costlier ones; which too, however, a bountiful Providence is not unfurnished with, nor, in these latter generations (if we will understand their convulsions and confusions), sparing to apply. Work is the mission of man in this Earth. A day is ever struggling forward, a day will arrive in some approximate degree, when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to shew himself in our quarter of the Solar System; but may go and look out elsewhere, If there be any *Idle* Planet discoverable?—Let the honest working man rejoice that such law, the first of Nature, has been made good on him; and hope that, by and by, all else will be made good. It is the beginning of all. We define the harsh New Poor-Law to *be* withal a 'protection of the thrifty labourer against the thriftless and dissolute;' a thing inexpressibly important; a *half*-result, detestable, if you will, when looked upon as the whole result; yet without which the whole result is forever unattainable. Let wastefulness, idleness, drunkenness, improvidence take the fate which God has appointed them; that their opposites may also have a chance for *their* fate. Let the Poor-Law Administrators be considered as useful labourers whom Nature has furnished with a whole theory of the universe, that they might accomplish an indispensable fractional practice there, and prosper in it in spite of much contradiction.

We will praise the New Poor-Law, farther, as the probable preliminary of *some* general charge to be taken of the lowest classes by the higher. Any general charge whatsoever, rather than a conflict of charges, varying from parish to parish; the emblem of darkness, of unreadable confusion. Supervisal by the central government, in what spirit soever executed, is supervisal from a centre. By degrees the object will become clearer, as it is at once made thereby universally conspicuous. By degrees true vision of it will become attainable, will be universally attained; whatsoever order regarding it is just and wise, as grounded on the truth of it, will then be capable of being taken. Let us welcome the New Poor-Law as the harsh beginning of much, the harsh ending of much! Most harsh and barren lies the new ploughers' fallow-field, the crude subsoil all turned up, which never saw the sun; which as yet grows no herb; which has 'out-door relief' for no one. Yet patience: innumerable weeds and corruptions lie safely turned down and extinguished under it; this same crude subsoil is the first step of all true husbandry; by Heaven's blessing and the skyey influences, fruits that are good and blessed will yet come of it.

For, in truth, the claim of the poor labourer is something quite other than that 'Statute of the Forty-third of Elizabeth' will ever fulfil for him. Not to be supported by roundsmen systems, by never so liberal parish doles, or lodged in

free and easy workhouses when distress overtakes him; not for this, however in words he may clamour for it; not for this, but for something far different does the heart of him struggle. It is 'for justice' that he struggles; for 'just wages,'—not in money alone! An ever-toiling inferior, he would fain (though as yet he knows it not) find for himself a superior that should lovingly and wisely govern: is not that too the 'just wages' of his service done? It is for a manlike place and relation, in this world where he sees himself a man, that he struggles. At bottom may we not say, it is even for this, That guidance and government, which he cannot give himself, which in our so complex world he can no longer do without, might be afforded him? The thing he struggles for is one which no Forty-third of Elizabeth is in any condition to furnish him, to put him on the road towards getting. Let him quit the Forty-third of Elizabeth altogether; and rejoice that the Poor-Law Amendment Act has, even by harsh methods and against his own will, forced him away from it. That was a broken reed to lean on, if there ever was one; and did but run into his lamed right-hand. Let him cast it far from him, that broken reed, and look to quite the opposite point of the heavens for help. His unlamed right-hand, with the cunning industry that lies in it, is not this defined to be 'the sceptre of our Planet'? He that can work is a born king of something; is in communion with Nature, is master of a thing or things, is a priest and king of Nature so far. He that can work at nothing is but a usurping king, be his trappings what they may; he is the born slave of all things. Let a man honour his craftmanship, his *can-do;* and know that his rights of man have no concern at all with the Forty-third of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER IV.

FINEST PEASANTRY IN THE WORLD.

The New Poor-Law is an announcement, sufficiently distinct, that whosoever will not work ought not to live. Can the poor man that is willing to work, always find work, and live by his work? Statistic Inquiry, as we saw, has no answer to give. Legislation presupposes the answer—to be in the affirmative. A large postulate; which should have been made a proposition of; which should have been demonstrated, made indubitable to all persons! A man willing to work, and unable to find work, is perhaps the saddest sight that Fortune's inequality exhibits under this sun. Burns expresses feelingly what thoughts it gave him: a poor man seeking *work;* seeking leave to toil that he might be fed and sheltered! That he might but be put on a level with the four-footed workers of the Planet which is his! There is not a horse willing to work but can get food and shelter in requital; a thing this two-footed worker has to seek for, to solicit occasionally in vain. He is nobody's two-footed worker; he is not even anybody's slave. And yet he is a *two*-footed worker; it is currently reported there is an immortal soul in him, sent down out of Heaven into the Earth; and one beholds him *seeking* for this!—Nay what will a wise Legislature say, if it turn out that he cannot find it; that the answer to their postulate proposition is not affirmative but negative?

There is one fact which Statistic Science has communicated, and a most astonishing one; the inference from which is pregnant as to this matter. Ireland has near seven millions of working people, the third unit of whom, it appears by Statistic Science, has not for thirty weeks each year as many third-rate potatoes as will suffice him. It is a fact perhaps the most eloquent that was ever written down in any language, at any date of the world's history. Was change and reformation needed in Ireland? Has Ireland been governed and guided in a 'wise

and loving' manner? A government and guidance of white European men which has issued in perennial hunger of potatoes to the third man extant,—ought to drop a veil over its face, and walk out of court under conduct of proper officers; saying no word; expecting now of a surety sentence either to change or die. All men, we must repeat, were made by God, and have immortal souls in them. The Sanspotatoe is of the selfsame stuff as the superfinest Lord Lieutenant. Not an individual Sanspotatoe human scarecrow but had a Life given him out of Heaven, with Eternities depending on it; for once and no second time. With Immensities in him, over him and round him; with feelings which a Shakspeare's speech would not utter; with desires illimitable as the Autocrat's of all the Russias! Him various thrice-honoured persons, things and institutions have long been teaching, long been guiding, governing: and it is to perpetual scarcity of third-rate potatoes, and to what depends thereon, that he has been taught and guided. Figure thyself, O high-minded, clear-headed, clean-burnished reader, clapt by enchantment into the torn coat and waste hunger-lair of that same root-devouring brother man!—

Social anomalies are things to be defended, things to be amended; and in all places and things, short of the Pit itself, there is some admixture of worth and good. Room for extenuation, for pity, for patience! And yet when the general result has come to the length of perennial starvation, argument, extenuating logic, pity and patience on that subject may be considered as drawing to a close. It may be considered that such arrangement of things will have to terminate. That it has all just men for its natural enemies. That all just men, of what outward colour soever in Politics or otherwise, will say: This cannot last, Heaven disowns it, Earth is against it; Ireland will be burnt into a black unpeopled field of ashes rather than this should last.—The woes of Ireland, or 'justice to Ireland,' is not the chapter we have to write at present. It is a deep matter, an abyssmal one, which no plummet of ours will sound. For the oppression has gone far farther than into the economics of Ireland; inwards to her very heart and soul. The Irish National character is degraded, disordered; till this recover itself, nothing is yet recovered. Immethodic, headlong, violent, mendacious: what can you make of the wretched Irishman? "A finer people never lived," as the Irish lady said to us; "only they have two faults, they do generally lie and steal: barring these"—! A people that knows not to speak the truth, and to act the truth, such people has departed from even the possibility of well-being. Such people works no longer on Nature and Reality; works now on Fantasm, Simulation, Nonentity; the result it arrives at is naturally not a thing but no-thing,—defect even of potatoes. Scarcity, futility, confusion, distraction must be perennial there. Such

a people circulates not order but disorder, through every vein of it;—and the cure, if it is to be a cure, must begin at the heart: not in his condition only but in himself must the Patient be all changed. Poor Ireland! And yet let no true Irishman, who believes and sees all this, despair by reason of it. Cannot he too do something to withstand the unproductive falsehood, there as it lies accursed around him, and change it into truth, which is fruitful and blessed? Every mortal can and shall himself be a true man: it is a great thing, and the parent of great things;—as from a single acorn the whole earth might in the end be peopled with oaks! Every mortal can do something: this let him faithfully do, and leave with assured heart the issue to a Higher Power!

We English pay, even now, the bitter smart of long centuries of injustice to our neighbour Island. Injustice, doubt it not, abounds; or Ireland would not be miserable. The Earth is good, bountifully sends food and increase; if man's unwisdom did not intervene and forbid. It was an evil day when Strigul first meddled with that people. He could not extirpate them: could they but have agreed together, and extirpated him! Violent men there have been, and merciful; unjust rulers, and just; conflicting in a great element of violence, these five wild centuries now; and the violent and unjust have carried it, and we are come to *this*. England is guilty towards Ireland; and reaps at last, in full measure, the fruit of fifteen generations of wrong-doing.

But the thing we had to state here was our inference from that mournful fact of the third Sanspotatoe,—coupled with this other well-known fact that the Irish speak a partially intelligible dialect of English, and their fare across by steam is four-pence sterling! Crowds of miserable Irish darken all our towns. The wild Milesian features, looking false ingenuity, restlessness, unreason, misery and mockery, salute you on all highways and byways. The English coachman, as he whirls past, lashes the Milesian with his whip, curses him with his tongue; the Milesian is holding out his hat to beg. He is the sorest evil this country has to strive with. In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back; for wages that will purchase him potatoes. He needs only salt for condiment; he lodges to his mind in any pighutch or doghutch, roosts in outhouses; and wears a suit of tatters, the getting off and on of which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only in festivals and the hightides of the calendar. The Saxon man if he cannot work on these terms, finds no work. He too may be ignorant; but he has not sunk from decent manhood to squalid apehood: he cannot continue there. American forests lie untilled across the ocean; the uncivilised Irishman, not by his strength but by the opposite of strength, drives out the Saxon native, takes possession in his

room. There abides he, in his squalor and unreason, in his falsity and drunken violence, as the ready-made nucleus of degradation and disorder. Whosoever struggles, swimming with difficulty, may now find an example how the human being can exist not swimming but sunk. Let him sink; he is not the worst of men; not worse than this man. We have quarantines against pestilence; but there is no pestilence like that; and against it what quarantine is possible? It is lamentable to look upon. This soil of Britain, these Saxon men have cleared it, made it arable, fertile and a home for them; they and their fathers have done that. Under the sky there exists no force of men who with arms in their hands could drive them out of it; all force of men with arms these Saxons would seize, in their grim way, and fling (Heaven's justice and their own Saxon humour aiding them) swiftly into the sea. But behold, a force of men armed only with rags, ignorance and nakedness; and the Saxon owners, paralysed by invisible magic of paper formula, have to fly far, and hide themselves in Transatlantic forests. 'Irish repeal?' "Would to God," as Dutch William said, "*You* were King of Ireland, and could take yourself and it three thousand miles off,"—there to repeal it!

And yet these poor Celtiberian Irish brothers, what can *they* help it? They cannot stay at home, and starve. It is just and natural that they come hither as a curse to us. Alas, for them too it is not a luxury. It is not a straight or joyful way of avenging their sore wrongs this; but a most sad circuitous one. Yet a way it is, and an effectual way. The time has come when the Irish population must either be improved a little, or else exterminated. Plausible management, adapted to this hollow outcry or to that, will no longer do; it must be management grounded on sincerity and fact, to which the truth of things will respond—by an actual beginning of improvement to these wretched brother-men. In a state of perennial ultra-savage famine, in the midst of civilisation, they cannot continue. For that the Saxon British will ever submit to sink along with them to such a state, we assume as impossible. There is in these latter, thank God, an ingenuity which is not false; a methodic spirit, of insight, of perseverant well-doing; a rationality and veracity which Nature with her truth does *not* disown;—withal there is a 'Berserkir-rage' in the heart of them, which will prefer all things, including destruction and self-destruction, to that. Let no man awaken it, this same Berserkir-rage! Deep-hidden it lies, far down in the centre, like genial central-fire, with stratum after stratum of arrangement, traditionary method, composed productiveness, all built above it, vivified and rendered fertile by it: justice, clearness, silence, perseverance, unhasting unresting diligence, hatred of disorder, hatred of injustice, which is the worst disorder, characterise this people; their inward fire we say, as all such fire should be, is hidden at the cen-

tre. Deep-hidden; but awakenable, but immeasurable;—let no man awaken it! With this strong silent people have the noisy vehement Irish now at length got common cause made. Ireland, now for the first time, in such strange circuitous way, does find itself embarked in the same boat with England, to sail together, or to sink together; the wretchedness of Ireland, slowly but inevitably, has crept over to us, and become our own wretchedness. The Irish population must get itself redressed and saved, for the sake of the English if for nothing else. Alas, that it should, on both sides, be poor toiling men that pay the smart for unruly Striguls, Henrys, Macdermots, and O'Donoghues! The strong have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the weak are set on edge. 'Curses,' says the Proverb, 'are like chickens, they return always *home*.'

But now on the whole, it seems to us, English Statistic Science, with floods of the finest peasantry in the world streaming in on us daily, may fold up her Danaides reticulations on this matter of the Working Classes; and conclude, what every man who will take the statistic spectacles off his nose, and look, may discern in town or country: That the condition of the lower multitude of English labourers approximates more and more to that of the Irish competing with them in all markets; that whatsoever labour, to which mere strength with little skill will suffice, is to be done, will be done not at the English price, but at an approximation to the Irish price: at a price superior as yet to the Irish, that is, superior to scarcity of third-rate potatoes for thirty weeks yearly; superior, yet hourly, with the arrival of every new steamboat, sinking nearer to an equality with that. Half-a-million handloom weavers, working fifteen hours a-day, in perpetual inability to procure thereby enough of the coarsest food; English farm-labourers at nine shillings and at seven shillings a week; Scotch farm-labourers who, 'in districts the half of whose husbandry is that of cows, taste no milk, can procure no milk:' all these things are credible to us; several of them are known to us by the best evidence, by eyesight. With all this it is consistent that the wages of 'skilled labour,' as it is called, should in many cases be higher than they ever were: the giant Steamengine in a giant English Nation will here create violent demand for labour, and will there annihilate demand. But, alas, the great portion of labour is not skilled: the millions are and must be skilless, where strength alone is wanted; ploughers, delvers, borers; hewers of wood and drawers of water; menials of the Steamengine, only the *chief* menials and immediate *body*-servants of which require skill. English Commerce stretches its fibres over the whole earth; sensitive literally, nay quivering in convulsion, to the farthest influences of the earth. The huge demon of Mechanism smokes and thunders, panting at his great task, in all sections of English land; changing

his *shape* like a very Proteus; and infallibly at every change of shape, *oversetting* whole multitudes of workmen, and as if with the waving of his shadow from afar, hurling them asunder, this way and that, in their crowded march and course of work or traffic; so that the wisest no longer knows his whereabout. With an Ireland pouring daily in on us, in these circumstances; deluging us down to its own waste confusion, outward and inward, it seems a cruel mockery to tell poor drudges that *their* condition is improving.

New Poor-Law! *Laissez-faire, laissez-passer!* The master of horses, when the summer labour is done, has to feed his horses through the winter. If he said to his horses: "Quadrupeds, I have no longer work for you; but work exists abundantly over the world: are you ignorant (or must I read you Political-Economy Lectures) that the Steamengine always in the long-run creates additional work? Railways are forming in one quarter of this earth, canals in another, much cartage is wanted; somewhere in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, doubt it not, ye will find cartage: go and seek cartage, and good go with you!" They, with protrusive upper lip, snort dubious; signifying that Europe, Asia, Africa and America lie somewhat out of their beat; that what cartage may be wanted there is not too well known to them. *They* can find no cartage. They gallop distracted along highways, all fenced in to the right and to the left: finally, under pains of hunger, they take to leaping fences; eating foreign property, and—we know the rest. Ah, it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh Humanity is forced to, at *Laissez-faire* applied to poor peasants, in a world like our Europe of the year 1839!

So much can observation altogether unstatistic, looking only at a Drogheda or Dublin steamboat, ascertain for itself. Another thing, likewise ascertainable on this vast obscure matter, excites a superficial surprise, but only a superficial one: That it is the best-paid workmen who, by Strikes, Trades-unions, Chartism, and the like, complain the most. No doubt of it! The best-paid workmen are they alone that *can* so complain! How shall he, the handloom weaver, who in the day that is passing over him has to find food for the day, strike work? If he strike work, he starves within the week. He is past complaint!—The fact itself, however, is one which, if we consider it, leads us into still deeper regions of the malady. Wages, it would appear, are no index of well-being to the working man: without proper wages there can be no well-being; but with them also there may be none. Wages of working men differ greatly in different quarters of this country; according to the researches or the guess of Mr. Symmons, an intelligent humane inquirer, they vary in the ratio of not less than three to one. Cotton-spinners, as we learn, are generally well paid, while employed; their wages, one week with another, wives and children all working, amount to sums

which, if well laid out, were fully adequate to comfortable living. And yet, alas, there seems little question that comfort or reasonable well-being is as much a stranger in these households as in any. At the cold hearth of the ever-toiling ever-hungering weaver, dwells at least some equability, fixation as if in perennial ice: hope never comes; but also irregular impatience is absent. Of outward things these others have or might have enough, but of all inward things there is the fatallest lack. Economy does not exist among them; their trade now in plethoric prosperity, anon extenuated into inanition and 'short-time,' is of the nature of gambling; they live by it like gamblers, now in luxurious superfluity, now in starvation. Black mutinous discontent devours them; simply the miserablest feeling that can inhabit the heart of man. English Commerce with its world-wide convulsive fluctuations, with its immeasurable Proteus Steam-demon, makes all paths uncertain for them, all life a bewilderment: sobriety, steadfastness, peaceable continuance, the first blessings of man, are not theirs.

It is in Glasgow among that class of operatives that 'Number 60,' in his dark room, pays down the price of blood. Be it with reason or with unreason, too surely they do in verity find the time all out of joint; this world for them no home, but a dingy prisonhouse, of reckless unthrift, rebellion, rancour, indignation against themselves and against all men. Is it a green flowery world, with azure everlasting sky stretched over it, the work and government of a God; or a murky-simmering Tophet, of copperas-fumes, cotton-fuz, gin-riot, wrath and toil, created by a Demon, governed by a Demon? The sum of their wretchedness merited and unmerited welters, huge, dark and baleful, like a Dantean Hell, visible there in the statistics of Gin: Gin justly named the most authentic incarnation of the Infernal Principle in our times, too indisputable an incarnation; Gin the black throat into which wretchedness of every sort, consummating itself by calling on delirium to help it, whirls down; abdication of the power to think or resolve, as too painful now, on the part of men whose lot of all others would require thought and resolution; liquid Madness sold at ten-pence the quartern, all the products of which are and must be, like its origin, mad, miserable, ruinous, and that only! If from this black unluminous unheeded *Inferno*, and Prisonhouse of souls in pain, there do flash up from time to time, some dismal wide-spread glare of Chartism or the like, notable to all, claiming remedy from all,—are we to regard it as more baleful than the quiet state, or rather as not so baleful? Ireland is in chronic atrophy these five centuries; the disease of nobler England, identified now with that of Ireland, becomes acute, has crises, and will be cured or kill.

CHAPTER V.

RIGHTS AND MIGHTS.

It is not what a man outwardly has or wants that constitutes the happiness or misery of him. Nakedness, hunger, distress of all kinds, death itself have been cheerfully suffered, when the heart was right. It is the feeling of *injustice* that is insupportable to all men. The brutallest black African cannot bear that he should be used unjustly. No man can bear it, or ought to bear it. A deeper law than any parchment-law whatsoever, a law written direct by the hand of God in the inmost being of man, incessantly protests against it. What is injustice? Another name for *dis*order, for unveracity, unreality; a thing which veracious created Nature, even because it is not Chaos and a waste-whirling baseless Phantasm, rejects and disowns. It is not the outward pain of injustice; that, were it even the flaying of the back with knotted scourges, the severing of the head with guillotines, is comparatively a small matter. The real smart is the soul's pain and stigma, the hurt inflicted on the moral self. The rudest clown must draw himself up into attitude of battle, and resistance to the death, if such be offered him. He cannot live under it; his own soul aloud, and all the Universe with silent continual beckonings, says, It cannot be. He must revenge himself; *revancher* himself, make himself good again,—that so *meum* may be mine, *tuum* thine, and each party standing clear on his own basis, order be restored. There is something infinitely respectable in this, and we may say universally respected; it is the common stamp of manhood vindicating itself in all of us, the basis of whatever is worthy in all of us, and through superficial diversities, the same in all.

As *dis*order, insane by the nature of it, is the hatefullest of things to man, who lives by sanity and order, so injustice is the worst evil, some call it the only evil, in this world. All men submit to toil, to disappointment, to unhappiness; it is their

lot here; but in all hearts, inextinguishable by sceptic logic, by sorrow, perversion or despair itself, there is a small still voice intimating that it is not the final lot; that wild, waste, incoherent as it looks, a God presides over it; that it is not an injustice but a justice. Force itself, the hopelessness of resistance, has doubtless a composing effect;—against inanimate *Simooms*, and much other infliction of the like sort, we have found it suffice to produce complete composure. Yet, one would say, a permanent Injustice even from an Infinite Power would prove unendurable by men. If men had lost belief in a God, their only resource against a blind No-God, of Necessity and Mechanism, that held them like a hideous World-Steamengine, like a hideous Phalaris' Bull, imprisoned in its own iron belly, would be, with or without hope,—*revolt*. They could, as Novalis says, by a 'simultaneous universal act of suicide,' *depart* out of the World-Steamengine; and end, if not in victory, yet in invincibility, and unsubduable protest that such World-Steamengine was a failure and a stupidity.

Conquest, indeed, is a fact often witnessed; conquest, which seems mere wrong and force, everywhere asserts itself as a right among men. Yet if we examine, we shall find that, in this world, no conquest could ever become permanent, which did not withal shew itself beneficial to the conquered as well as to conquerors. Mithridates King of Pontus, come now to extremity, 'appealed to the patriotism of his people;' but, says the history, 'he had squeezed them, and fleeced and plundered them, for long years;' his requisitions, flying irregular, devastative, like the whirlwind, were less supportable than Roman strictness and method, regular though never so rigorous: he therefore appealed to their patriotism in vain. The Romans conquered Mithridates. The Romans, having conquered the world, held it conquered, *because* they could best govern the world; the mass of men found it nowise pressing to revolt; their fancy might be afflicted more or less, but in their solid interests they were better off than before. So too in this England long ago, the old Saxon Nobles, disunited among themselves, and in power too nearly equal, could not have governed the country well; Harold being slain, their last chance of governing it, except in anarchy and civil war, was over: a new class of strong Norman Nobles, entering with a strong man, with a succession of strong men at the head of them, and not disunited, but united by many ties, by their very community of language and interest, had there been no other, *were* in a condition to govern it; and did govern it, we can believe, in some rather tolerable manner, or they would not have continued there. They acted, little conscious of such function on their part, as an immense volunteer Police Force, stationed everywhere, united, disciplined, feudally regimented, ready for action; strong Teutonic men; who on the whole proved effective men, and

drilled this wild Teutonic people into unity and peaceable co-operation better than others could have done! How *can-do*, if we will well interpret it, unites itself with *shall-do* among mortals; how strength acts ever as the right-arm of justice; how might and right, so frightfully discrepant at first, are ever in the long-run one and the same,—is a cheering consideration, which always in the black tempestuous vortices of this world's history, will shine out on us, like an everlasting polar star.

Of conquest we may say that it never yet went by brute force and compulsion; conquest of that kind does not endure. Conquest, along with power of compulsion, an essential universally in human society, must bring benefit along with it, or men, of the ordinary strength of men, will fling it out. The strong man, what is he if we will consider? The wise man; the man with the gift of method, of faithfulness and valour, all of which are of the basis of wisdom; who has insight into what is what, into what will follow out of what, the eye to see and the hand to do; who is *fit* to administer, to direct, and guidingly command: he is the strong man. His muscles and bones are no stronger than ours; but his soul is stronger, his soul is wiser, clearer,—is better and nobler, for that is, has been, and ever will be the root of all clearness worthy of such a name. Beautiful it is, and a gleam from the same eternal pole-star visible amid the destinies of men, that all talent, all intellect is in the first place moral;—what a world were this otherwise! But it is the heart always that sees, before the head *can* see: let us know that; and know therefore that the Good alone is deathless and victorious, that Hope is sure and steadfast, in all phases of this 'Place of Hope.'—Shiftiness, quirk, attorney-cunning is a kind of thing that fancies itself, and is often fancied, to be talent; but it is luckily mistaken in that. Succeed truly it does, what is called succeeding; and even must in general succeed, if the dispensers of success be of due stupidity: men of due stupidity will needs say to it, "*Thou* art wisdom, rule thou!" Whereupon it rules. But Nature answers, "No, this ruling of thine is not according to *my* laws; thy wisdom was not wise enough! Dost thou take me too for a Quackery? For a Conventionality and Attorneyism? This chaff that thou sowest into my bosom, though it pass at the poll-booth and elsewhere for seed-corn, *I* will not grow wheat out of it, for it is chaff!"

But to return. Injustice, infidelity to truth and fact and Nature's order, being properly the one evil under the sun, and the feeling of injustice the one intolerable pain under the sun, our grand question as to the condition of these working men would be: Is it just? And first of all, What belief have they themselves formed about the justice of it? The words they promulgate are notable by way of answer; their actions are still more notable. Chartism with its pikes, Swing

with his tinder-box, speak a most loud though inarticulate language. Glasgow Thuggery speaks aloud too, in a language we may well call infernal. What kind of 'wild-justice' must it be in the hearts of these men that prompts them, with cold deliberation, in conclave assembled, to doom their brother workman, as the deserter of his order and his order's cause, to die as a traitor and deserter; and have him executed, since not by any public judge and hangman, then by a private one;—like your old Chivalry *Femgericht*, and Secret-Tribunal, suddenly in this strange guise become new; suddenly rising once more on the astonished eye, dressed now not in mail-shirts but in fustian jackets, meeting not in Westphalian forests but in the paved Gallowgate of Glasgow! Not loyal loving obedience to those placed over them, but a far other temper, must animate these men! It is frightful enough. Such temper must be wide-spread, virulent among the many, when even in its worst acme, it can take such a form in a few. But indeed decay of loyalty in all senses, disobedience, decay of religious faith, has long been noticeable and lamentable in this largest class, as in other smaller ones. Revolt, sullen revengeful humour of revolt against the upper classes, decreasing respect for what their temporal superiors command, decreasing faith for what their spiritual superiors teach, is more and more the universal spirit of the lower classes. Such spirit may be blamed, may be vindicated; but all men must recognise it as extant there, all may know that it is mournful, that unless altered it will be fatal. Of lower classes so related to upper, happy nations are not made! To whatever other griefs the lower classes labour under, this bitterest and sorest grief now superadds itself: the unendurable conviction that they are unfairly dealt with, that their lot in this world is not founded on right, not even on necessity and might, is neither what it should be, nor what it shall be.

Or why do we ask of Chartism, Glasgow Trades-unions, and such like? Has not broad Europe heard the question put, and answered, on the great scale; has not a French Revolution been? Since the year 1789, there is now half-a-century complete; and a French Revolution not yet complete! Whosoever will look at that enormous Phenomenon may find many meanings in it, but this meaning as the ground of all: That it was a revolt of the oppressed lower classes against the oppressing or neglecting upper classes: not a French revolt only; no, a European one; full of stern monition to all countries of Europe. These Chartisms, Radicalisms, Reform Bill, Tithe Bill, and infinite other discrepancy, and acrid argument and jargon that there is yet to be, are *our* French Revolution: God grant that we, with our better methods, may be able to transact it by argument alone!

The French Revolution, now that we have sufficiently execrated its horrors and crimes, is found to have had withal a great meaning in it. As indeed, what

great thing ever happened in this world, a world understood always to be made and governed by a Providence and Wisdom, not by an Unwisdom, without meaning somewhat? It was a tolerably audible voice of proclamation, and universal *oyez!* to all people, this of three-and-twenty years' close fighting, sieging, conflagrating, with a million or two of men shot dead: the world ought to know by this time that it was verily meant in earnest, that same Phenomenon, and had its own reasons for appearing there! Which accordingly the world begins now to do. The French Revolution is seen, or begins everywhere to be seen, 'as the crowning phenomenon of our Modern Time;' 'the inevitable stern end of much; the fearful, but also wonderful, indispensable and sternly beneficent beginning of much.' He who would understand the struggling convulsive unrest of European society, in any and every country, at this day, may read it in broad glaring lines there, in that the most convulsive phenomenon of the last thousand years. Europe lay pining, obstructed, moribund; quack-ridden, hag-ridden,—is there a hag, or spectre of the Pit, so baleful, hideous as your accredited quack, were he never so close-shaven, mild-spoken, plausible to himself and others? Quack-ridden: in that one word lies all misery whatsoever. Speciosity in all departments usurps the place of reality, thrusts reality away; instead of performance, there is appearance of performance. The quack is a Falsehood Incarnate; and speaks, and makes and does mere falsehoods, which Nature with her veracity has to disown. As chief priest, as chief governor, he stands there, intrusted with much. The husbandman of 'Time's Seedfield;' he is the world's hired sower, hired and solemnly appointed to sow the kind true earth with wheat this year, that next year all men may have bread. He, miserable mortal, deceiving and self-deceiving, sows it, as we said, not with corn but with chaff; the world nothing doubting, harrows it in, pays him his wages, dismisses him with blessing, and—next year there has no corn sprung. Nature has disowned the chaff, declined growing chaff, and behold now there is no bread! It becomes necessary, in such case, to do several things; not soft things some of them, but hard.

Nay we will add that the very circumstance of quacks in unusual quantity getting domination, indicates that the heart of the world is *already* wrong. The impostor is false; but neither are his dupes altogether true: is not his first grand dupe the falsest of all,—himself namely? Sincere men, of never so limited intellect, have an instinct for discriminating sincerity. The cunningest Mephistopheles cannot deceive a simple Margaret of honest heart; 'it stands written on his brow.' Masses of people capable of being led away by quacks are themselves of partially untrue spirit. Alas, in such times it grows to be the universal belief, sole accredited knowingness, and the contrary of it accounted puerile enthusiasm,

this sorrowfullest *dis*belief that there is properly speaking any truth in the world; that the world was, has been, or ever can be guided, except by simulation, dissimulation, and the sufficiently dexterous practice of pretence. The faith of men is dead: in what has guineas in its pocket, beefeaters riding behind it, and cannons trundling before it, they can believe; in what has none of these things they cannot believe. Sense for the true and false is lost; there is properly no longer any true or false. It is the heyday of Imposture; of Semblance recognising itself, and getting itself recognised, for Substance. Gaping multitudes listen; unlistening multitudes see not but that it is all right, and in the order of Nature. Earnest men, one of a million, shut their lips; suppressing thoughts, which there are no words to utter. To them it is too visible that spiritual life has departed; that material life, in whatsoever figure of it, cannot long remain behind. To them it seems as if our Europe of the Eighteenth Century, long hag-ridden, vexed with foul enchanters, to the length now of gorgeous Domdaniel *Parcs-aux-cerfs* and 'Peasants living on meal-husks and boiled grass,' had verily sunk down to die and dissolve; and were now, with its French Philosophisms, Hume Scepticisms, Diderot Atheisms, maundering in the final deliration; writhing, with its Seven-years Silesian robber-wars, in the final agony. Glory to God, our Europe was not to die but to live! Our Europe rose like a frenzied giant; shook all that poisonous magician trumpery to right and left, trampling it stormfully under foot; and declared aloud that there was strength in him, not for life only, but for new and infinitely wider life. Antæus-like the giant had struck his foot once more upon Reality and the Earth; there only, if in this Universe at all, lay strength and healing for him. Heaven knows, it was not a gentle process; no wonder that it was a fearful process, this same 'Phœnix fire-consummation!' But the alternative was it or death; the merciful Heavens, merciful in their severity, sent us it rather.

And so the 'rights of man' were to be written down on paper; and experimentally wrought upon towards elaboration, in huge battle and wrestle, element conflicting with element, from side to side of this earth, for three-and-twenty years. Rights of man, wrongs of man? It is a question which has swallowed whole nations and generations; a question—on which we will not enter here. Far be it from us! Logic has small business with this question at present; logic has no plummet that will sound it at any time. But indeed the rights of man, as has been not unaptly remarked, are little worth ascertaining in comparison to the *mights* of man,—to what portion of his rights he has any chance of being able to make good! The accurate final rights of man lie in the far deeps of the Ideal, where 'the Ideal weds itself to the Possible,' as the Philosophers say. The

ascertainable temporary rights of man vary not a little, according to place and time. They are known to depend much on what a man's convictions of them are. The Highland wife, with her husband at the foot of the gallows, patted him on the shoulder (if there be historical truth in Joseph Miller), and said amid her tears: "Go up, Donald, my man; the Laird bids ye." To her it seemed the rights of lairds were great, the rights of men small; and she acquiesced. Deputy Lapoule, in the *Salle des Menus* at Versailles, on the 4th of August, 1789, demanded (he did actually 'demand,' and by unanimous vote obtain) that the 'obsolete law' authorizing a Seigneur, on his return from the chase or other needful fatigue, to slaughter not above two of his vassals, and refresh his feet in their warm blood and bowels, should be 'abrogated.' From such obsolete law, or mad tradition and phantasm of an obsolete law, down to any corn-law, game-law, rotten-borough law, or other law or practice clamoured of in this time of ours, the distance travelled over is great!—What are the rights of men? All men are justified in demanding and searching for their rights; moreover, justified or not, they will do it: by Chartisms, Radicalisms, French Revolutions, or whatsoever methods they have. Rights surely are right: on the other hand, this other saying is most true, 'Use every man according to his *rights*, and who shall escape whipping!' These two things, we say, are both true; and both are essential to make up the whole truth. All good men know always and feel, each for himself, that the one is not less true than the other; and act accordingly. The contradiction is of the surface only; as in opposite sides of the same fact: universal in this *dualism* of a life we have. Between these two extremes, Society and all human things must fluctuatingly adjust themselves the best they can.

And yet that there is verily a 'rights of man' let no mortal doubt. An ideal of right does dwell in all men, in all arrangements, pactions and procedures of men: it is to this ideal of right, more and more developing itself as it is more and more approximated to, that human Society forever tends and struggles. We say also that any given thing either *is* unjust or else just; however obscure the arguings and strugglings on it be, the thing in itself there as it lies, infallibly enough, *is* the one or the other. To which let us add only this, the first, last article of faith, the alpha and omega of all faith among men, That nothing which is unjust can hope to continue in this world. A faith true in all times, more or less forgotten in most, but altogether frightfully brought to remembrance again in ours! Lyons fusilladings, Nantes noyadings, reigns of terror, and such other universal battle-thunder and explosion; these, if we will understand them, were but a new irrefragable preaching abroad of that. It would appear that Speciosities which are not Realities cannot any longer inhabit this world. It would appear that the

unjust thing has no friend in the Heaven, and a majority against it on the Earth; nay that *it* has at bottom all men for its enemies; that it may take shelter in this fallacy and then in that, but will be hunted from fallacy to fallacy till it find no fallacy to shelter in any more, but must march and go elsewhither;—that, in a word, it ought to prepare incessantly for decent departure, before *in*decent departure, ignominious drumming out, nay savage smiting out and burning out, overtake it! Alas, was that such new tidings? Is it not from of old indubitable, that Untruth, Injustice which is but acted untruth, has no power to continue in this true Universe of ours? The tidings was world-old, or older, as old as the Fall of Lucifer: and yet in that epoch unhappily it was new tidings, unexpected, incredible; and there had to be such earthquakes and shakings of the nations before it could be listened to, and laid to heart even slightly! Let us lay it to heart, let us know it well, that new shakings be not needed. Known and laid to heart it must everywhere be, before peace can pretend to come. This seems to us the secret of our convulsed era; this which is so easily written, which is and has been and will be so hard to bring to pass. All true men, high and low, each in his sphere, are consciously or unconsciously bringing it to pass; all false and half-true men are fruitlessly spending themselves to hinder it from coming to pass.

CHAPTER VI.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE.

From all which enormous events, with truths old and new embodied in them, what innumerable practical inferences are to be drawn! Events are written lessons, glaring in huge hieroglyphic picture-writing, that all may read and know them: the terror and horror they inspire is but the note of preparation for the truth they are to teach; a mere waste of terror if that be not learned. Inferences enough; most didactic, practically applicable in all departments of English things! One inference, but one inclusive of all, shall content us here; this namely: That *Laissez-faire* has as good as done its part in a great many provinces; that in the province of the Working Classes, *Laissez-faire* having passed its New Poor-Law, has reached the suicidal point, and now, as *felo-de-se*, lies dying there, in torchlight meetings and such like; that, in brief, a government of the under classes by the upper on a principle of *Let alone* is no longer possible in England in these days. This is the one inference inclusive of all. For there can be no acting or doing of any kind, till it be recognised that there is a thing to be done; the thing once recognised, doing in a thousand shapes becomes possible. The Working Classes cannot any longer go on without government; without being *actually* guided and governed; England cannot subsist in peace till, by some means or other, some guidance and government for them is found.

For, alas, on us too the rude truth has come home. Wrappages and speciosities all worn off, the haggard naked fact speaks to us: Are these millions taught? Are these millions guided? We have a Church, the venerable embodiment of an idea which may well call itself divine; which our fathers for long ages, feeling it to be divine, have been embodying as we see: it is a Church well furnished with equipments and appurtenances; educated in universities; rich in money;

set on high places that it may be conspicuous to all, honoured of all. We have an Aristocracy of landed wealth and commercial wealth, in whose hands lies the law-making and the law-administering; an Aristocracy rich, powerful, long secure in its place; an Aristocracy with more faculty put free into its hands than was ever before, in any country or time, put into the hands of any class of men. This Church answers: Yes, the people are taught. This Aristocracy, astonishment in every feature, answers: Yes, surely the people are guided! Do we not pass what Acts of Parliament are needful; as many as thirty-nine for the shooting of the partridges alone? Are there not tread-mills, gibbets; even hospitals, poor-rates, New Poor-Law? So answers Church; so answers Aristocracy, astonishment in every feature.—Fact, in the meanwhile, takes his lucifer-box, sets fire to wheat-stacks; sheds an all-too dismal light on several things. Fact searches for his third-rate potatoe, not in the meekest humour, six-and-thirty weeks each year; and does not find it. Fact passionately joins Messiah Thom of Canterbury, and has himself shot for a new fifth-monarchy brought in by Bedlam. Fact holds his fustian-jacket *Femgericht* in Glasgow City. Fact carts his Petition over London streets, begging that you would simply have the goodness to grant him universal suffrage, and 'the five points,' by way of remedy. These are not symptoms of teaching and guiding.

Nay, at bottom, is it not a singular thing this of *Laissez-faire*, from the first origin of it? As good as an *abdication* on the part of governors; an admission that they are henceforth incompetent to govern, that they are not there to govern at all, but to do—one knows not what! The universal demand of *Laissez-faire* by a people from its governors or upper classes, is a soft-sounding demand; but it is only one step removed from the fatallest. '*Laissez-faire*,' exclaims a sardonic German writer, 'What is this universal cry for *Laissez-faire?* Does it mean that human affairs require no guidance; that wisdom and forethought cannot guide them better than folly and accident? Alas, does it not mean: "*Such* guidance is worse than none! Leave us alone of *your* guidance; eat your wages, and sleep!"' And now if guidance have grown indispensable, and the sleep continue, what becomes of the sleep and its wages?—In those entirely surprising circumstances to which the Eighteenth Century had brought us, in the time of Adam Smith, *Laissez-faire* was a reasonable cry;—as indeed, in all circumstances, for a wise governor there will be meaning in the principle of it. To wise governors you will cry: "See what you will, and will not, let alone." To unwise governors, to hungry Greeks throttling down hungry Greeks on the floor of a St. Stephens, you will cry: "Let *all* things alone; for Heaven's sake, meddle ye with nothing!" How *Laissez-faire* may adjust itself in other provinces we say not: but we do venture

to say, and ask whether events everywhere, in world-history and parish-history, in all manner of dialects are not saying it, That in regard to the lower orders of society, and their governance and guidance, the principle of *Laissez-faire* has terminated, and is no longer applicable at all, in this Europe of ours, still less in this England of ours. Not misgovernment, nor yet no-government; only government will now serve. What is the meaning of the 'five points,' if we will understand them? What are all popular commotions and maddest bellowings, from Peterloo to the Place-de-Grève itself? Bellowings, *in*articulate cries as of a dumb creature in rage and pain; to the ear of wisdom they are inarticulate prayers: "Guide me, govern me! I am mad, and miserable, and cannot guide myself!" Surely of all 'rights of man,' this right of the ignorant man to be guided by the wiser, to be, gently or forcibly, held in the true course by him, is the indisputablest. Nature herself ordains it from the first; Society struggles towards perfection by enforcing and accomplishing it more and more. If Freedom have any meaning, it means enjoyment of this right, wherein all other rights are enjoyed. It is a sacred right and duty, on both sides; and the summary of all social duties whatsoever between the two. Why does the one toil with his hands, if the other be not to toil, still more unweariedly, with heart and head? The brawny craftsman finds it no child's play to mould his unpliant rugged masses; neither is guidance of men a dilettantism: what it becomes when treated as a dilettantism, we may see! The wild horse bounds homeless through the wilderness, is not led to stall and manger; but neither does he toil for you, but for himself only.

Democracy, we are well aware, what is called 'self-government' of the multitude by the multitude, is in words the thing everywhere passionately clamoured for at present. Democracy makes rapid progress in these latter times, and ever more rapid, in a perilous accelerative ratio; towards democracy, and that only, the progress of things is everywhere tending as to the final goal and winning-post. So think, so clamour the multitudes everywhere. And yet all men may see, whose sight is good for much, that in democracy can lie no finality; that with the completest winning of democracy there is nothing yet won,—except emptiness, and the free chance to win! Democracy is, by the nature of it, a self-cancelling business; and gives in the long-run a net-result of *zero*. Where no government is wanted, save that of the parish-constable, as in America with its boundless soil, every man being able to find work and recompense for himself, democracy may subsist; not elsewhere, except briefly, as a swift transition towards something other and farther. Democracy never yet, that we heard of, was able to accomplish much work, beyond that same cancelling of itself. Rome and Athens are themes for the schools; unexceptionable for that purpose. In Rome and Athens, as

elsewhere, if we look practically, we shall find that it was not by loud voting and debating of many, but by wise insight and ordering of a few that the work was done. So is it ever, so will it ever be. The French Convention was a Parliament elected 'by the five points,' with ballot-boxes, universal suffrages, and what not, as perfectly as Parliament can hope to be in this world; and had indeed a pretty spell of work to do, and did it. The French Convention had to cease from being a free Parliament, and become more arbitrary than any Sultan Bajazet, before it could so much as subsist. It had to purge out its argumentative Girondins, elect its Supreme Committee of *Salut*, guillotine into silence and extinction all that gainsayed it, and rule and work literally by the sternest despotism ever seen in Europe, before it could rule at all. Napoleon was not president of a republic; Cromwell tried hard to rule in that way, but found that he could not. These, 'the armed soldiers of democracy,' had to chain democracy under their feet, and become despots over it, before they could work out the earnest obscure purpose of democracy itself! Democracy, take it where you will in our Europe, is found but as a regulated method of rebellion and abrogation; it abrogates the old arrangement of things; and leaves, as we say, *zero* and vacuity for the institution of a new arrangement. It is the consummation of No-government and *Laissez-faire*. It may be natural for our Europe at present; but cannot be the ultimatum of it. Not towards the impossibility, 'self-government' of a multitude by a multitude; but towards some possibility, government by the wisest, does bewildered Europe struggle. The blessedest possibility: not misgovernment, not *Laissez-faire*, but veritable government! Cannot one discern too, across all democratic turbulence, clattering of ballot-boxes and infinite sorrowful jangle, needful or not, that this at bottom is the wish and prayer of all human hearts, everywhere and at all times: "Give me a leader; a true leader, not a false sham-leader; a true leader, that he may guide me on the true way, that I may be loyal to him, that I may swear fealty to him and follow him, and feel that it is well with me!" The relation of the taught to their teacher, of the loyal subject to his guiding king, is, under one shape or another, the vital element of human Society; indispensable to it, perennial in it; without which, as a body reft of its soul, it falls down into death, and with horrid noisome dissolution passes away and disappears.

But verily in these times, with their new stern Evangel, that Speciosities which are not Realities can no longer be, all Aristocracies, Priesthoods, Persons in Authority, are called upon to consider. What is an Aristocracy? A corporation of the Best, of the Bravest. To this joyfully, with heart-loyalty, do men pay

the half of their substance, to equip and decorate their Best, to lodge them in palaces, set them high over all. For it is of the nature of men, in every time, to honour and love their Best; to know no limits in honouring them. Whatsoever Aristocracy *is* still a corporation of the Best, is safe from all peril, and the land it rules is a safe and blessed land. Whatsoever Aristocracy does not even attempt to be that, but only to wear the clothes of that, is not safe; neither is the land it rules in safe! For this now is our sad lot, that we must find a *real* Aristocracy, that an apparent Aristocracy, how plausible soever, has become inadequate for us. One way or other, the world will absolutely need to be governed; if not by this class of men, then by that. One can predict, without gift of prophecy, that the era of routine is nearly ended. Wisdom and faculty alone, faithful, valiant, ever-zealous, not pleasant but painful, continual effort, will suffice. Cost what it may, by one means or another, the toiling multitudes of this perplexed, overcrowded Europe, must and will find governors. '*Laissez-faire*, Leave them to do?' The thing they will *do*, if so left, is too frightful to think of! It has been *done* once, in sight of the whole earth, in these generations: can it need to be done a second time?

For a Priesthood, in like manner, whatsoever its titles, possessions, professions, there is but one question: Does it teach and spiritually guide this people, yea or no? If yea, then is all well. But if no, then let it strive earnestly to alter, for as yet there is nothing well! Nothing, we say: and indeed is not this that we call spiritual guidance properly the soul of the whole, the life and eyesight of the whole? The world asks of its Church in these times, more passionately than of any other Institution any question, "Canst thou teach us or not?"—A Priesthood in France, when the world asked, "What canst thou do for us?" answered only, aloud and ever louder, "Are we not of God? Invested with all power?"—till at length France cut short this controversy too, in what frightful way we know. To all men who believed in the Church, to all men who believed in God and the soul of man, there was no issue of the French Revolution half so sorrowful as that. France cast out its benighted blind Priesthood into destruction; yet with what a loss to France also! A solution of continuity, what we may well call such; and this where continuity is so momentous: the New, whatever it may be, cannot now *grow* out of the Old, but is severed sheer asunder from the Old,—how much lies wasted in that gap! That one whole generation of thinkers should be without a religion to believe, or even to contradict; that Christianity, in thinking France, should as it were fade away so long into a remote extraneous tradition, was one of the saddest facts connected with the future of that country. Look at such Political and Moral Philosophies, St.-Simonisms, Robert-Macairisms, and

the 'Literature of Desperation'! Kingship was perhaps but a cheap waste, compared with this of the Priestship; under which France still, all but unconsciously, labours; and may long labour, remediless the while. Let others consider it, and take warning by it! France is a pregnant example in all ways. Aristocracies that do not govern, Priesthoods that do not teach; the misery of that, and the misery of altering that,—are written in Belshazzar fire-letters on the history of France.

Or does the British reader, safe in the assurance that 'England is not France,' call all this unpleasant doctrine of ours ideology, perfectibility, and a vacant dream? Does the British reader, resting on the faith that what has been these two generations was from the beginning, and will be to the end, assert to himself that things are already as they can be, as they must be; that on the whole, no Upper Classes did ever 'govern' the Lower, in this sense of governing? Believe it not, O British reader! Man is man everywhere; dislikes to have 'sensible species' and 'ghosts of defunct bodies' foisted on him, in England even as in France. How much the Upper Classes did actually, in any the most perfect Feudal time, return to the Under by way of recompense, in government, guidance, protection, we will not undertake to specify here. In Charity-Balls, Soup-Kitchens, in Quarter-Sessions, Prison-Discipline and Treadmills, we can well believe the old Feudal Aristocracy not to have surpassed the new. Yet we do say that the old Aristocracy were the governors of the Lower Classes, the guides of the Lower Classes; and even, at bottom, that they existed as an Aristocracy because they were found adequate for that. Not by Charity-Balls and Soup-Kitchens; not so; far otherwise! But it was their happiness that, in struggling for their own objects, they *had* to govern the Lower Classes, even in this sense of governing. For, in one word, *Cash Payment* had not then grown to be the universal sole nexus of man to man; it was something other than money that the high then expected from the low, and could not live without getting from the low. Not as buyer and seller alone, of land or what else it might be, but in many senses still as soldier and captain, as clansman and head, as loyal subject and guiding king, was the low related to the high. With the supreme triumph of Cash, a changed time has entered; there must a changed Aristocracy enter. We invite the British reader to meditate earnestly on these things.

Another thing, which the British reader often reads and hears in this time, is worth his meditating for a moment: That Society 'exists for the protection of property.' To which it is added, that the poor man also has property, namely, his 'labour,' and the fifteen-pence or three-and-sixpence a-day he can get for that. True enough, O friends, 'for protecting *property;*' most true: and indeed if you will once sufficiently enforce that Eighth Commandment, the whole 'rights of man'

are well cared for; I know no better definition of the rights of man. *Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not be stolen from:* what a Society were that; Plato's Republic, More's Utopia mere emblems of it! Give every man what is his, the accurate price of what he has done and been, no man shall any more complain, neither shall the earth suffer any more. For the protection of property, in very truth, and for that alone!—And now what is thy property? That parchment title-deed, that purse thou buttonest in thy breeches-pocket? Is that thy valuable property? Unhappy brother, most poor insolvent brother, I without parchment at all, with purse oftenest in the flaccid state, imponderous, which will not fling against the wind, have quite other property than that! I have the miraculous breath of Life in me, breathed into my nostrils by Almighty God. I have affections, thoughts, a god-given *capability* to be and do; rights, therefore,—the right for instance to thy love if I love thee, to thy guidance if I obey thee: the strangest rights, whereof in church-pulpits one still hears something, though almost unintelligible now; rights, stretching high into Immensity, far into Eternity! Fifteen-pence a-day; three-and-sixpence a-day; eight hundred pounds and odd a-day, dost thou call that my property? I value that little; little all I could purchase with that. For truly, as is said, what matters it? In torn boots, in soft-hung carriages-and-four, a man gets always to his journey's end. Socrates walked barefoot, or in wooden shoes, and yet arrived happily. They never asked him, *What* shoes or conveyance? never, What wages hadst thou? but simply, What work didst thou?—Property, O brother? 'Of my very body I have but a life-rent.' As for this flaccid purse of mine, 'tis something, nothing; has been the slave of pickpockets, cutthroats, Jew-brokers, gold-dust-robbers; 'twas his, 'tis mine;—'tis thine, if thou care much to steal it. But my soul, breathed into me by God, my *Me* and what capability is there; that is mine, and I will resist the stealing of it. I call that mine and not thine; I will keep that, and do what work I can with it: God has given it me, the Devil shall not take it away! Alas, my friends, Society exists and has existed for a great many purposes, not so easy to specify!

Society, it is understood, does not in any age, prevent a man from being what he *can be*. A sooty African *can* become a Toussaint L'ouverture, a murderous Three-fingered Jack, let the yellow West Indies say to it what they will. A Scottish Poet 'proud of his name and country,' *can* apply fervently to 'Gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt,' and become a gauger of beer-barrels, and tragical immortal broken-hearted Singer; the stifled echo of his melody audible through long centuries, one other note in 'that sacred *Miserere*' that rises up to Heaven, out of all times and lands. What I *can be* thou decidedly wilt not hinder me from being. Nay even for being what I *could be*, I have the strangest claims on thee,—

not convenient to adjust at present! Protection of breeches-pocket property? O reader, to what shifts is poor Society reduced, struggling to give still some account of herself, in epochs when Cash Payment has become the sole nexus of man to man! On the whole, we will advise Society not to talk at all about what she exists for; but rather with her whole industry to exist, to try how she can keep existing! That is her best plan. She may depend upon it, if she ever, by cruel chance, did come to exist only for protection of breeches-pocket property, she would lose very soon the gift of protecting even that, and find her career in our lower world on the point of terminating!—

For the rest, that in the most perfect Feudal Ages, the Ideal of Aristocracy nowhere lived in vacant serene purity as an Ideal, but always as a poor imperfect Actual, little heeding or not knowing at all that an Ideal lay in it,—this too we will cheerfully admit. Imperfection, it is known, cleaves to human things; far is the Ideal departed from, in most times; very far! And yet so long as an Ideal (any soul of Truth) does, in never so confused a manner, exist and work within the Actual, it is a tolerable business. Not so, when the Ideal has entirely departed, and the Actual owns to itself that it has no Idea, no soul of Truth any longer: at that degree of imperfection human things cannot continue living; they are obliged to alter or expire, when they attain to that. Blotches and diseases exist on the skin and deeper, the heart continuing whole; but it is another matter when the heart itself becomes diseased; when there is no heart, but a monstrous gangrene pretending to exist there as heart!

On the whole, O reader, thou wilt find everywhere that things which have had an existence among men have first of all had to have a truth and worth in them, and were not semblances but realities. Nothing not a reality ever yet got men to pay bed and board to it for long. Look at Mahometanism itself! Dalai-Lamaism, even Dalai-Lamaism, one rejoices to discover, may be worth its victuals in this world; not a quackery but a sincerity; not a nothing but a something! The mistake of those who believe that fraud, force, injustice, whatsoever untrue thing, howsoever cloaked and decorated, was ever or can ever be the principle of man's relations to man, is great, and the greatest. It is the error of the infidel; in whom the truth as yet is *not*. It is an error pregnant with mere errors and miseries; an error fatal, lamentable, to be abandoned by all men.

CHAPTER VII.

NOT LAISSEZ-FAIRE.

How an Aristocracy, in these present times and circumstances, could, if never so well disposed, set about governing the Under Class? What they should do; endeavour or attempt to do? That is even the question of questions:—the question which *they* have to solve; which it is our utmost function at present to tell them, lies there for solving, and must and will be solved.

Insoluble we cannot fancy it. One select class Society has furnished with wealth, intelligence, leisure, means outward and inward for governing; another huge class, furnished by Society with none of those things, declares that it must be governed: Negative stands fronting Positive; if Negative and Positive *cannot* unite,—it will be worse for both! Let the faculty and earnest constant effort of England combine round this matter; let it once be recognised as a vital matter. Innumerable things our Upper Classes and Lawgivers might 'do;' but the preliminary of all things, we must repeat, is to know that a thing must needs be done. We lead them here to the shore of a boundless continent; ask them, Whether they do not with their own eyes see it, see strange symptoms of it, lying huge, dark, unexplored, inevitable; full of hope, but also full of difficulty, savagery, almost of despair? Let them enter; they must enter; Time and Necessity have brought them hither; where they are is no continuing! Let them enter; the first step once taken, the next will have become clearer, all future steps will become possible. It is a great problem for all of us; but for themselves, we may say, more than for any. On them chiefly, as the expected solvers of it, will the failure of a solution first fall. One way or other there must and will be a solution.

True, these matters lie far, very far indeed, from the 'usual habits of Parliament,' in late times; from the routine course of any Legislative or Administra-

tive body of men that exists among us. Too true! And that is even the thing we complain of: had the mischief been looked into as it gradually rose, it would not have attained this magnitude. That self-cancelling Donothingism and *Laissez-faire* should have got so ingrained into our Practice, is the source of all these miseries. It is too true that Parliament, for the matter of near a century now, has been able to undertake the adjustment of almost one thing alone, of itself and its own interests; leaving other interests to rub along very much as they could and would. True, this was the practice of the whole Eighteenth Century; and struggles still to prolong itself into the Nineteenth,—which however is no longer the time for it! Those Eighteenth-century Parliaments, one may hope, will become a curious object one day. Are not these same '*Memoires*' of Horace Walpole, to an unparliamentary eye, already a curious object? One of the clearest-sighted men of the Eighteenth Century writes down his Parliamentary observation of it there; a determined despiser and merciless dissector of cant; a liberal withal, one who will go all lengths for the 'glorious revolution,' and resist Tory principles to the death: he writes, with an indignant elegiac feeling, how Mr. This, who had voted so and then voted so, and was the son of this and the brother of that, and had such claims to the fat appointment, was nevertheless scandalously postponed to Mr. That;—whereupon are not the affairs of this nation in a bad way? How hungry Greek meets hungry Greek on the floor of St. Stephens, and wrestles him and throttles him till he has to cry, Hold! the office is thine!—of this does Horace write.—One must say, the destinies of nations do not always rest entirely on Parliament. One must say, it is a wonderful affair that science of 'government,' as practised in the Eighteenth Century of the Christian era, and still struggling to practise itself. One must say, it was a lucky century that could get it so practised: a century which had inherited richly from its predecessors; and also which did, not unnaturally, bequeath to its successors a French Revolution, general overturn, and reign of terror;—intimating, in most audible thunder, conflagration, guillotinement, cannonading and universal war and earthquake, that such century with its practices had *ended*.

Ended;—for decidedly that course of procedure will no longer serve. Parliament will absolutely, with whatever effort, have to lift itself out of those deep ruts of donothing routine; and learn to say, on all sides, something more edifying than *Laissez-faire*. If Parliament cannot learn it, what is to become of Parliament? The toiling millions of England ask of their English Parliament foremost of all, Canst thou govern us or not? Parliament with its privileges is strong; but Necessity and the Laws of Nature are stronger than it. If Parliament cannot do this thing, Parliament we prophesy will do some other thing and

things which, in the strangest and not the happiest way, will forward its being done,—not much to the advantage of Parliament probably! Done, one way or other, the thing must be. In these complicated times, with Cash Payment as the sole nexus between man and man, the Toiling Classes of mankind declare, in their confused but most emphatic way, to the Untoiling, that they will be governed; that they must,—under penalty of Chartisms, Thuggeries, Rick-burnings, and even blacker things than those. Vain also is it to think that the misery of one class, of the great universal under class, can be isolated, and kept apart and peculiar, down in that class. By infallible contagion, evident enough to reflection, evident even to Political Economy that will reflect, the misery of the lowest spreads upwards and upwards till it reaches the very highest; till all has grown miserable, palpably false and wrong; and poor drudges hungering 'on meal-husks and boiled grass' do, by circuitous but sure methods, bring kings' heads to the block!

Cash Payment the sole nexus; and there are so many things which cash will not pay! Cash is a great miracle; yet it has not all power in Heaven, nor even on Earth. 'Supply and demand' we will honour also; and yet how many 'demands' are there, entirely indispensable, which have to go elsewhere than to the shops, and produce quite other than cash, before they can get their supply! On the whole, what astonishing payments does cash make in this world! Of your Samuel Johnson furnished with 'fourpence halfpenny a-day,' and solid lodging at nights on the paved streets, as his payment, we do not speak;—not in the way of complaint: it is a world-old business for the like of him, that same arrangement or a worse; perhaps the man, for his own uses, had need even of that and of no better. Nay is not Society, busy with its Talfourd Copyright Bill and the like, struggling to do something effectual for that man;—enacting with all industry that his own creation be accounted his own manufacture, and continue unstolen, on his own market-stand, for so long as sixty years? Perhaps Society is right there; for discrepancies on that side too may become excessive. All men are not patient docile Johnsons; some of them are half-mad inflammable Rousseaus. Such, in peculiar times, you may drive too far. Society in France, for example, was not destitute of cash: Society contrived to pay Philippe d'Orléans not yet Egalité three hundred thousand a-year and odd, for driving cabriolets through the streets of Paris and other work done: but in cash, encouragement, arrangement, recompense or recognition of any kind, it had nothing to give this same half-mad Rousseau for his work done; whose brain in consequence, *too* 'much enforced' for a weak brain, uttered hasty sparks, *Contrat Social* and the like, which proved not so quenchable again! In regard to that species of men too,

who knows whether *Laissez-faire* itself (which is Sergeant Talfourd's Copyright Bill continued to eternity instead of sixty years) will not turn out insufficient, and have to cease, one day?—

Alas, in regard to so very many things, *Laissez-faire* ought partly to endeavour to cease! But in regard to poor Sanspotatoe peasants, Trades-Union craftsmen, Chartist cotton-spinners, the time has come when it must either cease or a worse thing straightway begin,—a thing of tinder-boxes, vitriol-bottles, secondhand pistols, a visibly insupportable thing in the eyes of all.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW ERAS.

For in very truth it is a 'new Era;' a new Practice has become indispensable in it. One has heard so often of new eras, new and newest eras, that the word has grown rather empty of late. Yet new eras do come; there is no fact surer than that they have come more than once. And always with a change of era, with a change of intrinsic conditions, there had to be a change of practice and outward relations brought about,—if not peaceably, then by violence; for brought about it had to be, there could no rest come till then. How many eras and epochs, not noted at the moment;—which indeed is the blessedest condition of epochs, that they come quietly, making no proclamation of themselves, and are only visible long after: a Cromwell Rebellion, a French Revolution, 'striking on the Horologe of Time,' to tell all mortals what o'clock it has become, are too expensive, if one could help it!—

In a strange rhapsodic 'History of the Teuton Kindred (*Geschichte der Teutschen Sippschaft*),' not yet translated into our language, we have found a Chapter on the Eras of England, which, were there room for it, would be instructive in this place. We shall crave leave to excerpt some pages; partly as a relief from the too near vexations of our own rather sorrowful Era; partly as calculated to throw, more or less obliquely, some degree of light on the meanings of that. The Author is anonymous: but we have heard him called the Herr Professor Sauerteig, and indeed think we know him under that name:

'Who shall say what work and works this England has yet to do? For what purpose this land of Britain was created, set like a jewel in the encircling blue of Ocean; and this Tribe of Saxons, fashioned in the depths of Time, "on the

shores of the Black Sea" or elsewhere, "out of Harzgebirge rock" or whatever other material, was sent travelling hitherward? No man can say: it was for a work, and for works, incapable of announcement in words. Thou seest them there; part of them stand done, and visible to the eye; even these thou canst not *name:* how much less the others still matter of prophecy only!—They live and labour there, these twenty million Saxon men; they have been born into this mystery of life out of the darkness of Past Time:—how changed now since the first Father and first Mother of them set forth, quitting the Tribe of *Theuth*, with passionate farewell, under questionable auspices; on scanty bullock-cart, if they had even bullocks and a cart; with axe and hunting-spear, to subdue a portion of our common Planet! This Nation now has cities and seedfields, has spring-vans, dray-waggons, Long-Acre carriages, nay railway trains; has coined-money, exchange-bills, laws, books, war-fleets, spinning-jennies, warehouses and West-India Docks: see what it has built and done, what it can and will yet build and do! These umbrageous pleasure-woods, green meadows, shaven stubble-fields, smooth-sweeping roads; these high-domed cities, and what they hold and bear; this mild Good-morrow which the stranger bids thee, equitable, nay forbearant if need were, judicially calm and law-observing towards thee a stranger, what work has it not cost? How many brawny arms, generation after generation, sank down wearied; how many noble hearts, toiling while life lasted, and wise heads that wore themselves dim with scanning and discerning, before this waste *White-cliff*, Albion so-called, with its other Cassiterides *Tin Islands*, became a British Empire! The stream of World-History has altered its complexion; Romans are dead out, English are come in. The red broad mark of Romanhood, stamped ineffaceably on that Chart of Time, has disappeared from the present, and belongs only to the past. England plays its part; England too has a mark to leave, and we will hope none of the least significant. Of a truth, whosoever had, with the bodily eye, seen Hengst and Horsa mooring on the mud-beach of Thanet, on that spring morning of the Year 449; and then, with the spiritual eye, looked forward to New York, Calcutta, Sidney Cove, across the ages and the oceans; and thought what Wellingtons, Washingtons, Shakspeares, Miltons, Watts, Arkwrights, William Pitts and Davie Crocketts had to issue from that business, and do their several taskworks so,—*he* would have said, those leather-boats of Hengst's had a kind of cargo in them! A genealogic Mythus superior to any in the old Greek, to almost any in the old Hebrew itself; and not a Mythus either, but every fibre of it fact. An Epic Poem was there, and all manner of poems; except that the Poet has not yet made his appearance.'

'Six centuries of obscure endeavour,' continues Sauerteig, 'which to read Historians, you would incline to call mere obscure slaughter, discord, and misendeavour; of which all that the human memory, after a thousand readings, can remember, is that it resembled, what Milton names it, the "flocking and fighting of kites and crows:" this, in brief, is the history of the Heptarchy or Seven Kingdoms. Six centuries; a stormy spring-time, if there ever was one, for a Nation. Obscure fighting of kites and crows, however, was not the History of it; but was only what the dim Historians of it saw good to record. Were not forests felled, bogs drained, fields made arable, towns built, laws made, and the Thought and Practice of men in many ways perfected? Venerable Bede had got a language which he could now not only speak, but spell and put on paper: think what lies in that. Bemurmured by the German sea-flood swinging slow with sullen roar against those hoarse Northumbrian rocks, the venerable man set down several things in a legible manner. Or was the smith idle, hammering only war-tools? He had learned metallurgy, stithy-work in general; and made ploughshares withal, and adzes and mason-hammers. *Castra*, Caesters or Chesters, Dons, Tons (*Zauns*, Inclosures or *Towns*), not a few, did they not stand there; of burnt brick, of timber, of lath-and-clay; sending up the peaceable smoke of hearths? England had a History then too; though no Historian to write it. Those "flockings and fightings," sad inevitable necessities, were the expensive tentative steps towards some capability of living and working in concert: experiments they were, not always conclusive, to ascertain who had the might over whom, the right over whom.'

'M. Thierry has written an ingenious Book, celebrating with considerable pathos the fate of the Saxons fallen under that fierce-hearted *Conquistator*, Acquirer or Conqueror, as he is named. M. Thierry professes to have a turn for looking at that side of things: the fate of the Welsh too moves him; of the Celts generally, whom a fiercer race swept before them into the mountainous nooks of the West, whither they were not worth following. Noble deeds, according to M. Thierry, were done by these unsuccessful men, heroic sufferings undergone; which it is a pious duty to rescue from forgetfulness. True, surely! A tear at least is due to the unhappy: it is right and fit that there should be a man to assert that lost cause too, and see what can still be made of it. Most right:—and yet, on the whole, taking matters on that great scale, what can we say but that the cause which pleased the gods has in the end to please Cato also? Cato cannot alter it; Cato will find that he cannot at bottom wish to alter it. Might and

Right do differ frightfully from hour to hour; but give them centuries to try it in, they are found to be identical. Whose land *was* this of Britain? God's who made it, His and no other's it was and is. Who of God's creatures had right to live in it? The wolves and bisons? Yes they; till one with a better right shewed himself. The Celt, "aboriginal savage of Europe," as a snarling antiquary names him, arrived, pretending to have a better right; and did accordingly, not without pain to the bisons, make good the same. He had a better right to that piece of God's land; namely a better might to turn it to use;—a might to settle himself there, at least, and try what use he could turn it to. The bisons disappeared; the Celts took possession, and tilled. Forever, was it to be? Alas, *Forever* is not a category that can establish itself in this world of Time. A world of Time, by the very definition of it, is a world of mortality and mutability, of Beginning and Ending. No property is eternal but God the Maker's: whom Heaven permits to take possession, his is the right; Heaven's sanction *is* such permission,—while it lasts: nothing more can be said. Why does that hyssop grow there, in the chink of the wall? Because the whole Universe, sufficiently occupied otherwise, could not hitherto prevent its growing! It has the might and the right. By the same great law do Roman Empires establish themselves, Christian Religions promulgate themselves, and all extant Powers bear rule. The strong thing is the just thing: this thou wilt find throughout in our world;—as indeed was God and Truth the Maker of our world, or was Satan and Falsehood?

'One proposition widely current as to this Norman Conquest is of a Physiologic sort: That the conquerors and conquered here were of different races; nay that the Nobility of England is still, to this hour, of a somewhat different blood from the commonalty, their fine Norman features contrasting so pleasantly with the coarse Saxon ones of the others. God knows, there are coarse enough features to be seen among the commonalty of that country; but if the Nobility's be finer, it is not their Normanhood that can be the reason. Does the above Physiologist reflect who those same Normans, Northmen, originally were? Baltic Saxons, and what other miscellany of Lurdanes, Jutes and Deutsch Pirates from the East-sea marshes would join them in plunder of France! If living three centuries longer in Heathenism, sea-robbery, and the unlucrative fishing of ambergris could ennoble them beyond the others, then were they ennobled. The Normans were Saxons who had learned to speak French. No: by Thor and Wodan, the Saxons were all as noble as needful;—shaped, says the Mythus, "from the rock of the Harzgebirge;" brother-tribes being made of clay, wood, water, or what other material might be going! A stubborn, taciturn, sulky, indomitable rock-made race of men; as the figure they cut in all quarters, in the cane-brake of Arkansas,

in the Ghauts of the Himmalaya, no less than in London City, in Warwick or Lancaster County, does still abundantly manifest.'

'To this English People in World-History, there have been, shall I prophesy, Two grand tasks assigned? Huge-looming through the dim tumult of the always incommensurable Present Time, outlines of two tasks disclose themselves: the grand Industrial task of conquering some half or more of this Terraqueous Planet for the use of man; then secondly, the grand Constitutional task of sharing, in some pacific endurable manner, the fruit of said conquest, and shewing all people how it might be done. These I will call their two tasks, discernible hitherto in World-History: in both of these they have made respectable though unequal progress. Steamengines, ploughshares, pickaxes; what is meant by conquering this Planet, they partly know. Elective franchise, ballot-box, representative assembly; how to accomplish sharing of that conquest, they do not so well know. Europe knows not; Europe vehemently asks in these days, but receives no answer, no credible answer. For as to the partial Delolmish, Benthamee, or other French or English answers, current in the proper quarters and highly beneficial and indispensable there, thy disbelief in them as final answers, I take it, is complete.'

'Succession of rebellions? Successive clippings away of the Supreme Authority; class after class rising in revolt to say, "We will no more be governed so"? That is not the history of the English Constitution; not altogether that. Rebellion is the means, but it is not the motive cause. The motive cause, and true secret of the matter, were always this: The necessity there was for rebelling?

'Rights I will permit thee to call everywhere "correctly-articulated *mights*." A dreadful business to articulate correctly! Consider those Barons of Runnymead; consider all manner of successfully revolting men! Your Great Charter has to be experimented on, by battle and debate, for a hundred-and-fifty years; is then found to *be* correct; and stands as true *Magna Charta*,—nigh cut in pieces by a tailor, short of measures, in later generations. Mights, I say, are a dreadful business to articulate correctly! Yet articulated they have to be; the time comes for it, the need comes for it, and with enormous difficulty and experimenting it is got done. Call it not succession of rebellions; call it rather succession of expansions, of enlightenments, gift of articulate utterance descending ever lower. Class after class acquires faculty of utterance,—Necessity teaching and compelling; as the dumb man, seeing the knife at his father's throat, suddenly

acquired speech! Consider too how class after class not only acquires faculty of articulating what its might is, but likewise grows in might, acquires might or loses might; so that always, after a space, there is not only new gift of articulating, but there is something new to articulate. Constitutional epochs will never cease among men.'

'And so now, the Barons all settled and satisfied, a new class hitherto silent had begun to speak; the Middle Class, namely. In the time of James First, not only Knights of the Shire but Parliamentary Burgesses assemble, to assert, to complain and propose; a real House of Commons has come decisively into play,—much to the astonishment of James First. We call it a growth of mights, if also of necessities; a growth of power to articulate mights, and make rights of them.

'In those past silent centuries, among those silent classes, much had been going on. Not only had red-deer in the New and other Forests been got preserved and shot; and treacheries of Simon de Montfort, wars of Red and White Roses, Battles of Crecy, Battles of Bosworth and many other battles been got transacted and adjusted; but England wholly, not without sore toil and aching bones to the millions of sires and the millions of sons these eighteen generations, had been got drained and tilled, covered with yellow harvests, beautiful and rich possessions; the mud-wooden Caesters and Chesters had become steepled tile-roofed compact Towns. Sheffield had taken to the manufacture of Sheffield whittles; Worstead could from wool spin yarn, and knit or weave the same into stockings or breeches for men. England had property valuable to the auctioneer; but the accumulate manufacturing, commercial, economic *skill* which lay impalpably warehoused in English hands and heads, what auctioneer could estimate?

'Hardly an Englishman to be met with but could *do* something; some cunninger thing than break his fellow-creature's head with battle-axes. The seven incorporated trades, with their million guild-brethren, with their hammers, their shuttles and tools, what an army;—fit to conquer that land of England, as we say, and to hold it conquered! Nay, strangest of all, the English people had acquired the faculty and habit of thinking,—even of believing: individual conscience had unfolded itself among them; Conscience, and Intelligence its handmaid. Ideas of innumerable kinds were circulating among these men: witness one Shakspeare, a woolcomber, poacher, or whatever else at Stratford in Warwickshire, who happened to write books! The finest human figure, as I apprehend, that Nature has

hitherto seen fit to make of our widely diffused Teutonic clay. Saxon, Norman, Celt or Sarmat, I find no human soul so beautiful, these fifteen hundred known years;—our supreme modern European man. Him England had contrived to realise: were there not ideas?

'Ideas poetic and also Puritanic,—that had to seek utterance in the notablest way! England had got her Shakspeare; but was now about to get her Milton and Oliver Cromwell. This too we will call a new expansion, hard as it might be to articulate and adjust; this, that a man could actually have a Conscience for his own behoof, and not for his Priest's only; that his Priest, be who he might, would henceforth have to take that fact along with him. One of the hardest things to adjust! It is not adjusted down to this hour. It lasts onwards to the time they call "Glorious Revolution" before so much as a reasonable truce can be made, and the war proceed by logic mainly. And still it is war, and no peace, unless we call waste vacancy peace. But it needed to be adjusted, as the others had done, as still others will do. Nobility at Runnymead cannot endure foul-play grown palpable; no more can Gentry in Long Parliament; no more can Commonalty in Parliament they name Reformed. Prynne's bloody ears were as a testimony and question to all England: "Englishmen, is this fair?" England, no longer continent of herself, answered, bellowing as with the voice of lions: "No, it is not fair!"'

'But now on the Industrial side, while this great Constitutional controversy, and revolt of the Middle Class had not ended, had yet but begun, what a shoot was that that England, carelessly, in quest of other objects, struck out across the Ocean, into the waste land which it named *New* England! Hail to thee, poor little ship Mayflower, of Delft-Haven: poor common-looking ship, hired by common charterparty for coined dollars; caulked with mere oakum and tar; provisioned with vulgarest biscuit and bacon;—yet what ship Argo, or miraculous epic ship built by the Sea-gods, was other than a foolish bumbarge in comparison! Golden fleeces or the like these sailed for, with or without effect; thou little Mayflower hadst in thee a veritable Promethean spark; the life-spark of the largest Nation on our Earth,—so we may already name the Transatlantic Saxon Nation. They went seeking leave to hear sermon in their own method, these Mayflower Puritans; a most honest indispensable search: and yet, like Saul the son of Kish, seeking a small thing, they found this unexpected great thing! Honour to the brave and true; they verily, we say, carry fire from Heaven, and have a power that themselves dream not of. Let all men honour Puritanism,

since God has so honoured it. Islam itself, with its wild heartfelt "*Allah akbar*, God *is* great," was it not honoured? There is but one thing without honour; smitten with eternal barrenness, inability to do or be: Insincerity, Unbelief. He who believes no *thing*, who believes only the shows of things, is not in relation with Nature and Fact at all. Nature denies him; orders him at his earliest convenience to disappear. Let him disappear from her domains,—into those of Chaos, Hypothesis and Simulacrum, or wherever else his parish may be.'

'As to the Third Constitutional controversy, that of the Working Classes, which now debates itself everywhere these fifty years, in France specifically since 1789, in England too since 1831, it is doubtless the hardest of all to get articulated: finis of peace, or even reasonable truce on this, is a thing I have little prospect of for several generations. Dark, wild-weltering, dreary, boundless; nothing heard on it yet but ballot-boxes, Parliamentary arguing; not to speak of much far worse arguing, by steel and lead, from Valmy to Waterloo, to Peterloo!'—

'And yet of Representative Assemblies may not this good be said: That contending parties in a country do thereby ascertain one another's strength? They fight there, since fight they must, by petition, Parliamentary eloquence, not by sword, bayonet and bursts of military cannon. Why do men fight at all, if it be not that they are yet *un*acquainted with one another's strength, and must fight and ascertain it? Knowing that thou art stronger than I, that thou canst compel me, I will submit to thee: unless I chance to prefer extermination, and slightly circuitous suicide, there is no other course for me. That in England, by public meetings, by petitions, by elections, leading-articles, and other jangling hubbub and tongue-fence which perpetually goes on everywhere in that country, people ascertain one another's strength, and the most obdurate House of Lords has to yield and give in before it come to cannonading and guillotinement: this is a saving characteristic of England. Nay, at bottom, is not this the celebrated English Constitution itself? This *un*spoken Constitution, whereof Privilege of Parliament, Money-Bill, Mutiny-Bill, and all that could be spoken and enacted hitherto, is not the essence and body, but only the shape and skin? Such Constitution is, in our times, verily invaluable.'

'Long stormy spring-time, wet contentious April, winter chilling the lap of very May; but at length the season of summer does come. So long the tree stood naked; angry wiry naked boughs moaning and creaking in the wind: you

would say, Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground? Not so; we must wait; all things will have their time.—Of the man Shakspeare, and his Elizabethan Era, with its Sydneys, Raleighs, Bacons, what could we say? That it was a spiritual flower-time. Suddenly, as with the breath of June, your rude naked tree is touched; bursts into leaves and flowers, *such* leaves and flowers. The past long ages of nakedness, and wintry fermentation and elaboration, have done their part, though seeming to do nothing. The past silence has got a voice, all the more significant the longer it had continued silent. In trees, men, institutions, creeds, nations, in all things extant and growing in this Universe, we may note such vicissitudes, and budding-times. Moreover there are spiritual budding-times; and then also there are physical, appointed to nations.

'Thus in the middle of that poor calumniated Eighteenth Century, see once more! Long winter again past, the dead-seeming tree proves to be living, to have been always living; after motionless times, every bough shoots forth on the sudden, very strangely:—it now turns out that this favoured England was not only to have had her Shakspeares, Bacons, Sydneys, but to have her Watts, Arkwrights, Brindleys! We will honour greatness in all kinds. The Prospero evoked the singing of Ariel, and took captive the world with those melodies: the same Prospero can send his Fire-demons panting across all oceans; shooting with the speed of meteors, on cunning highways, from end to end of kingdoms; and make Iron his missionary, preaching *its* evangel to the brute Primeval Powers, which listen and obey: neither is this small. Manchester, with its cotton-fuz, its smoke and dust, its tumult and contentious squalor, is hideous to thee? Think not so: a precious substance, beautiful as magic dreams and yet no dream but a reality, lies hidden in that noisome wrappage;—a wrappage struggling indeed (look at Chartisms and such like) to cast itself off, and leave the beauty free and visible there! Hast thou heard, with sound ears, the awakening of a Manchester, on Monday morning, at half-past five by the clock; the rushing off of its thousand mills, like the boom of an Atlantic tide, ten thousand times ten thousand spools and spindles all set humming there,—it is perhaps, if thou knew it well, sublime as a Niagara, or more so. Cotton-spinning is the clothing of the naked in its result; the triumph of man over matter in its means. Soot and despair are not the essence of it; they are divisible from it,—at this hour, are they not crying fiercely to be divided? The great Goethe, looking at cotton Switzerland, declared it, I am told, to be of all things that he had seen in this world the most poetical. Whereat friend Kanzler von Müller, in search of the palpable picturesque, could not but stare wide-eyed. Nevertheless our World-Poet knew well what he was saying.'

'Richard Arkwright, it would seem, was not a beautiful man; no romance-hero with haughty eyes, Apollo-lip, and gesture like the herald Mercury; a plain almost gross, bag-cheeked, potbellied Lancashire man, with an air of painful reflection, yet also of copious free digestion;—a man stationed by the community to shave certain dusty beards, in the Northern parts of England, at a halfpenny each. To such end, we say, by forethought, oversight, accident and arrangement, had Richard Arkwright been, by the community of England and his own consent, set apart. Nevertheless, in strapping of razors, in lathering of dusty beards, and the contradictions and confusions attendant thereon, the man had notions in that rough head of his; spindles, shuttles, wheels and contrivances plying ideally within the same: rather hopeless-looking; which, however, he did at last bring to bear. Not without difficulty! His townsfolk rose in mob round him, for threatening to shorten labour, to shorten wages; so that he had to fly, with broken washpots, scattered household, and seek refuge elsewhere. Nay his wife too, as I learn, rebelled; burnt his wooden model of his spinning-wheel; resolute that he should stick to his razors rather;—for which, however, he decisively, as thou wilt rejoice to understand, packed her out of doors. O reader, what a Historical Phenomenon is that bag-cheeked, potbellied, much-enduring, much-inventing barber! French Revolutions were a-brewing: to resist the same in any measure, imperial Kaisers were impotent without the cotton and cloth of England; and it was this man that had to give England the power of cotton.'

'Neither had Watt of the Steamengine a heroic origin, any kindred with the princes of this world. The princes of this world were shooting their partridges; noisily, in Parliament or elsewhere, solving the question, Head or tail? while this man with blackened fingers, with grim brow, was searching out, in his workshop, the Fire-secret; or, having found it, was painfully wending to and fro in quest of a "monied man," as indispensable man-midwife of the same. Reader, thou shalt admire what is admirable, not what is dressed in admirable; learn to know the British lion even when he is not throne-supporter, and also the British jackass in lion's skin even when he is. Ah, couldst thou always, what a world were it! But has the Berlin Royal Academy or any English Useful-Knowledge Society discovered, for instance, who it was that first scratched earth with a stick; and threw *corns*, the biggest he could find, into it; seedgrains of a certain grass, which he named *white* or *wheat?* Again, what is the whole Tees-water and other breeding-world to him who stole home from the forests the first bison-calf, and bred it up to be a tame bison, a milk-cow? No machine of all they shewed

me in Birmingham can be put in comparison for ingenuity with that figure of the wedge named *knife*, of the wedges named *saw*, of the lever named *hammer:*—nay is it not with the hammer-knife, named *sword*, that men fight, and maintain any semblance of constituted authority that yet survives among us? The steamengine I call fire-demon and great; but it is nothing to the invention of *fire*. Prometheus, Tubalcain, Triptolemus! Are not our greatest men as good as lost? The men that walk daily among us, clothing us, warming us, feeding us, walk shrouded in darkness, mere mythic men.

'It is said, ideas produce revolutions; and truly so they do; not spiritual ideas only, but even mechanical. In this clanging clashing universal Sword-dance that the European world now dances for the last half-century, Voltaire is but one choragus, where Richard Arkwright is another. Let it dance itself out. When Arkwright shall have become mythic like Arachne, we shall still spin in peaceable profit by him; and the Sword-dance, with all its sorrowful shufflings, Waterloo waltzes, Moscow gallopades, how forgotten will that be!'

'On the whole, were not all these things most unexpected, unforeseen? As indeed what thing is foreseen; especially what man, the parent of things! Robert Clive in that same time went out, with a developed gift of penmanship, as writer or superior book-keeper to a trading factory established in the distant East. With gift of penmanship developed; with other gifts not yet developed, which the calls of the case did by and by develope. Not fit for book-keeping alone, the man was found fit for conquering Nawaubs, founding kingdoms, Indian Empires! In a questionable manner, Indian Empire from the other hemisphere took up its abode in Leadenhall Street, in the City of London.

'Accidental all these things and persons look, unexpected every one of them to man. Yet inevitable every one of them; foreseen, not unexpected, by Supreme Power; prepared, appointed from afar. Advancing always through all centuries, in the middle of the eighteenth they *arrived*. The Saxon kindred burst forth into cotton-spinning, cloth-cropping, iron-forging, steamengining, railwaying, commercing and careering towards all the winds of Heaven,—in this inexplicable noisy manner; the noise of which, in Power-mills, in progress-of-the-species Magazines, still deafens us somewhat. Most noisy, sudden! The Staffordshire coal-stratum, and coal-strata, lay side by side with iron-strata, quiet since the creation of the world. Water flowed in Lancashire and Lanarkshire; bituminous fire lay bedded in rocks there too,—over which how many fighting Stanleys, black Douglases, and other the like contentious persons, had fought out their

bickerings and broils, not without result, we will hope! But God said, Let the iron missionaries be; and they were. Coal and iron, so long close unregardful neighbours, are wedded together; Birmingham and Wolverhampton, and the hundred Stygian forges, with their fire-throats and never-resting sledge-hammers, rose into day. Wet Manconium stretched out her hand towards Carolina and the torrid zone, and plucked cotton there: who could forbid her, her that had the skill to weave it? Fish fled thereupon from the Mersey River, vexed with innumerable keels. England, I say, dug out her bitumen-fire, and bade it work: towns rose, and steeple-chimneys;—Chartisms also, and Parliaments they name Reformed.'

Such, figuratively given, are some prominent points, chief mountain-summits, of our English History past and present, according to the Author of this strange untranslated Work, whom we think we recognise to be an old acquaintance.

CHAPTER IX.

PARLIAMENTARY RADICALISM.

To us, looking at these matters somewhat in the same light, Reform-Bills, French Revolutions, Louis-Philippes, Chartisms, Revolts of Three Days, and what not, are no longer inexplicable. Where the great mass of men is tolerably right, all is right; where they are not right, all is wrong. The speaking classes speak and debate, each for itself; the great dumb, deep-buried class lies like an Enceladus, who in his pain, if he will complain of it, has to produce earthquakes! Everywhere, in these countries, in these times, the central fact worthy of all consideration forces itself on us in this shape: the claim of the Free Workingman to be raised to a level, we may say, with the Working Slave; his anger and cureless discontent till that be done. Food, shelter, due guidance, in return for his labour: candidly interpreted, Chartism and all such *isms* mean that; and the madder they are, do they not the more emphatically mean, "See what guidance you have given us! What delirium we are brought to talk and project, guided by nobody!" *Laissez-faire* on the part of the Governing Classes, we repeat again and again, will, with whatever difficulty, have to cease; pacific mutual division of the spoil, and a world well let alone, will no longer suffice. A Do-nothing Guidance; and it is a Do-something World! Would to God our Ducal *Duces* would become Leaders indeed; our Aristocracies and Priesthoods discover in some suitable degree what the world expected of them, what the world could no longer do without getting of them! Nameless unmeasured confusions, misery to themselves and us, might so be spared. But that too will be as God has appointed. If they learn, it will be well and happy: if not they, then others instead of them will and must, and once more, though after a long sad circuit, it will be well and happy.

Neither is the history of Chartism mysterious in these times; especially if that of Radicalism be looked at. All along, for the last five-and-twenty years, it was curious to note how the internal discontent of England struggled to find vent for itself through *any* orifice: the poor patient, all sick from centre to surface, complains now of this member, now of that;—corn-laws, currency-laws, free-trade, protection, want of free-trade: the poor patient tossing from side to side, seeking a sound side to lie on, finds none. This Doctor says, it is the liver; that other, it is the lungs, the head, the heart, defective transpiration in the skin. A thoroughgoing Doctor of eminence said, it was rotten boroughs; the want of extended suffrage to destroy rotten boroughs. From of old, the English patient himself had a continually recurring notion that this was it. The English people are used to suffrage; it is their panacea for all that goes wrong with them; they have a fixed-idea of suffrage. Singular enough: one's right to vote for a Member of Parliament, to send one's 'twenty-thousandth part of a master of tongue-fence to National Palaver,'—the Doctors asserted that this was Freedom, this and no other. It seemed credible to many men, of high degree and of low. The persuasion of remedy grew, the evil was pressing; Swing's ricks were on fire. Some nine years ago, a State-surgeon rose, and in peculiar circumstances said: Let there be extension of the suffrage; let the great Doctor's nostrum, the patient's old passionate prayer be fulfilled!

Parliamentary Radicalism, while it gave articulate utterance to the discontent of the English people, could not by its worst enemy be said to be without a function. If it is in the natural order of things that there must be discontent, no less so is it that such discontent should have an outlet, a Parliamentary voice. Here the matter is debated of, demonstrated, contradicted, qualified, reduced to feasibility;—can at least solace itself with hope, and die gently, convinced of *un*feasibility. The New, Untried ascertains how it will fit itself into the arrangements of the Old; whether the Old can be compelled to admit it; how in that case it may, with the minimum of violence, be admitted. Nor let us count it an easy one, this function of Radicalism; it was one of the most difficult. The pain-stricken patient does, indeed, without effort groan and complain; but not without effort does the physician ascertain what it is that has gone wrong with him, how some remedy may be devised for him. And above all, if your patient is not one sick man, but a whole sick nation! Dingy dumb millions, grimed with dust and sweat, with darkness, rage and sorrow, stood round these men, saying, or struggling as they could to say: "Behold, our lot is unfair; our life is not whole but sick; we cannot live under injustice; go ye and get us justice!" For whether the poor operative clamoured for Time-bill, Factory-bill, Corn-bill, for or against

whatever bill, this was what he meant. All bills plausibly presented might have some look of hope in them, might get some clamour of approval from him; as, for the man wholly sick, there is no disease in the Nosology but he can trace in himself some symptoms of it. Such was the mission of Parliamentary Radicalism.

How Parliamentary Radicalism has fulfilled this mission, entrusted to its management these eight years now, is known to all men. The expectant millions have sat at a feast of the Barmecide; been bidden fill themselves with the imagination of meat. What thing has Radicalism obtained for them; what other than shadows of things has it so much as asked for them? Cheap Justice, Justice to Ireland, Irish Appropriation-Clause, Ratepaying Clause, Poor-Rate, Church-Rate, Household Suffrage, Ballot-Question 'open' or shut: not things but shadows of things; Benthamee formulas; barren as the east-wind! An Ultra-radical, not seemingly of the Benthamee species, is forced to exclaim: 'The people are at last wearied. They say, Why should we be ruined in our shops, thrown out of our farms, voting for these men? Ministerial majorities decline; this Ministry has become impotent, had it even the will to do good. They have called long to us, "We are a Reform Ministry; will ye not support *us?*" We have supported them; borne them forward indignantly on our shoulders, time after time, fall after fall, when they had been hurled out into the street; and lay prostrate, helpless, like dead luggage. It is the fact of a Reform Ministry, not the name of one that we would support! Languor, sickness of hope deferred pervades the public mind; the public mind says at last, Why all this struggle for the *name* of a Reform Ministry? Let the Tories be Ministry if they will; let at least some living reality be Ministry! A rearing horse that will only run backward, he is not the horse one would choose to travel on: yet of all conceivable horses the worst is the dead horse. Mounted on a rearing horse, you may back him, spur him, check him, make a little way even backwards: but seated astride of your dead horse, what chance is there for you in the chapter of possibilities? You sit motionless, hopeless, a spectacle to gods and men.'

There is a class of revolutionists named *Girondins*, whose fate in history is remarkable enough! Men who rebel, and urge the Lower Classes to rebel, ought to have other than Formulas to go upon. Men who discern in the misery of the toiling complaining millions not misery, but only a raw-material which can be wrought upon, and traded in, for one's own poor hidebound theories and egoisms; to whom millions of living fellow-creatures, with beating hearts in their bosoms, beating, suffering, hoping, are 'masses,' mere 'explosive masses for blowing down Bastilles with,' for voting at hustings for *us:* such men are of the questionable species! No man is justified in resisting by word or deed

the Authority he lives under, for a light cause, be such Authority what it may. Obedience, little as many may consider that side of the matter, is the primary duty of man. No man but is bound indefeasibly, with all force of obligation, to obey. Parents, teachers, superiors, leaders, these all creatures recognise as deserving obedience. Recognised or not recognised, a man *has* his superiors, a regular hierarchy above him; extending up, degree above degree; to Heaven itself and God the Maker, who made His world not for anarchy but for rule and order! It is not a light matter when the just man can recognise in the powers set over him no longer anything that is divine; when resistance against such becomes a deeper law of order than obedience to them; when the just man sees himself in the tragical position of a stirrer up of strife! Rebel, without due and most due cause, is the ugliest of words; the first rebel was Satan.—

But now in these circumstances shall we blame the unvoting disappointed millions that they turn away with horror from this name of a Reform Ministry, name of a Parliamentary Radicalism, and demand a fact and reality thereof? That they too, having still faith in what so many had faith in, still count 'extension of the suffrage' the one thing needful; and say, in such manner as they can, Let the suffrage be still extended, *then* all will be well? It is the ancient British faith; promulgated in these ages by prophets and evangelists; preached forth from barrel-heads by all manner of men. He who is free and blessed has his twenty-thousandth part of a master of tongue-fence in National Palaver; whosoever is not blessed but unhappy, the ailment of him is that he has it not. Ought he not to have it then? By the law of God and of men, yea;—and will have it withal! Chartism, with its 'five points,' borne aloft on pikeheads and torchlight meetings, is there. Chartism is one of the most natural phenomena in England. Not that Chartism now exists should provoke wonder; but that the invited hungry people should have sat eight years at such table of the Barmecide, patiently expecting somewhat from the Name of a Reform Ministry, and not till after eight years have grown hopeless, this is the respectable side of the miracle.

CHAPTER X.

IMPOSSIBLE.

"But what are we to do?" exclaims the practical man, impatiently on every side: "Descend from speculation and the safe pulpit, down into the rough market-place, and say what can be done!"—O practical man, there seem very many things which practice and true manlike effort, in Parliament and out of it, might actually avail to do. But the first of all things, as already said, is to gird thyself up for actual doing; to know that thou actually either must do, or, as the Irish say, 'come out of that!'

It is not a lucky word this same *impossible:* no good comes of those that have it so often in their mouth. Who is he that says always, There is a lion in the way? Sluggard, thou must slay the lion then; the way has to be travelled! In Art, in Practice, innumerable critics will demonstrate that most things are henceforth impossible; that we are got, once for all, into the region of perennial commonplace, and must contentedly continue there. Let such critics demonstrate; it is the nature of them: what harm is in it? Poetry once well demonstrated to be impossible, arises the Burns, arises the Goethe. Unheroic commonplace being now clearly all we have to look for, comes the Napoleon, comes the conquest of the world. It was proved by fluxionary calculus, that steamships could never get across from the farthest point of Ireland to the nearest of Newfoundland: impelling force, resisting force, maximum here, minimum there; by law of Nature, and geometric demonstration:—what could be done? The Great Western could weigh anchor from Bristol Port; that could be done. The Great Western, bounding safe through the gullets of the Hudson, threw her cable out on the capstan of New York, and left our still moist paper-demonstration to dry itself at leisure.

"Impossible?" cried Mirabeau to his secretary, "*Ne me dites jamais ce bête de mot*, Never name to me that blockhead of a word!"

There is a phenomenon which one might call Paralytic Radicalism, in these days; which gauges with Statistic measuring-reed, sounds with Philosophic Politico-Economic plummet the deep dark sea of troubles; and having taught us rightly what an infinite sea of troubles it is, sums up with the practical inference, and use of consolation, That nothing whatever can be done in it by man, who has simply to sit still, and look wistfully to 'time and general laws;' and thereupon, without so much as recommending suicide, coldly takes its leave of us. Most paralytic, uninstructive; unproductive of any comfort to one! They are an unreasonable class who cry, "Peace, peace," when there *is* no peace. But what kind of class are they who cry, "Peace, peace, have I not *told you* that there is no peace!" Paralytic Radicalism, frequent among those Statistic friends of ours, is one of the most afflictive phenomena the mind of man can be called to contemplate. One prays that *it* at least might cease. Let Paralysis retire into secret places, and dormitories proper for it; the public highways ought not to be occupied by people demonstrating that motion is impossible. Paralytic;—and also, thank Heaven, entirely false! Listen to a thinker of another sort: 'All evil, and this evil too, is as a nightmare; the instant you begin to *stir* under it, the *evil* is, properly speaking, gone.' Consider, O reader, whether it be not actually so? Evil, once manfully fronted, ceases to be evil; there is generous battle-hope in place of dead passive misery; the evil itself has become a kind of good.

To the practical man, therefore, we will repeat that he has, as the first thing he can 'do,' to gird himself up for actual doing; to know well that he is either there to do, or not there at all. Once rightly girded up, how many things will present themselves as doable which now are not attemptible! Two things, great things, dwell, for the last ten years, in all thinking heads in England; and are hovering, of late, even on the tongues of not a few. With a word on each of these, we will dismiss the practical man, and right gladly take ourselves into obscurity and silence again. Universal Education is the first great thing we mean; general Emigration is the second.

Who would suppose that Education were a thing which had to be advocated on the ground of local expediency, or indeed on any ground? As if it stood not on the basis of everlasting duty, as a prime necessity of man. It is a thing that should need no advocating; much as it does actually need. To impart the gift of thinking to those who cannot think, and yet who could in that case think: this, one would imagine, was the first function a government had to set about

discharging. Were it not a cruel thing to see, in any province of an empire, the inhabitants living all mutilated in their limbs, each strong man with his right-arm lamed? How much crueller to find the strong soul, with its eyes still sealed, its eyes extinct so that it sees not! Light has come into the world, but to this poor peasant it has come in vain. For six thousand years the Sons of Adam, in sleepless effort, have been devising, doing, discovering; in mysterious infinite indissoluble communion, warring, a little band of brothers, against the great black empire of Necessity and Night; they have accomplished such a conquest and conquests: and to this man it is all as if it had not been. The four-and-twenty letters of the Alphabet are still Runic enigmas to him. He passes by on the other side; and that great Spiritual Kingdom, the toilwon conquest of his own brothers, all that his brothers have conquered, is a thing non-extant for him. An invisible empire; he knows it not, suspects it not. And is it not his withal; the conquest of his own brothers, the lawfully acquired possession of all men? Baleful enchantment lies over him, from generation to generation; he knows not that such an empire is his, that such an empire is at all. O, what are bills of rights, emancipations of black slaves into black apprentices, lawsuits in chancery for some short usufruct of a bit of land? The grand 'seedfield of Time' is this man's, and you give it him not. Time's seedfield, which includes the Earth and all her seedfields and pearl-oceans, nay her sowers too and pearl-divers, all that was wise and heroic and victorious here below; of which the Earth's centuries are but as furrows, for it stretches forth from the Beginning onward even into this Day!

'My inheritance, how lordly wide and fair;
Time is my fair seedfield, to Time I'm heir!'

Heavier wrong is not done under the sun. It lasts from year to year, from century to century; the blinded sire slaves himself out, and leaves a blinded son; and men, made in the image of God, continue as two-legged beasts of labour;—and in the largest empire of the world, it is a debate whether a small fraction of the Revenue of one Day (30,000*l.* is but that) shall, after Thirteen Centuries, be laid out on it, or not laid out on it. Have we Governors, have we Teachers; have we had a Church these thirteen hundred years? What is an Overseer of souls, an Archoverseer, Archiepiscopus? Is he something? If so, let him lay his hand on his heart, and say what thing!

But quitting all that, of which the human soul cannot well speak in terms of civility, let us observe now that Education is not only an eternal duty, but has at length become even a temporary and ephemeral one, which the necessities of

the hour will oblige us to look after. These Twenty-four million labouring men, if their affairs remain unregulated, chaotic, will burn ricks and mills; reduce us, themselves and the world into ashes and ruin. Simply their affairs cannot remain unregulated, chaotic; but must be regulated, brought into some kind of order. What intellect were able to regulate them? The intellect of a Bacon, the energy of a Luther, if left to their own strength, might pause in dismay before such a task; a Bacon and Luther added together, to be perpetual prime minister over us, could not do it. No one great and greatest intellect can do it. What can? Only Twenty-four million ordinary intellects, once awakened into action; these, well presided over, may. Intellect, insight, is the discernment of order in disorder; it is the discovery of the will of Nature, of God's will; the beginning of the capability to walk according to that. With perfect intellect, were such possible without perfect morality, the world would be perfect; its efforts unerringly correct, its results continually successful, its condition faultless. Intellect is like light; the Chaos becomes a World under it: *fiat lux*. These Twenty-four million intellects are but common intellects; but they are intellects; in earnest about the matter, instructed each about his own province of it; labouring each perpetually, with what partial light can be attained, to bring such province into rationality. From the partial determinations and their conflict, springs the universal. Precisely what quantity of intellect was in the Twenty-four millions will be exhibited by the result they arrive at; that quantity and no more. According as there was intellect or no intellect in the individuals, will the general conclusion they make out embody itself as a world-healing Truth and Wisdom, or as a baseless fateful Hallucination, a Chimæra breathing *not* fabulous fire!

Dissenters call for one scheme of Education, the Church objects; this party objects, and that; there is endless objection, by him and by her and by it: a subject encumbered with difficulties on every side! Pity that difficulties exist; that Religion, of all things, should occasion difficulties. We do not extenuate them: in their reality they are considerable; in their appearance and pretension, they are insuperable, heart-appalling to all Secretaries of the Home Department. For, in very truth, how can Religion be divorced from Education? An irreverent knowledge is no knowledge; may be a development of the logical or other handicraft faculty inward or outward; but is no culture of the soul of a man. A knowledge that ends in barren self-worship, comparative indifference or contempt for all God's Universe except one insignificant item thereof, what is it? Handicraft development, and even shallow as handicraft. Nevertheless is handicraft itself, and the habit of the merest logic, nothing? It is already something; it is the indispensable beginning of everything! Wise men know it

to be an indispensable something; not yet much; and would so gladly superadd to it the element whereby it may become all. Wise men would not quarrel in attempting this; they would lovingly co-operate in attempting it.

'And now how teach religion?' so asks the indignant Ultra-radical, cited above; an Ultra-radical seemingly not of the Benthamee species, with whom, though his dialect is far different, there are sound Churchmen, we hope, who have some fellow-feeling: 'How teach religion? By plying with liturgies, catechisms, credos; droning thirty-nine or other articles incessantly into the infant ear? Friends! In that case, why not apply to Birmingham, and have Machines made, and set up at all street-corners, in highways and byways, to repeat and vociferate the same, not ceasing night or day? The genius of Birmingham is adequate to that. Albertus Magnus had a leather man that could articulate; not to speak of Martinus Scriblerus' Nürnberg man that could reason as well as we know who! Depend upon it, Birmingham can make machines to repeat liturgies and articles; to do whatsoever feat is mechanical. And what were all schoolmasters, nay all priests and churches compared with this Birmingham Iron Church! Votes of two millions in aid of the church were then something. You order, at so many pounds a-head, so many thousand iron parsons as your grant covers; and fix them by satisfactory masonry in all quarters wheresoever wanted, to preach there independent of the world. In loud thoroughfares, still more in unawakened districts, troubled with argumentative infidelity, you make the windpipes wider, strengthen the main steam-cylinder; your parson preaches, to the due pitch, while you give him coal; and fears no man or thing. Here *were* a 'Church-extension;' to which I, with my last penny, did I believe in it, would subscribe.— —Ye blind leaders of the blind! Are we Calmucks, that pray by turning of a rotatory calabash with written prayers in it? Is Mammon and machinery the means of converting human souls, as of spinning cotton? Is God, as Jean Paul predicted it would be, become verily a Force; the Æther too a Gas! Alas, that Atheism should have got the length of putting on priests' vestments, and penetrating into the sanctuary itself! Can dronings of articles, repetitions of liturgies, and all the cash and contrivance of Birmingham and the Bank of England united bring ethereal fire into a human soul, quicken it out of earthly darkness into heavenly wisdom? Soul is kindled only by soul. To "teach" religion, the first thing needful, and also the last and the only thing, is finding of a man who *has* religion. All else follows from this, church-building, church-extension, whatever else is needful follows; without this nothing will follow.'

From which we for our part conclude that the method of teaching religion to the English people is still far behindhand; that the wise and pious may well

ask themselves in silence wistfully, "How *is* that last priceless element, by which education becomes perfect, to be superadded?" and the unwise who think themselves pious, answering aloud, "By this method, By that method," long argue of it to small purpose.

But now, in the mean time, could not by some fit official person, some fit announcement be made, in words well-weighed, in plan well-schemed, adequately representing the facts of the thing, That after thirteen centuries of waiting, he the official person, and England with him, was minded now to have the mystery of the Alphabetic Letters imparted to all human souls in this realm? Teaching of religion was a thing he could not undertake to settle this day; it would be work for a day after this; the work of this day was teaching of the alphabet to all people. The miraculous art of reading and writing, such seemed to him the needful preliminary of all teaching, the first corner-stone of what foundation soever could be laid for what edifice soever, in the teaching kind. Let pious Churchism make haste, let pious Dissenterism make haste, let all pious preachers and missionaries make haste, bestir themselves according to their zeal and skill: he the official person stood up for the Alphabet; and was even impatient for it, having waited thirteen centuries now. He insisted, and would take no denial, postponement, promise, excuse or subterfuge, That all English persons should be taught to read. He appealed to all rational Englishmen, of all creeds, classes and colours, Whether this was not a fair demand; nay whether it was not an indispensable one in these days, Swing and Chartism having risen? For a choice of inoffensive Hornbooks, and Schoolmasters able to teach reading, he trusted the mere secular sagacity of a National Collective Wisdom, in proper committee, might be found sufficient. He purposed to appoint such Schoolmasters, to venture on the choice of such Hornbooks; to send a Schoolmaster and Hornbook into every township, parish and hamlet of England; so that, in ten years hence, an Englishman who could not read might be acknowledged as the monster, which he really is!

This official person's plan we do not give. The *thing* lies there, with the facts of it, and with the appearances or sham-facts of it; a plan adequately representing the facts of the thing could by human energy be struck out, does lie there for discovery and striking out. It is his, the official person's duty, not ours, to mature a plan. We can believe that Churchism and Dissenterism would clamour aloud; but yet that in the mere secular Wisdom of Parliament a perspicacity equal to the choice of Hornbooks might, in very deed, be found to reside. England we believe would, if consulted, resolve to that effect. Alas, grants of a half-day's revenue once in the thirteen centuries for such an object, do not call

out the voice of England, only the superficial clamour of England! Hornbooks unexceptionable to the candid portion of England, we will believe, might be selected. Nay, we can conceive that Schoolmasters fit to teach reading might, by a board of rational men, whether from Oxford or Hoxton, or from both or neither of these places, be pitched upon. We can conceive even, as in Prussia, that a penalty, civil disabilities, that penalties and disabilities till they were found effectual, might be by law inflicted on every parent who did not teach his children to read, on every man who had not been taught to read. We can conceive in fine, such is the vigour of our imagination, there might be found in England, at a dead-lift, strength enough to perform this miracle, and produce it henceforth as a miracle done: the teaching of England to read! Harder things, we do know, have been performed by nations before now, not abler-looking than England. Ah me! if, by some beneficent chance, there should be an official man found in England who could and would, with deliberate courage, after ripe counsel, with candid insight, with patience, practical sense, knowing realities to be real, knowing clamours to be clamorous and to seem real, propose this thing, and the innumerable things springing from it,—wo to any Churchism or any Dissenterism that cast itself athwart the path of that man! Avaunt ye gainsayers! is darkness and ignorance of the Alphabet necessary for you? Reconcile yourselves to the Alphabet, or depart elsewhither!—Would not all that has genuineness in England gradually rally round such a man; all that has strength in England? For realities alone have strength; wind-bags are wind; cant is cant, leave it alone there. Nor are all clamours momentous: among living creatures, we find, the loudest is the longest-eared; among lifeless things the loudest is the drum, the emptiest. Alas, that official persons, and all of us, had not eyes to see what was real, what was merely chimerical, and thought or called itself real! How many dread minatory Castle-spectres should we leave there, with their admonishing right-hand and ghastly-burning saucer-eyes, to do simply whatsoever they might find themselves able to do! Alas, that we were not real ourselves; we should otherwise have surer vision for the real. Castle-spectres, in their utmost terror, are but poor mimicries of that real and most real terror which lies in the Life of every Man: that, thou coward, is the thing to be afraid of, if thou wilt live in fear. It is but the scratch of a bare bodkin; it is but the flight of a few days of time; and even thou, poor palpitating featherbrain, wilt find how real it is. ETERNITY: hast thou heard of that? Is that a fact, or is it no fact? Are Buckingham House and St. Stephens *in* that, or not in that?

But now we have to speak of the second great thing: Emigration. It was said above, all new epochs, so convulsed and tumultuous to look upon, are 'expansions,' increase of faculty not yet organised. It is eminently true of the confusions of this time of ours. Disorganic Manchester afflicts us with its Chartisms; yet is not spinning of clothes for the naked intrinsically a most blessed thing? Manchester once organic will bless and not afflict. The confusions, if we would understand them, are at bottom mere increase which we know not yet how to manage; 'new wealth which the old coffers will not hold.' How true is this, above all, of the strange phenomenon called 'over-population!' Over-population is the grand anomaly, which is bringing all other anomalies to a crisis. Now once more, as at the end of the Roman Empire, a most confused epoch and yet one of the greatest, the Teutonic Countries find themselves too full. On a certain western rim of our small Europe, there are more men than were expected. Heaped up against the western shore there, and for a couple of hundred miles inward, the 'tide of population' swells too high, and confuses itself somewhat! Over-population? And yet, if this small western rim of Europe is overpeopled, does not everywhere else a whole vacant Earth, as it were, call to us, Come and till me, come and reap me! Can it be an evil that in an Earth such as ours there should be new Men? Considered as mercantile commodities, as working machines, is there in Birmingham or out of it a machine of such value? 'Good Heavens! a white European Man, standing on his two legs, with his two five-fingered Hands at his shackle-bones, and miraculous Head on his shoulders, is worth something considerable, one would say!' The stupid black African man brings money in the market; the much stupider four-footed horse brings money:—it is we that have not yet learned the art of managing our white European man!

The controversies on Malthus and the 'Population Principle,' 'Preventive check' and so forth, with which the public ear has been deafened for a long while, are indeed sufficiently mournful. Dreary, stolid, dismal, without hope for this world or the next, is all that of the preventive check and the denial of the preventive check. Anti-Malthusians quoting their Bible against palpable facts, are not a pleasant spectacle. On the other hand, how often have we read in Malthusian benefactors of the species: 'The working people have their condition in their own hands; let them diminish the supply of labourers, and of course the demand and the remuneration will increase!' Yes, let *them* diminish the supply: but who are they? They are twenty-four millions of human individuals, scattered over a hundred and eighteen thousand square miles of space and more; weaving, delving, hammering, joinering; each unknown to his neighbour; each distinct within his own skin. *They* are not a kind of character that can take a resolution,

and act on it, very readily. Smart Sally in our alley proves all-too fascinating to brisk Tom in yours: can Tom be called on to make pause, and calculate the demand for labour in the British Empire first? Nay, if Tom did renounce his highest blessedness of life, and struggle and conquer like a Saint Francis of Assisi, what would it profit him or us? Seven millions of the finest peasantry do not renounce, but proceed all the more briskly; and with blue-visaged Hibernians instead of fair Saxon Tomsons and Sallysons, the latter end of that country is worse than the beginning. O wonderful Malthusian prophets! Millenniums are undoubtedly coming, must come one way or the other: but will it be, think you, by twenty millions of working people simultaneously striking work in that department; passing, in universal trades-union, a resolution not to beget any more till the labour-market become satisfactory? By Day and Night! they were indeed irresistible so; not to be compelled by law or war; might make their own terms with the richer classes, and defy the world!

A shade more rational is that of those other benefactors of the species, who counsel that in each parish, in some central locality, instead of the Parish Clergyman, there might be established some Parish Exterminator; or say a Reservoir of Arsenic, kept up at the public expense, free to all parishioners; for *which* Church the rates probably would not be grudged.—Ah, it is bitter jesting on such a subject. One's heart is sick to look at the dreary chaos, and valley of Jehosaphat, scattered with the limbs and souls of one's fellow-men; and no divine voice, only creaking of hungry vultures, inarticulate bodeful ravens, horn-eyed parrots that do articulate, proclaiming, Let these bones live!—Dante's *Divina Commedia* is called the mournfullest of books: transcendent mistemper of the noblest soul; utterance of a boundless, godlike, unspeakable, implacable sorrow and protest against the world. But in Holywell Street, not long ago, we bought, for three-pence, a book still mournfuller: the Pamphlet of one "Marcus," whom his poor Chartist editor and republisher calls the "Demon Author." This *Marcus* Pamphlet was the book alluded to by Stephens the Preacher Chartist, in one of his harangues: it proves to be no fable that such a book existed; here it lies, 'Printed by John Hill, Black-horse Court, Fleet Street, and now reprinted for the instruction of the labourer, by William Dugdale, Holywell Street, Strand,' the exasperated Chartist editor who sells it you for three-pence. We have read Marcus; but his sorrow is not divine. We hoped he would turn out to have been in sport: ah no, it is grim earnest with him; grim as very death. Marcus is not a demon author at all: he is a benefactor of the species in his own kind; has looked intensely on the world's woes, from a Benthamee Malthusian watch-tower, under a Heaven dead as iron; and does now, with much longwindedness,

in a drawling, snuffling, circuitous, extremely dull, yet at bottom handfast and positive manner, recommend that all children of working people, after the third, be disposed of by 'painless extinction.' Charcoal-vapour and other methods exist. The mothers would consent, might be made to consent. Three children might be left living; or perhaps, for Marcus's calculations are not yet perfect, two and a half. There might be 'beautiful cemeteries with colonnades and flower-plots,' in which the patriot infanticide matrons might delight to take their evening walk of contemplation; and reflect what patriotesses they were, what a cheerful flowery world it was. Such is the scheme of Marcus; this is what he, for his share, could devise to heal the world's woes. A benefactor of the species, clearly recognisable as such: the saddest scientific mortal we have ever in this world fallen in with; sadder even than poetic Dante. His is a *no*god-like sorrow; sadder than the godlike. The Chartist editor, dull as he, calls him demon author, and a man set on by the Poor-Law Commissioners. What a black, godless, waste-struggling world, in this once merry England of ours, do such pamphlets and such editors betoken! *Laissez-faire* and Malthus, Malthus and *Laissez-faire:* ought not *these* two at length to part company? Might we not hope that both of them had as good as delivered their message now, and were about to go their ways?

For all this of the 'painless extinction,' and the rest, is in a world where Canadian Forests stand unfelled, boundless Plains and Prairies unbroken with the plough; on the west and on the east, green desert spaces never yet made white with corn; and to the overcrowded little western nook of Europe, our Terrestrial Planet, nine-tenths of it yet vacant or tenanted by nomades, is still crying, Come and till me, come and reap me! And in an England with wealth, and means for moving, such as no nation ever before had. With ships; with war-ships rotting idle, which, but bidden move and not rot, might bridge all oceans. With trained men, educated to pen and practise, to administer and act; briefless Barristers, chargeless Clergy, taskless Scholars, languishing in all court-houses, hiding in obscure garrets, besieging all antechambers, in passionate want of simply one thing, Work;—with as many Half-pay Officers of both Services, wearing themselves down in wretched tedium, as might lead an Emigrant host larger than Xerxes' was! *Laissez-faire* and Malthus positively must part company. Is it not as if this swelling, simmering, never-resting Europe of ours stood, once more, on the verge of an expansion without parallel; struggling, struggling like a mighty tree again about to burst in the embrace of summer, and shoot forth broad frondent boughs which would fill the whole earth? A disease; but the noblest of all,—as of her who is in pain and sore travail, but travails that she may be a mother, and say, Behold, there is a new Man born!

'True thou Gold-Hofrath,' exclaims an eloquent satirical German of our acquaintance, in that strange Book of his,* True thou Gold-Hofrath: too crowded indeed! Meanwhile what portion of this inconsiderable Terraqueous Globe have ye actually tilled and delved, till it will grow no more? How thick stands your population in the Pampas and Savannas of America; round ancient Carthage, and in the interior of Africa; on both slopes of the Altaic chain, in the central Platform of Asia; in Spain, Greece, Turkey, Crim Tartary, the Curragh of Kildare? One man, in one year, as I have understood it, if you lend him earth, will feed himself and nine others. Alas, where now are the Hengsts and Alarics of our still glowing, still expanding Europe; who, when their home is grown too narrow, will enlist and, like fire-pillars, guide onwards those superfluous masses of indomitable living Valour; equipped, not now with the battle-axe and war-chariot, but with the steamengine and ploughshare? Where are they?—Preserving their Game!'

THE END.

* Sartor Resartus, p. 170.

DR. FRANCIA.

1. *Funeral Discourse delivered on occasion of celebrating the Obsequies of his late Excellency the Perpetual Dictator of the Republic of Paraguay, the Citizen Dr. José Gaspar Francia, by Citizen the* Rev. Manuel Antonio Perez, *of the Church of the Incarnation, on the 20th of October,* 1840. (In the *British Packet and Argentine News*, No. 813. Buenos-Ayres: March 19, 1842.)
2. *Essai Historique sur la Révolution de Paraguay, et le Gouvernement Dictatorial du Docteur Francia. Par* MM. Rengger *et* Longchamp. 2de. édition. Paris. 1827.
3. *Letters on Paraguay.* By J. P. and W. P. Robertson. 2 vols. Second Edition. London. 1839.
4. *Francia's Reign of Terror.* (By the same.) London. 1839.
5. *Letters on South America.* (By the same.) 3 vols. London. 1843.
6. *Travels in Chile and La Plata.* By John Miers. 2 vols. London. 1826.
7. *Memoirs of General Miller, in the Service of the Republic of Peru.* 2 vols. 2nd Edition. London. 1829.

The confused South American Revolution, and set of revolutions, like the South American Continent itself, is doubtless a great confused phenomenon; worthy of better knowledge than men yet have of it. Several books, of which we here name a few known to us, have been written on the subject: but bad books mostly, and productive of almost no effect. The heroes of South America have not yet succeeded in picturing any image of themselves, much less any true image of themselves, in the Cis-Atlantic mind or memory.

Iturbide, 'the Napoleon of Mexico,' a great man in that narrow country, who was he? He made the thrice-celebrated 'Plan of Iguala;' a constitution of no

continuance. He became Emperor of Mexico, most serene 'Augustin I.;' was deposed, banished to Leghorn, to London; decided on returning;—landed on the shore of Tampico, and was there met, and shot: this, in a vague sort, is what the world knows of the Napoleon of Mexico, most serene Augustin the First, most unfortunate Augustin the Last. He did himself publish memoirs or memorials,* but few can read them. Oblivion, and the deserts of Panama, have swallowed this brave Don Augustin: *vate caruit sacro*.

And Bolivar, 'the Washington of Columbia,' Liberator Bolivar, he too is gone without his fame. Melancholy lithographs represent to us a long-faced, square-browed man; of stern, considerate, *consciously* considerate aspect, mildly aquiline form of nose; with terrible angularity of jaw; and dark deep eyes, somewhat too close together (for which latter circumstance we earnestly hope the lithograph alone is to blame): this is Liberator Bolivar:—a man of much hard fighting, hard riding, of manifold achievements, distresses, heroisms and histrionisms in this world; a many-counselled, much-enduring man; now dead and gone;—of whom, except that melancholy lithograph, the cultivated European public knows as good as nothing. Yet did he not fly hither and thither, often in the most desperate manner, with wild cavalry clad in blankets, with War of Liberation 'to the death?' Clad in blankets, *ponchos* the South Americans call them: it is a square blanket, with a short slit in the centre, which you draw over your head, and so leave hanging: many a liberative cavalier has ridden, in those hot climates, without farther dress at all; and fought handsomely too, wrapping the blanket round his arm, when it came to the charge.

With such cavalry, and artillery and infantry to match, Bolivar has ridden, fighting all the way, through torrid deserts, hot mud-swamps, through ice-chasms beyond the curve of perpetual frost,—more miles than Ulysses ever sailed: let the coming Homers take note of it. He has marched over the Andes, more than once; a feat analogous to Hannibal's; and seemed to think little of it. Often beaten, banished from the firm land, he always returned again, truculently fought again. He gained in the Cumana regions the 'immortal victory' of Carababo and several others; under him was gained the finishing 'immortal victory' of Ayacucho in Peru, where Old Spain, for the last time, burnt powder in those latitudes, and then fled without return. He was Dictator, Liberator, almost Emperor, if he had lived. Some three times over did he, in solemn Columbian parliament, lay down his Dictatorship with Washington eloquence; and as often, on pressing request, take it up again, being a man indispensable. Thrice, or at

* *A Statement of some of the principal Events in the Public Life of Augustin de Iturbide: written by Himself.* London. 1843.

least twice, did he, in different places, painfully construct a Free Constitution; consisting of 'two chambers, and a supreme governor for life with liberty to name his successor,' the reasonablest democratic constitution you could well construct; and twice, or at least once, did the people on trial, declare it disagreeable. He was, of old, well known in Paris; in the dissolute, the philosophico-political and other circles there. He has shone in many a gay Parisian *soirée*, this Simon Bolivar; and in his later years, in autumn 1825, he rode triumphant into Potosi and the fabulous Inca Cities, with clouds of feathered Indians somersetting and war-whooping round him,*—and 'as the famed *Cerro*, metalliferous Mountain, came in sight, the bells all pealed out, and there was a thunder of artillery,' says General Miller! If this is not a Ulysses, Polytlas and Polymetis, a much-enduring and many-counselled man; where was there one? Truly a Ulysses whose history were worth its ink,—had the Homer that could do it, made his appearance!

Of General San Martin too there will be something to be said. General San Martin, when we last saw him, twenty years ago or more,—through the organs of the authentic steadfast Mr. Miers,—had a handsome house in Mendoza, and 'his own portrait, as I remarked, hung up between those of Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington.' In Mendoza, cheerful, mudbuilt, whitewashed Town, seated at the eastern base of the Andes, 'with its shady public-walk well paved and swept;' looking out pleasantly, on this hand, over wide horizons of Pampa Wilderness; pleasantly on that, to the Rock-chain, *Cordillera* they call it, of the sky-piercing Mountains, capt in snow, or with volcanic fumes issuing from them: there dwelt General *Ex-Generalissimo* San Martin, ruminating past adventures over half the world; and had his portrait hung up between Napoleon's and the Duke of Wellington's.

Did the reader ever hear of San Martin's march over the Andes into Chile? It is a feat worth looking at; comparable, most likely, to Hannibal's march over the Alps, while there was yet no Simplon or Mont-Cénis highway; and *it* transacted itself in the year 1817. South American armies think little of picking their way through the gullies of the Andes: so the Buenos-Ayres people, having driven out their own Spaniards, and established the reign of freedom, though in a precarious manner, thought it were now good to drive the Spaniards out of Chile, and establish the reign of freedom there also instead: whereupon San Martin, commander at Mendoza, was appointed to do it. By way of preparation, for he began from afar, San Martin, while an army is getting ready at Mendoza, assembles 'at the Fort of San Carlos by the Aguanda river,' some days' journey

* *Memoirs of General Miller*.

to the south, all attainable tribes of the Pehuenche Indians, to a solemn *Palaver*, so they name it, and civic entertainment, on the esplanade there. The ceremonies and deliberations, as described by General Miller, are somewhat surprising; still more the concluding civic feast, which lasts for three days, which consists of horses' flesh for the solid part, and horses' blood with ardent spirits *ad libitum* for the liquid, consumed with such alacrity, with such results as one may fancy. However, the women had prudently removed all the arms beforehand; nay, 'five or six of these poor women, taking it by turns, were always found in a sober state, watching over the rest;' so that comparatively little mischief was done, and only 'one or two' deaths by quarrel took place.

The Pehuenches having drunk their ardent-water and horses' blood in this manner, and sworn eternal friendship to San Martin, went home, and—communicated to his enemies, across the Andes, the road he meant to take. This was what San Martin had foreseen and meant, the knowing man! He hastened his preparations, got his artillery slung on poles, his men equipt with knapsacks and haversacks, his mules in readiness; and, in all stillness, set forth from Mendoza by *another* road. Few things in late war, according to General Miller, have been more noteworthy than this march. The long straggling line of soldiers, six thousand and odd, with their quadrupeds and baggage, winding through the heart of the Andes, breaking for a brief moment the old abysmal solitudes!—For you fare along, on some narrow roadway, through stony labyrinths; huge rock-mountains hanging over your head, on this hand; and under your feet, on that, the roar of mountain-cataracts, horror of bottomless chasms;—the very winds and echoes howling on you in an almost preternatural manner. Towering rock-barriers rise sky-high before you, and behind you, and around you; intricate the outgate! The roadway is narrow; footing none of the best. Sharp turns there are, where it will behove you to mind your paces; one false step, and you will need no second; in the gloomy jaws of the abyss you vanish, and the spectral winds howl requiem. Somewhat better are the suspension-bridges, made of bamboo and leather, though they swing like see-saws: men are stationed with lassos, to gin you dexterously, and fish you up from the torrent, if you trip there.

Through this kind of country did San Martin march; straight towards San Iago, to fight the Spaniards and deliver Chile. For ammunition waggons, he had *sorras*, sledges, canoe-shaped boxes, made of dried bull's-hide. His cannons were carried on the back of mules, each cannon on two mules judiciously harnessed: on the packsaddle of your foremost mule, there rested with firm girths a long strong pole; the other end of which (*forked* end, we suppose) rested, with like girths, on the packsaddle of the hindmost mule; your cannon was slung with

leathern straps on this pole, and so travelled, swaying and dangling, yet moderately secure. In the knapsack of each soldier was eight days' provender, dried beef ground into snuff-powder, with a modicum of pepper, and some slight seasoning of biscuit or maize-meal; 'store of onions, of garlic,' was not wanting: Paraguay tea could be boiled at eventide, by fire of scrub-bushes, or almost of rock-lichens or dried mule-dung. No farther baggage was permitted: each soldier lay, at night, wrapt in his *poncho*, with his knapsack for pillow, under the canopy of heaven; lullabied by hard travail; and sank soon enough into steady nose-melody, into the foolishest rough colt-dance of unimaginable Dreams. Had he not left much behind him in the Pampas,—mother, mistress, what not; and was like to find somewhat, if he ever got across to Chile living? What an entity, one of those night-leaguers of San Martin; all steadily snoring there, in the heart of the Andes, under the eternal stars! Wayworn sentries with difficulty keep themselves awake; tired mules chew barley rations, or doze on three legs; the feeble watchfire will hardly kindle a cigar; Canopus and the Southern Cross glitter down; and all snores steadily, begirt by granite deserts, looked on by the Constellations in that manner! San Martin's improvident soldiers ate out their week's rations almost in half the time; and for the last three days, had to rush on, spurred by hunger: this also the knowing San Martin had foreseen; and knew that they could bear it, these rugged *Guachos* of his; nay that they would march all the faster for it. On the eighth day, hungry as wolves, swift and sudden as a torrent from the mountains, they disembogued; straight towards San Iago, to the astonishment of men;—struck the doubly astonished Spaniards into dire misgivings; and then, in pitched fight, after due manœuvres, into total defeat on the 'Plains of Maypo,' and again, positively for the last time, on the Plains or Heights of 'Chacabuco;' and completed the 'deliverance of Chile,' as was thought, forever and a day.

Alas, the 'deliverance' of Chile was but commenced; very far from completed. Chile, after many more deliverances, up to this hour, is always but 'delivered' from one set of evildoers to another set!—San Martin's manœuvres to liberate Peru, to unite Peru and Chile, and become some Washington-Napoleon of the same, did not prosper so well. The suspicion of mankind had to rouse itself; Liberator Bolivar had to be called in; and some revolution or two to take place in the interim. San Martin sees himself peremptorily, though with courtesy, complimented over the Andes again; and in due leisure, at Mendoza, hangs his portrait between Napoleon's and Wellington's. Mr. Miers considered him a fairspoken, obliging, if somewhat artful man. Might not the Chilenos as well

have *taken* him for their Napoleon? They have gone farther, and, as yet, fared little better!

The world-famous General O'Higgins, for example, he, after some revolution or two, became Director of Chile; but so terribly hampered by 'class-legislation' and the like, what could he make of it? Almost nothing! O'Higgins is clearly of Irish breed; and, though a Chileno born, and 'natural son of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, formerly the Spanish Viceroy of Chile,' carries his Hibernianism in his very face. A most cheery, jovial, buxom countenance, radiant with pepticity, good humour, and manifold effectuality in peace and war! Of his battles and adventures let some luckier epic writer sing or speak. One thing we Foreign Reviewers will always remember: his father's immense merits towards Chile in the matter of Highways. Till Don Ambrosio arrived to govern Chile, some half century ago, there probably was not a made road of ten miles long from Panama to Cape Horn. Indeed, except his roads, we fear there is hardly any yet. One omits the old Inca causeways, as too narrow (being only three feet broad), and altogether unfrequented in the actual ages. Don Ambrosio made, with incredible industry and perseverance and skill, in every direction, roads, roads. From San Iago to Valparaiso, when only sure-footed mules with their packsaddles carried goods, there can now wooden-axled cars loud-sounding, or any kind of vehicle, commodiously roll. It was he that shaped these passes through the Andes, for most part; hewed them out from mule-tracks into roads, certain of them. And think of his *casuchas*. Always on the higher inhospitable solitudes, at every few miles' distance, stands a trim brick cottage, or *casucha*, into which the forlorn traveller introducing himself, finds covert and grateful safety; nay food and refection,—for there are 'iron boxes' of pounded beef or other provender, iron boxes of charcoal; to all which the traveller, having bargained with the Post-office authorities, carries a key.* Steel and tinder are not wanting to him, nor due iron skillet, with water from the stream: there he, striking a light, cooks hoarded victual at even-tide, amid the lonely pinnacles of the world, and blesses Governor O'Higgins. With 'both hands,' it may be hoped,—if there is vivacity of mind in him:

> Had you seen this road before it was made,
> You would lift both your hands, and bless General Wade!

It affects one with real pain to hear from Mr. Miers, that the War of Liberty has half ruined these O'Higgins *casuchas*. Patriot soldiers, in want of more

* Miers.

warmth than the charcoal box could yield, have not scrupled to tear down the door, door-case, or whatever wooden thing could be come at, and burn it, on the spur of the moment. The storm-staid traveller, who sometimes, in threatening weather, has to linger here for days, 'for fifteen days together,' does not lift both his hands, and bless the Patriot soldier!

Nay, it appears, the O'Higgins roads, even in the plain country, have not, of late years, been repaired, or in the least attended to, so distressed was the finance department; and are now fast verging towards impassability and the condition of mule-tracks again. What a set of animals are men and Chilenos! If an O'Higgins did not now and then appear among them, what would become of the unfortunates? Can you wonder that an O'Higgins sometimes loses temper with them; *shuts* the persuasive outspread hand, clutching some sharpest hide-whip, some terrible sword of justice or gallows-lasso therewith, instead,—and becomes a Dr. Francia now and then! Both the O'Higgins and the Francia, it seems probable, are phases of the same character; both, one begins to fear, are indispensable from time to time, in a world inhabited by men and Chilenos!

As to O'Higgins the Second, Patriot, Natural-son O'Higgins, he, as we said, had almost no success whatever as a governor; being hampered by class-legislation. Alas, a governor in Chile cannot succeed. A governor there has to resign himself to the want of success; and should say, in cheerful interrogative tone, like that Pope elect, who showing himself on the balcony, was greeted with mere howls, "*Non piacemmo al popolo?*"—and thereupon proceed cheerfully to the *next* fact. Governing is a rude business everywhere; but in South America it is of quite primitive rudeness: they have no parliamentary way of changing ministries as yet; nothing but the rude primitive way of hanging the old ministry on gibbets, that the new may be installed! Their government has altered its name, says the sturdy Mr. Miers, rendered sulky by what he saw there: altered its name, but its nature continues as before. Shameless peculation, malversation, that is their government: oppression formerly by Spanish officials, now by native haciendados, land-proprietors,—the thing called justice still at a great distance from them, says the sulky Mr. Miers!—Yes, but coming always, answer we; every new gibbeting of an old ineffectual ministry bringing justice somewhat nearer! Nay, as Miers himself has to admit, certain improvements are already indisputable. Trade everywhere, in spite of multiplex confusions, has increased, is increasing: the days of somnolent monopoly and the old Acapulco Ship are gone, quite over the horizon. Two good, or partially good measures, the very necessity of things has everywhere brought about in those poor countries: clipping of the enormous bat-wings of the Clergy, and emancipating of the

Slaves. Bat-wings, we say; for truly the South American clergy had grown to be as a kind of bat-vampires:—readers have heard of that huge South American bloodsucker, which fixes its bill in your circulating vital-fluid as you lie *asleep*, and there sucks; waving you with the motion of its detestable leather wings into ever deeper sleep; and so drinking, till *it* is satisfied, and you—do not awaken any more! The South American governments, all in natural feud with the old church-dignitaries, and likewise all in great straits for cash, have everywhere confiscated the monasteries, cashiered the disobedient dignitaries, melted the superfluous church-plate into piastres; and, on the whole, shorn the *wings* of their vampyre; so that if it still suck, you will at least have a chance of awakening before death!—Then again, the very want of soldiers of liberty led to the emancipating of blacks, yellows, and other coloured persons: your mulatto, nay your negro, if well drilled, will stand fire as well as another.

Poor South American emancipators; they began with Volney, Raynal and Company, at that gospel of Social Contract and the Rights of Man; under the most unpropitious circumstances; and have hitherto got only to the length we see! Nay now, it seems, they do possess 'universities,' which are at least schools with other than monk teachers: they have got libraries, though as yet almost nobody reads them,—and our friend Miers, repeatedly knocking at all doors of the Grand Chile National Library, could never to this hour discover where the key lay, and had to content himself with looking in through the windows.* Miers, as already hinted, desiderates unspeakable improvements in Chile;—desiderates, indeed, as the basis of all, an immense increase of soap-and-water. Yes, thou sturdy Miers, dirt is decidedly to be removed, whatever improvements, temporal or spiritual, may be intended next! According to Miers, the open, still more the secret personal nastiness of those remote populations, rises almost towards the sublime. Finest silks, gold brocades, pearl necklaces, and diamond ear-drops, are no security against it: alas, all is not gold that glitters; somewhat that glitters is mere putrid fish-skin! Decided, enormously increased appliance of soap-and-water, in all its branches, with all its adjuncts; this, according to Miers, would be an improvement. He says also ('in his haste,' as is probable, like the Hebrew Psalmist), that all Chileno men are liars; all, or to appearance, all! A people that uses almost no soap, and speaks almost no truth, but goes about in that fashion, in a state of personal nastiness, and also of spiritual nastiness, approaching the sublime; such people is not easy to govern well!—

* *Travels in Chile*.

But undoubtedly by far the notablest of all these South American phenomena is Dr. Francia and his Dictatorship in Paraguay; concerning whom and which we have now more particularly to speak. Francia and his 'reign of terror' have excited some interest, much vague wonder in this country; and especially given a great shock to constitutional feeling. One would rather wish to know Dr. Francia;—but unhappily one cannot! Out of such a murk of distracted shadows and rumours, in the other hemisphere of the world, who would pretend at present to decipher the real portraiture of Dr. Francia and his Life? None of us can. A few credible features, wonderful enough, original enough in our constitutional time, will perhaps to the impartial eye disclose themselves: these, with some endeavour to interpret these, may lead certain readers into various reflections, constitutional and other, not entirely without benefit.

Certainly, as we say, nothing could well shock the constitutional feeling of mankind, as Dr. Francia has done. Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, and indeed the whole breed of tyrants, one hoped, had gone many hundred years ago, with their reward; and here, under our own nose, rises a new 'tyrant,' claiming also *his* reward from us! Precisely when constitutional liberty was beginning to be understood a little, and we flattered ourselves that by due ballot-boxes, by due registration-courts, and bursts of parliamentary eloquence, something like a real National Palaver would be got up in those countries,—arises this tawny-visaged, lean, inexorable Dr. Francia; claps you an embargo on all that; says to constitutional liberty, in the most tyrannous manner, Hitherto, and no farther! It is an undeniable, though an almost incredible fact, that Francia, a lean private individual, Practitioner of Law, and Doctor of Divinity, did, for twenty or near thirty years, stretch out his rod over the foreign commerce of Paraguay, saying to it, Cease! The ships lay high and dry, their pitchless seams all yawning on the clay banks of the Parana; and no man could trade but by Francia's licence. If any person entered Paraguay, and the Doctor did not like his papers, his talk, conduct, or even the cut of his face,—it might be the worse for such person! Nobody could leave Paraguay on any pretext whatever. It mattered not that you were man of science, astronomer, geologer, astrologer, wizard of the north; Francia heeded none of these things. The whole world knows of M. Aimé Bonpland; how Francia seized him, descending on his tea-establishment in Entre Rios, like an obscene vulture, and carried him into the interior, contrary even to the law of nations; how the great Humboldt and other high persons expressly applied to Dr. Francia, calling on him, in the name of human science, and as it were under penalty of reprobation, to liberate M. Bonpland; and how Dr. Francia made no answer, and M. Bonpland did not return to Europe, and indeed has

never yet returned. It is also admitted that Dr. Francia had a gallows, had jailers, law-fiscals, officials; and executed, in his time, 'upwards of forty persons,' some of them in a very summary manner. Liberty of private judgment, unless it kept its mouth shut, was at an end in Paraguay. Paraguay lay under interdict, cut off for above twenty years from the rest of the world, by a new Dionysius of Paraguay. All foreign commerce had ceased; how much more all domestic constitution-building! These are strange facts. Dr. Francia, we may conclude at least, was not a common man but an uncommon.

How unfortunate that there is almost no knowledge of him procurable at present! Next to none. The Paraguenos can in many cases spell and read, but they are not a literary people; and, indeed, this Doctor was, perhaps, too awful a practical phenomenon to be calmly treated of in the literary way. Your Breughel paints his sea-storm, not while the ship is labouring and cracking, but after he has got to shore, and is safe under cover! Our Buenos-Ayres friends, again, who are not without habits of printing, lay at a great distance from Francia, under great obscurations of quarrel and controversy with him; their constitutional feeling shocked to an extreme degree by the things he did. To them, there could little intelligence float down, on those long muddy waters, through those vast distracted countries, that was not more or less of a distracted nature; and then from Buenos-Ayres over into Europe, there is another long tract of distance, liable to new distractions. Francia, Dictator of Paraguay, is, at present, to the European mind, little other than a chimera; at best, the statement of a puzzle, to which the solution is still to seek. As the Paraguenos, though not a literary people, can many of them spell and write, and are not without a discriminating sense of true and untrue, why should not some real *Life of Francia*, from those parts, be still possible? If a writer of genius arise there, he is hereby invited to the enterprise. Surely in all places your writing genius ought to rejoice over an acting genius, when he falls in with such; and say to himself: "Here or nowhere is the thing for me to write of! Why do I keep pen and ink at all, if not to apprise men of this singular acting genius, and the like of him? My fine-arts and æsthetics, my epics, literatures, poetics, if I will think of it, do all at bottom mean either that or else nothing whatever!"

Hitherto our chief source of information as to Francia is a little Book, the Second on our List, set forth in French some sixteen years ago, by the Messrs. Rengger and Longchamp. Translations into various languages were executed:—of that into English, it is our painful duty to say that no man, except in case of extreme necessity, shall use it as reading. The translator, having little fear of human detection, and seemingly none at all of divine or diabolic, has done his

work even unusually ill; with ignorance, with carelessness, with dishonesty prepense; coolly *omitting* whatsoever he *saw* that he did not understand:—poor man, if he yet survive, let him reform in time! He has made a French book, which was itself but lean and dry, into the most wooden of English false books; doing evil as he could in that matter;—and claimed wages for it, as if the feat deserved *wages* first of all! Reformation, even on the small scale, is highly necessary.

The Messrs. Rengger and Longchamp were, and we hope still are, two Swiss Surgeons; who in the year 1819 resolved on carrying their talents into South America, into Paraguay, with views towards 'natural history,' among other things. After long towing and struggling in those Parana floods, and distracted provinces, after much detention by stress of weather and of war, they arrived accordingly in Francia's country; but found that, without Francia's leave, they could not quit it again. Francia was now a Dionysius of Paraguay. Paraguay had grown to be, like some mousetraps and other contrivances of art and nature, easy to enter, impossible to get out of. Our brave Surgeons, our brave Rengger (for it is he alone of the two that speaks and writes) reconciled themselves; were set to doctoring of Francia's soldiery, of Francia's self; collected plants and beetles; and, for six years, endured their lot rather handsomely: at length, in 1825, the embargo was for a time lifted, and they got home. This Book was the consequence. It is not a good book, but at that date there was, on the subject, no other book at all; nor is there yet any other better, or as good. We consider it to be authentic, veracious, moderately accurate; though lean and dry, it is intelligible, rational; in the French original, not unreadable. We may say it embraces up to this date, the present date, all of importance that is yet known in Europe about the Doctor Despot; add to this its indisputable *brevity;* the fact that it can be read sooner by several hours than any other *Dr. Francia:* these are its excellencies,—considerable, though wholly of a comparative sort.

After all, brevity is the soul of wit! There is an endless merit in a man's knowing when to have done. The stupidest man, if he will be brief in proportion, may fairly claim some hearing from us: he too, the stupidest man, has seen something, heard something, which is his own, distinctly peculiar, never seen or heard by any man in this world before; let him tell us that, and if it were possible, *nothing* more than that,—he, brief in proportion, shall be welcome!

The Messrs. Robertson, with their *Francia's Reign of Terror*, and other Books on South America, have been much before the world of late; and failed not of a perusal from this Reviewer; whose next sad duty it now is to say a word about them. The Messrs. Robertson, some thirty or five-and-thirty years ago, were two young Scotchmen, from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, as would seem; who,

under fair auspices, set out for Buenos-Ayres, and thence for Paraguay, and other quarters of that remote continent, in the way of commercial adventure. Being young men of vivacity and open eyesight, they surveyed with attentive view those convulsed regions of the world; wherein it was evident that revolution raged not a little; but also that precious metals, cow-hides, Jesuits' bark, and multiplex commodities, were nevertheless extant; and iron or brazen implements, ornaments, cotton and woollen clothing, and British manufactures not a few, were objects of desire to mankind. The Brothers Robertson, acting on these facts, appear to have prospered, to have extensively flourished in their commerce; which they gradually extended up the River Plate, to the city of the Seven Streams or Currents (*Corrientes* so-called), and higher even to Assumpcion, metropolis of Paraguay; in which latter place, so extensive did the commercial interests grow, it seemed at last expedient that one or both of the prosperous Brothers should take up his personal residence. Personal residence accordingly they did take up, one or both of them, and maintain, in a fluctuating way, now in this city, now in that, of the De la Plata, Parana or Paraguay country, for a considerable space of years. How many years, in precise arithmetic, it is impossible, from these inextricably complicated documents now before us, to ascertain. In Paraguay itself, in Assumpcion city itself, it is very clear, the Brothers Robertson did, successively or simultaneously, in a fluctuating inextricable manner, live for certain years; and occasionally saw Dr. Francia with their own eyes,—though, to them or others, he had not yet become notable.

Mountains of cow and other hides, it would appear, quitted those countries by movement of the Brothers Robertson, to be worn out in Europe as tanned boots and horse-harness, with more or less satisfaction,—not without due profit to the merchants, we shall hope. About the time of Dr. Francia's beginning his 'reign of terror,' or earlier it may be (for there are no dates in these inextricable documents), the Messrs. Robertson were lucky enough to take final farewell of Paraguay, and carry their commercial enterprises into other quarters of that vast continent, where the reign was not of terror. Their voyagings, counter-voyagings, comings and goings, seem to have been extensive, frequent, inextricably complex; to Europe, to Tucuman, to Glasgow, to Chile, to Laswade and elsewhither; too complex for a succinct intelligence, as that of our readers has to be at present. Sufficient for us to know, that the Messrs. Robertson did bodily, and for good, return to their own country some few years since; with what net result of cash is but dimly adumbrated in these documents; certainly with some increase of knowledge,—had the unfolding of it but been brief in proportion! Indisputably the Messrs. Robertson had somewhat to tell: their eyes had seen some new

things, of which their hearts and understandings had taken hold more or less. In which circumstances the Messrs. Robertson decided on publishing a Book. Arrangements being made, Two Volumes of *Letters on Paraguay* came out, with due welcome from the world, in 1839.

We have read these *Letters* for the first time lately: a Book of somewhat *aqueous* structure: immeasurably thinner than one could have wished; otherwise not without merit. It is written in an offhand, free-flowing, very artless, very incorrect style of language, of thought, and of conception; breathes a cheerful, eupeptic, social spirit, as of adventurous South-American Britons, worthy to succeed in business; gives one, here and there, some visible concrete feature, some lively glimpse of those remote sunburnt countries; and has throughout a kind of bantering humour or quasi-humour, a joviality and healthiness of heart, which is comfortable to the reader, in some measure. A Book not to be despised in these dull times: one of that extensive class of books which a reader can peruse, so to speak, 'with one eye shut and the other not open;' a considerable luxury for some readers. These *Letters on Paraguay* meeting, as would seem, a unanimous approval, it was now determined by the Messrs. Robertson that they would add a Third Volume, and entitle it *Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror*. They did so, and this likewise the present Reviewer has read. Unluckily the Authors had, as it were, nothing more whatever to say about Dr. Francia, or next to nothing; and under this condition, it must be owned they have done their Book with what success was well possible. Given a cubic inch of respectable Castile soap, To lather it up in water so as to fill one puncheon wine-measure: this is the problem; let a man have credit, of its kind, for doing his problem! The Messrs. Robertson have picked almost every fact of significance from *Rengger and Longchamp*, adding some not very significant reminiscences of their own; this is the square inch of soap: you lather it up in Robertsonian loquacity, joviality, Commercial-Inn banter, Leading-Article philosophy, or other aqueous vehicles, till it fills the puncheon, the Volume of four hundred pages, and say "There!" The public, it would seem, did not fling even this in the face of the venders, but bought it as a puncheon filled; and the consequences are already here: Three Volumes more on *South America*, from the same assiduous Messrs. Robertson! These also, in his eagerness, this present Reviewer has read; and has, alas, to say that they are simply the old volumes in new vocables, under a new figure. Intrinsically all that we did not already know of these Three Volumes,—there are craftsmen of no great eminence who will undertake to write it in one sheet! Yet there they stand, Three solid-looking Volumes, a thousand printed pages and upwards; three puncheons *more* lathered out of the old square inch of Castile soap! It is

too bad. A necessitous ready-witted Irishman sells you an indifferent gray-horse; steals it overnight, paints it black, and sells it you again on the morrow; *he* is haled before judges, sharply cross-questioned, tried and almost executed, for such adroitness in horse-flesh: but there is no law yet as to books!

M. de la Condamine, about a century ago, was one of a world-famous company that went into those equinoctial countries, and for the space of nine or ten years did exploits there. From Quito to Cuença, he measured you degrees of the meridian, climbed mountains, took observations, had adventures; wild Creoles opposing Spanish nescience to human science; wild Indians throwing down your whole cargo of instruments occasionally in the heart of remote deserts, and striking work there.* M. de la Condamine saw bull-fights at Cuença, five days running; and on the fifth day, saw his unfortunate too audacious surgeon massacred by popular tumult there. He sailed the entire length of the Amazons River, in Indian canoes; over narrow Pongo rapids, over infinite mud-waters, the infinite tangled wilderness with its reeking desolation on the right hand of him and on the left;—and had mischances, adventures, and took celestial observations all the way, and made remarks! Apart altogether from his meridian degrees, which belong in a very strict sense to World-history and the advancement of all Adam's sinful posterity, this man and his party saw and suffered many hundred times as much of mere romance adventure as the Messrs. Robertson did:—Madame Godin's passage down the Amazons, and frightful life-in-death amid the howling forest-labyrinths, and wrecks of her dead friends, amounts to more adventure of itself than was ever dreamt of in the Robertsonian world. And of all this M. de la Condamine gives pertinent, lucid, and conclusively intelligible and credible account in one very small octavo volume; not quite the eighth part of what the Messrs. Robertson have already written, in a not pertinent, not lucid, or conclusively intelligible and credible manner. And the Messrs. Robertson talk repeatedly, in their last Volumes, of writing still other Volumes on Chile, 'if the public will encourage.' The Public will be a monstrous fool if it do. The Public ought to stipulate first, that the real new knowledge forthcoming there about Chile be separated from the knowledge or ignorance already known; that the preliminary question be rigorously put, Are several volumes the space to hold it, or a small fraction of one volume?

On the whole, it is a sin, good reader, though there is no Act of Parliament against it; an indubitable *male*faction or crime. No mortal has a right to wag his tongue, much less to wag his pen, without saying something: he knows not what mischief he does, past computation; scattering words without meaning,—to

* Condamine: *Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale*.

afflict the whole world yet, before they cease! For thistle-down flies abroad on all winds and airs of wind: idle thistles, idle dandelions, and other idle products of Nature or the human mind, propagate themselves in that way; like to cover the face of the earth,—did not man's indignant providence with reap-hook, with rake, with autumnal steel-and-tinder, intervene. It is frightful to think how every idle volume flies abroad like an idle globular downbeard, embryo of new millions; every word of it a potential seed of infinite new downbeards and volumes; for the mind of man is voracious, is feracious; germinative, above all things, of the downbeard species! Why, the Author-corps in Great Britain, every soul of them *inclined* to grow mere dandelions if permitted, is now supposed to be about ten thousand strong; and the reading-corps, who read merely to escape from themselves, with one eye shut and the other not open, and will put up with almost any dandelion or thing which they can read *without* opening both their eyes, amounts to twenty-seven millions all but a few! O could the Messrs. Robertson, spirited, articulate-speaking men, once know well in what a comparatively blessed mood you close your brief, intelligent, conclusive M. de la Condamine, and feel that you have passed your evening well and nobly, as in a temple of wisdom,—not ill and disgracefully, as in brawling tavern supper-rooms, with fools and noisy persons,—ah, in that case, perhaps the Messrs. Robertson would write their new Work on Chile in *part* of a volume!

But enough of this Robertsonian department; which we must leave to the Fates and Supreme Providences. These spirited, articulate-speaking Robertsons are far from the worst of their kind; nay, among the best, if you will;—only unlucky in this case, in coming across the autumnal steel and tinder! Let it cease to rain angry sparks on them: enough now, and more than enough. To cure that unfortunate department by philosophical criticism—the attempt is most vain. Who will dismount, on a hasty journey, with the day declining, to attack mosquito-swarms with the horsewhip? Spur swiftly through them; breathing perhaps some pious prayer to Heaven. By the horsewhip they cannot be killed. Drain out the swamps where they are bred,—Ah, couldst thou do something towards that! And in the mean while: How to get on with this of Dr. Francia?

The materials, as our reader sees, are of the miserablest: mere intricate inanity (if we except poor wooden *Rengger*), and little more; not facts, but broken shadows of facts; clouds of confused bluster and jargon;—the whole still more bewildered in the *Robertsons*, by what we may call a running shriek of constitutional denunciation, 'sanguinary tyrant,' and so forth. How is any picture of Francia to be fabricated out of that? Certainly, first of all, by *omission* of the running shriek! This latter we shall totally omit. Francia, the sanguinary tyrant,

was not bound to look at the world through Rengger's eyes, through Parish Robertson's eyes, but faithfully through his own eyes. We are to consider that, in all human likelihood, this Dionysius of Paraguay did mean something; and then to ask in quietness, What? The running shriek once hushed, perhaps many things will compose themselves, and straggling fractions of information, almost infinitesimally small, may become unexpectedly luminous!

An unscientific Cattle-breeder and tiller of the earth, in some nameless *chacra* not far from the City of Assumpcion, was the Father of this remarkable human individual; and seems to have evoked him into being some time in the year 1757. The man's name is not known to us; his very nation is a point of controversy: Francia himself gave him out for an immigrant of French extraction; the popular belief was, that he had wandered over from Brazil. Portuguese or French, or both in one, he produced this human individual, and had him christened by the name of José Gaspar Rodriguez Francia, in the year abovementioned. Rodriguez, no doubt, had a Mother too; but her name also, nowhere found mentioned, must be omitted in this delineation. Her name, and all her fond maternities, and workings and sufferings, good brown lady, are sunk in dumb forgetfulness; and buried there along with her, under the twenty-fifth parallel of Southern Latitude; and no British reader is required to interfere with them! José Rodriguez must have been a loose-made tawny creature, much given to taciturn reflection; probably to crying humours, with fits of vehement ill-nature: such a subject, it seemed to the parent Francia cautiously reflecting on it, would, of all attainable trades, be suitablest for preaching the Gospel, and doing the Divine Offices, in a country like Paraguay. There were other young Francias; at least one sister and one brother in addition; of whom the latter by and by went mad. The Francias, with their adust character, and vehement French-Portuguese blood, had perhaps all a kind of aptitude for madness. The Dictator himself was subject to the terriblest fits of hypochondria, as your adust 'men of genius' too frequently are! The lean Rodriguez, we fancy, may have been of a devotional turn withal; born half a century earlier, he had infallibly been so. Devotional or not, he shall be a Priest, and *do* the Divine Offices in Paraguay, perhaps in a very unexpected way.

Rodriguez having learned his hornbooks and elementary branches at Assumpcion, was accordingly despatched to the University of Cordova in Tucuman, to pursue his curriculum in that seminary. So far we know, but almost no farther. What kind of curriculum it was, what lessons, spiritual spoonmeat, the poor lank sallow boy was crammed with, in Cordova High Seminary; and how he took to it, and pined or throve on it, is entirely uncertain. Lank sallow boys in

the Tucuman and other high seminaries are often dreadfully ill-dealt with, in respect of their spiritual spoonmeat, as times go! Spoon-poison you might often call it rather: as if the object were to make them Mithridateses, able to *live* on poison? Which may be a useful art too, in its kind? Nay, in fact, if we consider it, these high seminaries and establishments exist there, in Tucuman and elsewhere, not for that lank sallow boy's special purposes, but for their own wise purposes; they were made and put together, a long while since, without taking the smallest counsel of the sallow boy! Frequently they seem to say to him, all along: "This precious thing that lies in thee, O sallow boy, of 'genius,' so called, it may to thee and to eternal Nature, be precious; but to us and to temporary Tucuman, it is not precious, but pernicious, deadly: we require thee to quit this, or expect penalties!" And yet the poor boy, how can he quit it; eternal Nature herself, from the depths of the Universe, ordering him to go on with it? From the depths of the Universe, and of his own Soul, latest revelation of the Universe, he is, in a silent, imperceptible, but irrefragable manner, directed to go on with it,—and has to go, though under penalties. Penalties of very death, or worse! Alas, the poor boy, so willing to obey temporary Tucumans, and yet unable to disobey eternal Nature, is truly to be pitied. Thou shalt be Rodriguez Francia! cries Nature, and the poor boy to himself. Thou shalt be Ignatius Loyola, Friar Ponderoso, Don Fatpauncho Usandwonto! cries Tucuman. The poor creature's whole boyhood is one long law suit: Rodriguez Francia against All Persons in general. It is so in Tucuman, so in most places. You cannot advise effectually into what high seminary he had best be sent; the only safe way is to bargain beforehand, that he have force born with him sufficient to make itself good against all persons in general!

Be this as it may, the lean Francia prosecutes his studies at Cordova, waxes gradually taller towards new destinies. Rodriguez Francia, in some kind of Jesuit scullcap, and black college serge gown, a lank rawboned creature, stalking with a down-look through the irregular public streets of Cordova in those years, with an infinitude of painful unspeakabilities in the interior of him, is an interesting object to the historical mind. So much is unspeakable, O Rodriguez; and it is a most strange Universe this thou hast been born into; and the theorem of Ignatius Loyola and Don Fatpauncho Usandwonto seems to me to hobble somewhat! Much is unspeakable; lying within one, like a dark lake of doubt, of Acherontic dread, leading down to Chaos itself. Much is unspeakable, answers Francia; but somewhat also is speakable,—this for example: That I will not be a Priest in Tucuman in these circumstances; that I should like decidedly to be a secular person rather, were it even a Lawyer rather! Francia, arrived at man's years,

changes from Divinity to Law. Some say it was in Divinity that he graduated, and got his Doctor's hat; Rengger says, Divinity; the Robertsons, likelier to be incorrect, call him Doctor of Laws. To our present readers it is all one, or nearly so. Rodriguez quitted the Tucuman *Alma Mater*, with some beard on his chin, and reappeared in Assumpcion to look out for practice at the bar.

What Rodriguez had contrived to learn, or grow to, under this his *Alma Mater* in Cordova, when he quitted her? The answer is a mere guess; his curriculum, we again say, is not yet known. Some faint smattering of Arithmetic, or the everlasting laws of Numbers; faint smattering of Geometry, everlasting laws of Shapes; these things, we guess, not altogether in the dark, Rodriguez did learn, and found extremely remarkable. Curious enough: That round Globe put into that round Drum, to touch it at the ends and all round, it is precisely as if you clapt 2 into the inside of 3, not a jot more, not a jot less: wonder at it, O Francia; for in fact it is a thing to make one pause! Old Greek Archimedeses, Pythagorases, dusky Indians, old nearly as the hills, detected such things; and they have got across into Paraguay, into this brain of thine, thou happy Francia. How is it too, that the Almighty Maker's Planets run, in those heavenly spaces, in paths which are conceivable in thy poor human head as Sections of a Cone? The thing thou conceivest as an Ellipsis, the Almighty Maker has set his Planets to roll in that. Clear proof, which neither Loyola nor Usandwonto can contravene, that *Thou* too art denizen of this Universe; that Thou too, in some inconceivable manner, wert present at the Council of the Gods!—Faint smatterings of such things Francia did learn in Tucuman. Endless heavy fodderings of Jesuit theology, poured on him and round him by the waggon-load, incessantly, and year after year, he did not learn; but left lying there as shot rubbish. On the other hand, some slight inkling of human grammatical vocables, especially of French vocables, seems probable. French vocables; bodily garment of the *Encyclopédie* and Gospel according to Volney, Jean-Jacques and Company; of infinite import to Francia!

Nay, is it not in some sort beautiful to see the sacred flame of ingenuous human curiosity, love of knowledge, awakened, amid the damp somnolent vapours, real and metaphorical, the damp tropical poison-jungles, and fat Lethean stupefactions and entanglements, even in the heart of a poor Paraguay Creole? Sacred flame, no bigger yet than that of a farthing rushlight, and with nothing but secondhand French class-books in Science, and in Politics and Morals nothing but the Raynals and Rousseaus, to feed it:—an *ill*-fed, lank-quavering, most blue-coloured, almost ghastly-looking flame; but a needful one, a kind of sacred one even that! Thou shalt love knowledge, search what *is* the *truth* of this God's

Universe; thou art privileged and bound to love it, to search for it, in Jesuit Tucuman, in all places that the sky covers; and shalt try even Volneys for help, if there be no other help! This poor blue-coloured inextinguishable flame in the soul of Rodriguez Francia, there as it burns better or worse, in many figures, through the whole life of him, is very notable to me. Blue flame though it be, it has to burn up considerable quantities of poisonous lumber from the general face of Paraguay; and singe the profound impenetrable forest-jungle, spite of all its brambles and lianas, into a very black condition,—intimating that there shall be decease and removal on the part of said forest-jungle; peremptory removal; that the blessed Sunlight shall again look in upon his cousin Earth, tyrannously hidden from him, for so many centuries now! Courage, Rodriguez!

Rodriguez, indifferent to such remote considerations, successfully addicts himself to law-pleadings, and general private studies, in the City of Assumpcion. We have always understood he was one of the best Advocates, perhaps the very best, and what is still more, the justest that ever took briefs in that country. This the Robertsonian *Reign of Terror* itself is willing to admit, nay repeatedly asserts, and impresses on us. He was so just and true, while a young man; gave such divine prognostics of a life of nobleness; and then, in his riper years, so belied all that! Shameful to think of: he bade fair, at one time, to be a friend-of-humanity of the first water; and then gradually, hardened by political success, and love of power, he became a mere ravenous goul, or solitary thief in the night; stealing the constitutional palladiums from their parliament-houses,—and executed upwards of forty persons! Sad to consider what men and friends-of-humanity will turn to!

For the rest, it is not given to this or as yet to any editor, till a Biography arrive from Paraguay, to shape out with the smallest clearness, a representation of Francia's existence as an Assumpcion Advocate; the scene is so distant, the conditions of it so unknown. Assumpcion City, near three hundred years old now, lies in free-and-easy fashion, on the left bank of the Parana River; embosomed among fruit-forests, rich tropical umbrage; thick wood round it everywhere,—which serves for defence too against the Indians. Approach by which of the various roads you will, it is through miles of solitary shady avenue, shutting out the sun's glare; overcanopying, as with grateful green awning, the loose sand-highway,—where, in the early part of this Century (date undiscoverable in those intricate Volumes), Mr. Parish Robertson, advancing on horseback, met one cart driven by a smart brown girl, in red bodice, with long black hair, not unattractive to look upon; and for a space of twelve miles, no other articulate-speaking thing whatever.*

* *Letters on Paraguay*.

The people of that profuse climate live in a careless abundance, troubling themselves about few things; build what wooden carts, hide-beds, mud-brick houses are indispensable; import what of ornamental lies handiest abroad; exchanging for it Paraguay tea in sewed goatskins. Riding through the town of Santa Fé, with Parish Robertson, at three in the afternoon, you will find the entire population just risen from its siesta; slipshod, half-buttoned; sitting in its front verandahs open to the street, eating pumpkins with voracity,—sunk to the ears in pumpkins; imbibing the grateful saccharine juices, in a free and easy way. They look up at the sound of your hoofs, not without good humour. Frondent trees parasol the streets,—thanks to Nature and the Virgin. You will be welcome at their *tertulias*,—a kind of *'swarrie,'* as the Flunkey says, 'consisting of flirtation and the usual trimmings: *swarrie* on the table about seven o'clock.' Before this, the whole population, it is like, has gone to bathe promiscuously, and cool and purify itself in the Parana: promiscuously, but you have all got linen bathing-garments and can swash about with some decency; a great relief to the human tabernacle in those climates. At your *tertulia*, it is said, the Andalusian eyes, still bright to this tenth or twelfth generation, are distractive, seductive enough, and argue a soul that would repay cultivating. The beautiful half-savages; full of wild sheet-lightning, which might be made continuously luminous! Tertulia well over, you sleep on hide-stretchers, perhaps here and there on a civilized mattress, within doors or on the housetops.

In the damp flat country parts, where the mosquitoes abound, you sleep on high stages, mounted on four poles, forty feet above the ground, attained by ladders; so high, blessed be the Virgin, no mosquito can follow to sting,—it is a blessing of the Virgin or some other. You sleep there, in an indiscriminate arrangement, each in his several *poncho* or blanket-cloak; with some saddle, deal-box, wooden log, or the like, under your head. For bed-tester is the canopy of everlasting blue; for night-lamp burns Canopus in his infinite spaces; mosquitoes cannot reach you, if it please the Powers. And rosy-fingered Morn, suffusing the east with sudden red and gold, and other flame-heraldry of swift-advancing Day, attenuates all dreams; and the Sun's first level light-volley sheers away sleep from living creatures everywhere; and living men do then awaken on their four-post stage there, in the Pampas,—and might begin with prayer if they liked, one fancies! There is an altar decked on the horizon's edge yonder, is there not; and a cathedral wide enough?—How, over night, you have defended yourself against vampires, is unknown to this Editor.

The Guacho population, it must be owned, is not yet fit for constitutional liberty. They are a rude people; lead a drowsy life, of ease and sluttish abun-

dance,—one shade, and but one, above a dog's life, which is defined as 'ease and scarcity.' The arts are in their infancy; and not less the virtues. For equipment, clothing, bedding, household furniture, and general outfit of every kind, those simple populations depend much on the skin of the cow; making of it most things wanted, lasso, bolas, ship-cordage, rimmings of cart-wheels, spatterdashes, beds, and house-doors. In country places they sit on the skull of the cow: General Artigas was seen, and spoken with, by one of the Robertsons, sitting among field-officers, all on cow-skulls, toasting stripes of beef, and 'dictating to three secretaries at once.'* They sit on the skull of the cow in country places; nay they heat themselves, and even burn lime, by igniting the carcass of the cow.

One art they seem to have perfected, and one only—that of riding. Astley's and Ducrow's must hide their head, and all glories of Newmarket and Epsom dwindle to extinction, in comparison of Guacho horsemanship. Certainly if ever Centaurs lived upon the earth, these are of them. They stick on their horses as if both were one flesh; galloping where there seems hardly path for an ibex; leaping like kangaroos, and flourishing their nooses and bolases the while. They can whirl themselves round under the belly of the horse, in cases of war-stratagem, and stick fast, hanging on by the mere great toe and heel. You think it is a drove of wild horses galloping up: on a sudden, with wild scream, it becomes a troop of Centaurs with pikes in their hands. Nay, they have the skill, which most of all transcends Newmarket, of riding on horses that are *not* fed; and can bring fresh speed and alacrity out of a horse which, with you, was on the point of lying down. To ride on three horses with Ducrow they would esteem a small feat: to ride on the broken-winded fractional part of one horse, that is the feat! Their huts abound in beef, in reek also, and rubbish; excelling in dirt most places that human nature has anywhere inhabited. Poor Guachos! They drink Paraguay tea, sucking it up in succession, through the same tin pipe, from one common skillet. They are hospitable, sooty, leathery, lying, laughing fellows; of excellent talent in their sphere. They have stoicism, though ignorant of Zeno; nay stoicism coupled with real gaiety of heart. Amidst their reek and wreck, they laugh loud, in rough jolly banter; they twang, in a plaintive manner, rough love-melodies on a kind of guitar; smoke infinite tobacco; and delight in gambling and ardent spirits, ordinary refuge of voracious empty souls. For the same reason, and a better, they delight also in Corpus-Christi ceremonies, mass-chauntings, and devotional performances. These men are fit to be drilled into something! Their lives stand there like empty capacious bottles, calling to the heavens and the earth, and all Dr. Francias who may pass that way: "Is there nothing to put into

* *Letters on Paraguay*.

us, then? Nothing but nomadic idleness, Jesuit superstition, rubbish, reek, and dry stripes of tough beef?" Ye unhappy Guachos,—yes, there is something other, there are several things other, to put into you! But withal, you will observe, the seven devils have first to be put out of you: Idleness, lawless Brutalness, Darkness, Falseness—seven devils or more. And the way to put something into you is, alas, not so plain at present! Is it,—alas, on the whole, is it not perhaps to lay good horsewhips lustily *upon* you, and cast out these seven devils as a preliminary?

How Francia passed his days in such a region, where philosophy, as is too clear, was at the lowest ebb? Francia, like Quintus Fixlein, had 'perennial fire-proof joys, namely employments.' He had much Law-business, a great and ever-increasing reputation as a man at once skilful and faithful in the management of causes for men. Then, in his leisure hours, he had his Volneys, Raynals; he had secondhand scientific treatises in French; he loved to 'interrogate Nature,' as they say; to possess theodolites, telescopes, star-glasses,—any kind of glass or book, or gazing implement whatever, through which he might try to catch a glimpse of Fact in this strange Universe: poor Francia! Nay, it is said, his hard heart was not without inflammability; was sensible to those Andalusian eyes still bright in the tenth or twelfth generation. In such case too, it may have burnt, one would think, like anthracite, in a somewhat ardent manner. Rumours to this effect are afloat; not at once incredible. Pity there had not been some Andalusian pair of eyes, with speculation, depth and soul enough in the rear of them to fetter Dr. Francia permanently, and make a house-father of him. It had been better; but it befel not. As for that light-headed, smart, brown girl whom, twenty years afterwards, you saw selling flowers on the streets of Assumpcion, and leading a light life, is there any certainty that she was Dr. Francia's daughter? Any certainty that, even if so, he could and should have done something considerable for her?* Poor Francia, poor light-headed, smart, brown girl,—this present Reviewer cannot say!

Francia is a somewhat lonesome, down-looking man, apt to be solitary even in the press of men; wears a face not unvisited by laughter, yet tending habitually towards the sorrowful, the stern. He passes everywhere for a man of veracity, punctuality, of iron methodic rigour; of iron rectitude, above all. 'The skilful lawyer,' 'the learned lawyer,' these are reputations; but the 'honest lawyer!' This Law-case was reported by the Robertsons before they thought of writing a *Francia's Reign of Terror*, with that running shriek, which so confuses us. We love to believe the anecdote, even in its present loose state, as significant of many things in Francia:

* Robertson.

'It has been already observed that Francia's reputation, as a lawyer, was not only unsullied by venality, but conspicuous for rectitude.

'He had a friend in Assumption of the name of Domingo Rodriguez. This man had cast a covetous eye upon a Naboth's vineyard, and this Naboth, of whom Francia was the open enemy, was called Estanislao Machain. Never doubting that the young Doctor, like other lawyers, would undertake his unrighteous cause, Rodriguez opened to him his case, and requested, with a handsome retainer, his advocacy of it. Francia saw at once that his friend's pretensions were founded in fraud and injustice; and he not only refused to act as his counsel, but plainly told him that much as he hated his antagonist Machain, yet if he (Rodriguez) persisted in his iniquitous suit, that antagonist should have his (Francia's) most zealous support. But covetousness, as Ahab's story shows us, is not so easily driven from its pretensions; and in spite of Francia's warning, Rodriguez persisted. As he was a potent man in point of fortune, all was going against Machain and his devoted vineyard.

'At this stage of the question, Francia wrapped himself one night in his cloak, and walked to the house of his inveterate enemy, Machain. The slave who opened the door, knowing that his master and the Doctor, like the houses of Montagu and Capulet, were smoke in each other's eyes, refused the lawyer admittance, and ran to inform his master of the strange and unexpected visit. Machain, no less struck by the circumstance than his slave, for some time hesitated; but at length determined to admit Francia. In walked the silent Doctor to Machain's chamber. All the papers connected with the law-plea—voluminous enough I have been assured—were outspread upon the defendant's escritoire.

"'Machain,' said the Lawyer, addressing him, "you know I am your enemy. But I know that my friend Rodriguez meditates, and will certainly, unless I interfere, carry against you an act of gross and lawless aggression; I have come to offer my services in your defence."

'The astonished Machain could scarcely credit his senses; but poured forth the ebullition of his gratitude in terms of thankful acquiescence.

'The first "escrito," or writing, sent in by Francia to the Juez de Alzada, or Judge of the Court of Appeal, confounded the adverse advocates, and staggered the judge, who was in their interest. "My friend," said the judge to the leading counsel, "I cannot go forward in this matter, unless you bribe Dr. Francia to be silent." "I will try," replied the advocate, and he went to Naboth's counsel with a hundred doubloons (about three hundred and fifty guineas), which he offered him as a bribe to let the cause take its iniquitous course. Considering, too, that his best introduction would be a hint that this douceur was offered with the judge's concurrence, the knavish lawyer hinted to the upright one that such was the fact.

"'*Salga Usted*," said Francia, "*con sus viles pensamientos, y vilisimo oro de mi casa!* Out, with your vile insinuations, and dross of gold from my house!"

'Off marched the venal drudge of the unjust judge; and in a moment putting on his capoté, the offended Advocate went to the residence of the Juez de Alzada. Shortly relating what had passed between himself and the myrmidon,—"Sir," continued Francia, "you are a disgrace to law, and a blot upon justice. You are, moreover, completely in my power; and unless to-morrow I have a decision in favour of my client, I will make your seat upon the bench too hot for you, and the insignia of your judicial office shall become the emblems of your shame."

'The morrow *did* bring a decision in favour of Francia's client. Naboth retained his vineyard; the judge lost his reputation; and the young Doctor's fame extended far and wide.'

On the other hand, it is admitted that he quarrelled with his Father, in those days; and, as is reported, never spoke to him more. The subject of the quarrel is vaguely supposed to have been 'money matters.' Francia is not accused of avarice; nay, is expressly acquitted of loving money, even by Rengger. But he did hate injustice;—and probably was not indisposed to allow *himself*, among others, 'the height of fair play!' A rigorous, correct man, that will have a spade be a spade; a man of much learning in Creole Law, and occult French Sciences, of great talent, energy, fidelity:—a man of some temper withal; unhappily subject to private 'hypochondria;' black private thunder-clouds, whence probably the origin of these *lightnings*, when you poke into him! He leads a lonesome self-secluded life; 'interrogating Nature' through mere star-glasses, and Abbé-Raynal philosophies,—who in that way will yield no very exuberant response. Mere law-papers, advocate fees, civic officialities, renowns, and the wonder of Assumpcion Guachos;—not so much as a pair of Andalusian eyes that can *lasso* him, except in a temporary way: this man seems to have got but a lean lease of Nature, and may end in a rather shrunk condition! A century ago, with this atrabiliar earnestness of his, and such a reverberatory furnace of passions, inquiries, unspeakabilities burning in him, deep under cover, he might have made an excellent Monk of St. Dominic, fit almost for canonization; nay, an excellent Superior of the Jesuits, Grand Inquisitor, or the like, had you developed him in that way. But, for all this, he is now a day too late. Monks of St. Dominic that might have been, do now, instead of devotional raptures and miraculous suspensions in prayer, produce—brown accidental female infants, to sell flowers, in an indigent state, on the streets of Assumpcion! It is grown really a most barren time; and this Francia with his grim unspeakabilities, with his fiery splenetic humours, kept close under lock and key, what has he to look for in it? A post on the Bench, in the municipal *Cabildo*,—nay, he has already a post in the Cabildo;

he has already been Alcalde, Lord-Mayor of Assumpcion, and ridden in such gilt coach as they had. He can look for little, one would say, but barren monies, barren Guacho world-celebrities; Abbé-Raynal philosophisms also very barren; wholly a barren life-voyage of it, ending—in *zero* thinks the Abbé Raynal?

But no; the world wags not that way in those days. Far over the waters there have been Federations of the Champ de Mars: guillotines, portable-guillotines, and a French People risen against Tyrants; there has been a *Sansculottism*, speaking at last in cannon-volleys and the crash of towns and nations over half the world. Sleek Fatpauncho Usandwonto, sleek aristocratic Donothingism, sunk as in death-sleep in its well-stuffed easy chair, or staggering in somnambulism on the house-tops, seemed to itself to hear a voice say, Sleep no more, Donothingism; Donothingism doth murder sleep! It was indeed a terrible explosion, that of Sansculottism; commingling very Tartarus with the old-established stars;—fit, such a tumult was it, to awaken all but the dead. And out of it there had come Napoleonisms, Tamerlanisms; and then as a branch of these, 'Conventions of Aranjuez,' soon followed by 'Spanish Juntas,' 'Spanish Cortes;' and, on the whole, a smiting broad awake of poor old Spain itself, much to its amazement. And naturally of New Spain next,—to *its* double amazement, seeing itself awake! And so, in the new Hemisphere too, arise wild projects, angry arguings; arise armed gatherings in Santa Marguerita Island, with Bolivars and Invasions of Cumana; revolts of La Plata, revolts of this and then of that; the subterranean electric element, shock on shock, shaking and exploding, in the new Hemisphere too, from sea to sea. Very astonishing to witness, from the year 1810 and onwards. Had Rodriguez Francia three ears, he would hear; as many eyes as Argus, he would gaze! He is all eye, he is all ear. A new, entirely different figure of existence is cut out for Doctor Rodriguez.

The Paraguay People as a body, lying far inland, with little speculation in their heads, were in no haste to adopt the new republican gospel; but looked first how it would succeed in shaping itself into facts. Buenos-Ayres, Tucuman, most of the La Plata Provinces had made their revolutions, brought in the reign of liberty, and unluckily driven out the reign of law and regularity; before the Paraguenos could resolve on such an enterprise. Perhaps they are afraid? General Belgrano, with a force of a thousand men, missioned by Buenos-Ayres, came up the river to countenance them, in the end of 1810; but was met on their frontier in array of war; was attacked, or at least was terrified, in the night watches, so that his men all fled;—and on the morrow, poor General Belgrano found himself not a countenancer, but one needing countenance; and was in a polite way sent down

the river again!* Not till a year after did the Paraguenos, by spontaneous movement, resolve on a career of freedom;—resolve on getting some kind of Congress assembled, and the old Government sent its ways. Francia, it is presumable, was active at once in exciting and restraining them: the fruit was now drop-ripe, we may say, and fell by a shake. Our old royal Governor went aside, worthy man, with some slight grimace, when ordered to do so; National Congress introduced itself; secretaries read papers, 'compiled chiefly out of Rollin's *Ancient History;*' and we became a Republic: with Don Fulgencio Yegros, one of the richest Guachos and best horseman of the province, for *President*, and two Assessors with him, called also *Vocales*, or Vowels, whose names escape us; Francia, as *Secretary*, being naturally the Consonant, or motive soul of the combination. This, as we grope out the date, was in 1811. The Paraguay Congress, having completed this constitution, went home again to its field-labours, hoping a good issue.

Feebler light hardly ever dawned for the historical mind, than this which is shed for us by Rengger, Robertsons, and Company, on the birth, the cradling, baptismal processes, and early fortunes of the new Paraguay Republic. Through long vague, and indeed intrinsically vacant pages of their Books, it lies gray, undecipherable, without form and void. Francia was Secretary, and a Republic did take place: this, as one small clear-burning fact, shedding far a comfortable visibility, conceivability over the universal darkness, and making it into conceivable dusk with one rushlight fact in the centre of it,—this we do know; and, cheerfully yielding to necessity, decide that this shall suffice us to know. What more is there? Absurd somnolent persons, struck broad awake by the subterranean concussion of Civil and Religious Liberty all over the World, meeting together to establish a republican career of freedom, and compile official papers out of Rollin,—are not a subject on which the historical mind *can* be enlightened. The historical mind, thank Heaven, forgets such persons and their papers, as fast as you repeat them. Besides, these Guacho populations are greedy, superstitious, vain; and, as Miers said in his haste, mendacious every soul of them! Within the confines of Paraguay, we know for certain but of one man who would do himself an injury to do a just or true thing under the sun: one man who understands in his heart that this Universe is an eternal Fact,—and not some huge temporary Pumpkin, saccharine, absinthian; the rest of its significance chimerical merely! Such men cannot have a history, though a Thucydides came to write it.—Enough for us to understand that Don This was a vapouring blockhead, who followed his pleasures, his peculations, and Don That another of the same; that there occurred fatuities, mismanagements innu-

* Rengger.

merable; then discontents, open grumblings, and, as a running accompaniment, intriguings, caballings, outings, innings: till the Government House, fouler than when the Jesuits had it, became a bottomless pestilent inanity, insupportable to any articulate-speaking soul; till Secretary Francia should feel that he, for one, could not be Consonant to such a set of Vowels; till Secretary Francia, one day, flinging down his papers, rising to his feet, should jerk out with oratorical vivacity his lean right hand, and say, with knit brows, in a low swift tone, "Adieu, Senhores; God preserve you many years!"—

Francia withdrew to his *chacra*, a pleasant country-house in the woods of Ytapúa not far off; there to interrogate Nature, and live in a private manner. Parish Robertson, much about this date, which we grope and guess to have been perhaps in 1812, was boarded with a certain ancient Donna Juana, in that same region; had *tertulias* of unimaginable brilliancy; and often went shooting of an evening. On one of those—but he shall himself report:

'On one of those lovely evenings in Paraguay, after the south-west wind has both cleared and cooled the air, I was drawn, in my pursuit of game, into a peaceful valley, not far from Doña Juana's, and remarkable for its combination of all the striking features of the scenery of the country. Suddenly I came upon a neat and unpretending cottage. Up rose a partridge; I fired, and the bird came to the ground. A voice from behind called out, "*Buen tiro*"—"a good shot." I turned round, and beheld a gentleman of about fifty years of age, dressed in a suit of black, with a large scarlet *capote*, or cloak, thrown over his shoulders. He had a *maté*-cup in one hand, a cigar in the other; and a little urchin of a negro, with his arms crossed, was in attendance by the gentleman's side. The stranger's countenance was dark, and his black eyes were very penetrating, while his jet hair, combed back from a bold forehead, and hanging in natural ringlets over his shoulders, gave him a dignified and striking air. He wore on his shoes large golden buckles, and at the knees of his breeches the same.

'In exercise of the primitive and simple hospitality common in the country, I was invited to sit down under the corridor, and to take a cigar and *maté* (cup of Paraguay tea). A celestial globe, a large telescope, and a theodolite were under the little portico; and I immediately inferred that the personage before me was no other than Dr. Francia.'

Yes, here for the first time in authentic history, a remarkable hearsay becomes a remarkable visuality: through a pair of clear human eyes, you look face to face on the very figure of the man. Is not this verily the exact record of those clear Robertsonian eyes, and seven senses; entered accurately, then and not afterwards, on the ledger of the memory? We will hope so; who can but hope so! The figure

of the man will, at all events, be exact. Here too is the figure of his library;—the conversation, if any, was of the last degree of insignificance, and may be left out, or supplied *ad libitum:*

'He introduced me to his library, in a confined room, with a very small window, and that so shaded by the roof of the corridor, as to admit the least portion of light necessary for study. The library was arranged on three rows of shelves, extending across the room, and might have consisted of three hundred volumes. There were many ponderous books on law; a few on the inductive sciences; some in French and some in Latin upon subjects of general literature, with Euclid's Elements, and some schoolboy treatises on algebra. On a large table were heaps of law-papers and processes. Several folios bound in vellum were outspread upon it; a lighted candle (though placed there solely with a view to light cigars) lent its feeble aid to illumine the room; while a maté-cup and inkstand, both of silver, stood on another part of the table. There was neither carpet nor mat on the brick floor; and the chairs were of such ancient fashion, size, and weight, that it required a considerable effort to move them from one spot to another.'

Peculation, malversation, the various forms of imbecility and voracious dishonesty went their due course in the Government-offices of Assumpcion, unrestrained by Francia, and unrestrainable:—till, as we may say, it reached a height; and, like other suppurations and diseased concretions in the living system, had to burst, and take itself away. To the eyes of Paraguay in general, it had become clear that such a reign of liberty was unendurable; that some new revolution, or change of ministry was indispensable.

Rengger says that Francia withdrew 'more than once' to his *chacra*, disgusted with his Colleagues; who always, by unlimited promises and protestations, had to flatter him back again; and then anew disgusted him. Francia is the Consonant of these absurd 'Vowels;' no business can go on without Francia! And the finances are deranged, insolvent; and the military, unpaid, ineffective, cannot so much as keep out the Indians; and there comes trouble and rumour of new war from Buenos Ayres;—alas, from what corner of the great Continent, come there other than troubles and rumours of war? Patriot generals become traitor generals; get themselves 'shot in market-places;' revolution follows revolution. Artigas, close on our borders, has begun harrying the Banda Oriental with fire and sword; 'dictating despatches from cow-skulls.' Like clouds of wolves,—only feller, being mounted on horseback, with pikes,—the Indians dart in on us; carrying conflagration and dismay. Paraguay must get itself governed, or it will

be worse for Paraguay! The eyes of all Paraguay, we can well fancy, turn to the one man of talent they have, the one man of veracity they have.

In 1813 a second Congress is got together: we fancy it was Francia's last advice to the Government suppuration, when it flattered him back, for the last time, to ask his advice, That such suppuration do now dissolve itself, and a new Congress be summoned! In the new Congress, the *Vocales* are voted out; Francia and Fulgencio are named joint *Consuls:* with Francia for Consul, and Don Fulgencio Yegros for Consul's *cloak*, it may be better. Don Fulgencio rides about in gorgeous sash and epaulettes, a rich man and horse-subduer; good as Consul's cloak;—but why should the real Consul have a *cloak?* Next year in the third Congress, Francia, 'by insidious manœuvring,' by 'favour of the military,' and, indeed, also in some sort, we may say, by law of Nature,—gets himself declared *Dictator:* 'for three years,' or for life, may in these circumstances mean much the same. This was in 1814. Francia never assembled any Congress more; having stolen the constitutional palladiums, and insidiously got his wicked will! Of a Congress that compiled constitutions out of *Rollin*, who would not lament such destiny? This Congress should have met again! It was indeed, say Rengger and the Robertsons themselves, such a Congress as never met before in the world; a Congress which knew not its right hand from its left; which drank infinite rum in the taverns; and had one wish, that of getting on horseback again, home to its field-husbandry and partridge-shooting again. The military mostly favoured Francia; being gained over by him,—the thief of constitutional palladiums.

With Francia's entrance on the Government as Consul, still more as Dictator, a great improvement, it is granted even by Rengger, did in all quarters forthwith show itself. The finances were husbanded, were accurately gathered; every official person in Paraguay had to bethink him, and begin doing his work, instead of merely seeming to do it. The soldiers Francia took care to see paid and drilled; to see march, with real death-shot and service, when the Indians or other enemies showed themselves. *Guardias*, Guardhouses, at short distances were established along the River's bank and all round the dangerous Frontiers: wherever the Indian centaur-troop showed face, an alarm-cannon went off, and soldiers, quickly assembling, with actual death-shot and service, were upon them. These wolf-hordes had to vanish into the heart of their deserts again. The land had peace. Neither Artigas, nor any of the firebrands and war-plagues which were distracting South America from side to side, could get across the border. All negotiation or intercommuning with Buenos Ayres, or with any of these war-distracted countries, was peremptorily waived. To no 'Congress of Lima,'

'General Congress of Panama,' or other general or particular Congress would Francia, by deputy or message, offer the smallest recognition. All South America raging and ravening like one huge dog-kennel gone rabid, we here in Paraguay have peace, and cultivate our tea-trees: why should not we let well alone? By degrees, one thing acting on another, and this ring of Frontier 'Guardhouses' being already erected there, a rigorous *sanitary line*, impregnable as brass, was drawn round all Paraguay; no communication, import or export trade allowed, except by the Dictator's licence,—given on payment of the due monies, when the political horizon seemed innocuous; refused when otherwise. The Dictator's trade-licences were a considerable branch of his revenues; his entrance dues, somewhat onerous to the foreign merchant (think the Messrs. Robertson), were another. Paraguay stood isolated; the rabid dog-kennel raging round it, wide as South America, but kept out as by lock and key.

These were vigorous measures, gradually coming on the somnolent Guacho population! It seems, meanwhile, that, even after the Perpetual Dictatorship, and onwards to the fifth or the sixth year of Francia's government, there was, though the constitutional palladiums were stolen, nothing very special to complain of. Paraguay had peace; sat under its tea-tree, the rabid dog-kennel, Indians, Artiguenos and other war-firebrands, all shut out from it. But in that year 1819, the second year of the Perpetual Dictatorship, there arose, not for the first time, dim indications of 'Plots,' even dangerous Plots! In that year the firebrand Artigas was finally quenched; obliged to beg a lodging even of Francia, his enemy;—and got it, hospitably, though contemptuously. And now straightway there advanced, from Artigas's lost wasted country, a certain General Ramirez, his rival and conqueror, and fellow-bandit and firebrand. This General Ramirez advanced up to our very frontier; first with offers of alliance; failing that, with offers of war; on which latter offer he was closed with, was cut to pieces; and—a Letter was found about him, addressed to Don Fulgencio Yegros, the rich Guacho horseman and Ex-Consul; which arrested all the faculties of Dr. Francia's most intense intelligence, there and then! A Conspiracy, with Don Fulgencio at the head of it; Conspiracy which seems the wider-spread the farther one investigates it; which has been brewing itself these 'two years,' and now 'on Good-Friday next' is to be burst out; starting with the massacre of Dr. Francia and others, whatever it may close with!* Francia was not a man to be trifled with in plots! He looked, watched, investigated, till he got the exact extent, position, nature, and structure of this Plot fully in his eye; and then—why, then he pounced on it like a glede-falcon, like a fierce condor,

* Rengger.

suddenly from the invisible blue; struck beak and claws into the very heart of it, tore it into small fragments, and consumed it on the spot. It is Francia's way! This was the last plot, though not the first plot, Francia ever heard of during his Perpetual Dictatorship.

It is, as we find, over these three or these two years, while the Fulgencio Plot is getting itself pounced upon and torn in pieces, that the 'reign of terror,' properly so called, extends. Over these three or these two years only,—though the 'running shriek' of it confuses all things to the end of the chapter. It was in this stern period that Francia executed above forty persons. Not entirely inexplicable! "*Par Dios*, ye shall not conspire against me; I will not allow it! The Career of Freedom, be it known to all men and Guachos, is not yet begun in this country; I am still only casting out the Seven Devils. My lease of Paraguay, a harder one than your stupidities suppose, is for life; the contract is, Thou must die if thy lease be taken from thee. Aim not at my life, ye constitutional Guachos,—or let it be a diviner man than Don Fulgencio the Horse-subduer that does it. By Heaven, if you aim at my life, I will bid you have a care of your own!" He executed upwards of forty persons. How many he arrested, flogged, cross-questioned—for he is an inexorable man! If you are guilty, or suspected of guilt, it will go ill with you here. Francia's arrest, carried by a grenadier, arrives; you are in strait prison; you are in Francia's bodily presence; those sharp St.-Dominic eyes, that diabolic intellect, prying into you, probing, cross-questioning you, till the secret cannot be hid: till the 'three ball cartridges' are handed to a sentry;—and your doom is Rhadamanthine!

But the Plots, as we say, having ceased by this rough surgery, it would appear that there was, for the next twenty years, little or no more of it, little or no use for more. The 'reign of terror,' one begins to find, was properly a reign of rigour; which would become 'terrible' enough if you infringed the rules of it, but which was peaceable otherwise, regular otherwise. Let this, amid the 'running shriek,' which will and should run its full length in such circumstances, be well kept in mind.

It happened too, as Rengger tells us, in the same year (1820, as we grope and gather), that a visitation of locusts, as sometimes occurs, destroyed all the crops of Paraguay; and there was no prospect but of universal dearth or famine. The crops are done; eaten by locusts; the summer at an end! We have no foreign trade, or next to none, and never had almost any; what will become of Paraguay and its Guachos? In Guachos is no hope, no help: but in a Dionysius of the Guachos? Dictator Francia, led by occult French Sciences and natural sagacity, nay driven by necessity itself, peremptorily commands the farmers

throughout all Paraguay to sow a certain portion of their lands anew; with or without hope,—under penalties! The result was a moderately good harvest still: the result was a discovery that Two harvests were, every year, possible in Paraguay; that Agriculture, a rigorous Dictator presiding over it, could be infinitely improved there.* As Paraguay has about 100,000 square miles of territory mostly fertile, and only some two souls planted on each square mile thereof, it seemed to the Dictator that this, and not Foreign Trade, might be a good course for his Paraguenos. This accordingly, and not foreign trade, in the present state of the political horizon, was the course resolved on; the course persisted in, 'with evident advantages,' says Rengger. Thus, one thing acting on another,—domestic Plot, hanging on Artigas's country from without; and Locust swarms with Improvement of Husbandry in the interior; and those Guardhouses all already there, along the frontier,—Paraguay came more and more to be hermetically closed; and Francia reigned over it, for the rest of his life, as a rigorous Dionysius of Paraguay, without foreign intercourse, or with such only as seemed good to Francia.

How the Dictator, now secure in possession, did manage this huge Paraguay, which, by strange 'insidious' and other means, had fallen in life-lease to him, and was his to do the best he could with, it were interesting to know. What the meaning of him, the result of him, actually was? One desiderates some Biography of Francia by a native!—Meanwhile, in the *Æsthetische Briefwechsel* of Herr Professor Sauerteig, a Work not yet known in England, nor treating specially of this subject, we find, scattered at distant intervals, a remark or two which may be worth translating. Professor Sauerteig, an open soul, looking with clear eye and large recognising heart over all accessible quarters of the world, has cast a sharp sunglance here and there into Dr. Francia too. These few philosophical Remarks of his, and then a few Anecdotes gleaned elsewhere, such as the barren ground yields, must comprise what more we have to say of Francia.

'Pity,' exclaims Sauerteig once, 'that a nation cannot reform itself, as the English are now trying to do, by what their newspapers call "tremendous cheers!" Alas, it cannot be done. Reform is not joyous but grievous; no single man can reform himself without stern suffering and stern working; how much less can a nation of men. The serpent sheds not his old skin without rusty disconsolateness; he is not happy but miserable! In the *Water-cure* itself, do you not sit steeped for months; washed to the heart in elemental drenchings; and, like Job, are made to curse your day? Reforming of a nation is a terrible

* Rengger, pp. 67, &c.

business! Thus too, Medea, when she made men young again, was wont (*du Himmel!*) to hew them in pieces with meat-axes; cast them into caldrons, and boil them for a length of time. How much handier could they but have done it by "tremendous cheers" alone!'——

'Like a drop of surgical antiseptic liquid, poured (by the benign Powers, as I fancy!) into boundless brutal corruptions; very sharp, very caustic, corrosive enough, this tawny tyrannous Dr. Francia, in the interior of the South American continent,—he too, is one of the elements of the grand Phenomenon there. A monstrous moulting process taking place;—monstrous gluttonous *boa-constrictor* (he is of length from Panama to Patagonia) shedding his old skin; whole continent getting itself chopped to pieces, and boiled in the Medea caldron, to become young again,—unable to manage it by "tremendous cheers" alone!'——

'What they say about "love of power" amounts to little. Power? Love of "power" merely to make flunkies come and go for you is a "love," I should think, which enters only into the minds of persons in a very infantine state! A grown man, like this Dr. Francia, who wants nothing, as I am assured, but three cigars daily, a cup of *maté*, and four ounces of butchers' meat with brown bread: the whole world and its united flunkies, taking constant thought of the matter, can do nothing for him but that only. That he already has, and has had always; why should he, not being a minor, love flunkey "power?" He loves to see *you* about him, with your flunkey promptitudes, with your grimaces, adulations, and sham-loyalty? You are so beautiful, a daily and hourly feast to the eye and soul? Ye unfortunates, from his heart rises one prayer, That the last created flunkey had vanished from this universe, never to appear more!

'And yet truly a man does tend, and must under frightful penalties perpetually tend, to be king of his world; to stand in his world as what he is, a centre of light and order, not of darkness and confusion. A man loves power: yes, if he see disorder his eternal enemy rampant about him, he does love to see said enemy in the way of being conquered; he can have no rest till that come to pass! Your Mahomet cannot bear a rent cloak, but clouts it with his own hands, how much more a rent country, a rent world. He has to imprint the image of his own veracity upon the world, and shall, and must, and will do it, more or less: it is at his peril if he neglect any great or any small possibility he may have of this. Francia's inner flame is but a meagre, blue-burning one: let him irradiate midnight Paraguay with it, such as it is.'——

'Nay, on the whole, how cunning is Nature in getting *her* farms leased! Is it not a blessing this Paraguay can get the one veracious man it has, to take lease of it, in these sad circumstances? His farm-profits, and whole wages, it would seem, amount only to

what is called "Nothing and find yourself!" Spartan food and lodging, solitude, two cigars, and a cup of *maté* daily, he already had.'

Truly, it would seem, as Sauerteig remarks, Dictator Francia had not a very joyous existence of it, in this his life-lease of Paraguay! Casting out of the Seven Devils from a Guacho population is not joyous at all; both exorcist and exorcised find it sorrowful! Meanwhile, it does appear, there was some improvement made: no veritable labour, not even a Dr. Francia's, is in vain.

Of Francia's improvements there might as much be said as of his cruelties or rigours; for indeed, at bottom, the one was in proportion to the other. He improved agriculture:—not two ears of corn where one only grew, but two harvests of corn, as we have seen! He introduced schools, 'boarding-schools,' 'elementary schools,' and others, on which Rengger has a chapter; everywhere he promoted education, as he could; repressed superstition as he could. Strict justice between man and man was enforced in his Law-courts: he himself would accept no gift, not even a trifle, in any case whatever. Rengger, on packing up for departure, had left in his hands, not from forgetfulness, a Print of Napoleon; worth some shillings in Europe, but invaluable in Paraguay, where Francia, who admired this Hero much, had hitherto seen no likeness of him but a Nürnberg caricature. Francia sent an express after Rengger, to ask what the value of the Print was. No value; M. Rengger could not sell Prints; it was much at his Excellency's service. His Excellency straightway returned it. An exact, decisive man! Peculation, idleness, ineffectuality, had to cease in all the Public Offices of Paraguay. So far as lay in Francia, no public and no private man in Paraguay was allowed to slur his work; all public and all private men, so far as lay in Francia, were forced to do their work or die! We might define him as the born enemy of quacks; one who has from Nature a heart-hatred of *un*veracity in man or in thing, wheresoever he sees it. Of persons who do not speak the truth, and do not act the truth, he has a kind of diabolic-divine impatience; they had better disappear out of his neighbourhood. Poor Francia: his light was but a very sulphurous, meagre, blue-burning one; but he irradiated Paraguay with it (as our Professor says) the best he could.

That he had to maintain himself *alive* all the while, and would suffer no man to glance contradiction at him, but instantaneously repressed all such: this too we need no ghost to tell us; this lay in the very nature of the case. His lease of Paraguay was a *life*-lease. He had his 'three ball cartridges' ready for whatever man he found aiming at *his* life. He had frightful prisons. He had *Tevego* far up among the wastes, a kind of Paraguay Siberia, to which unruly persons, not

yet got the length of shooting, were relegated. The main exiles, Rengger says, were drunken mulattoes and the class called unfortunate-females. They lived miserably there; became a sadder, and perhaps a wiser, body of mulattoes and unfortunate-females.

But let us listen for a moment to the Reverend Manuel Perez as he preaches, 'in the Church of the Incarnation at Assumpcion, on the 20th of October, 1840,' in a tone somewhat nasal, yet trustworthy withal. His 'Funeral Discourse,' translated into a kind of English, presents itself still audible in the *Argentine News* of Buenos Ayres, No. 813. We select some passages; studying to abate the nasal tone a little; to reduce, if possible, the Argentine English under the law of grammar. It is the worst translation in the world, and does poor Manuel Perez one knows not what injustice. This Funeral Discourse has 'much surprised' the Able Editor, it seems;—has led him perhaps to ask, or be readier for asking, Whether all that confused loud litanying about 'reign of terror,' and so forth, was not possibly of a rather long-eared nature?

'Amid the convulsions of revolution,' says the Reverend Manuel, 'the Lord, looking down with pity on Paraguay, raised up Don José Gaspar Francia for its deliverance. *And when*, in the words of my Text, *the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them*.'

'What measures did not his Excellency devise, what labours undergo, to preserve peace in the Republic at home, and place it in an attitude to command respect from abroad! His first care was directed to obtain supplies of Arms, and to discipline Soldiers. To all that would import arms he held out the inducement of exemption from duty, and the permission to export in return whatever produce they preferred. An abundant supply of excellent arms was, by these means, obtained. I am lost in wonder to think how this great man could attend to such a multiplicity of things! He applied himself to study of the military art; and, in a short time, taught the exercise, and directed military evolutions like the skilfullest veteran. Often have I seen his Excellency go up to a recruit, and show him by example how to take aim at the target. Could any Paragueno think it other than honourable to carry a musket, when his Dictator taught him how to manage it? The cavalry-exercise too, though it seems to require a man at once robust and experienced in horsemanship, his Excellency as you know did himself superintend; at the head of his squadrons he charged and manœuvred, as if bred to it; and directed them with an energy and vigour which infused his own martial spirit into these troops.'

'What evils do not the people suffer from highwaymen!' exclaims his Reverence, a little farther on; 'violence, plunder, murder, are crimes familiar to these malefactors. The inaccessible mountains and wide deserts in this Republic seemed to offer impunity to

such men. Our Dictator succeeded in striking such a terror into them that they entirely disappeared, seeking safety in a change of life. His Excellency saw that the manner of inflicting the punishment was more efficacious than even the punishment itself; and on this principle he acted. Whenever a robber could be seized, he was led to the nearest Guardhouse (*Guardia*); a summary trial took place; and, straightway, so soon as he had made confession, he was shot. These means proved effectual. Ere long the Republic was in such security, that, we may say, a child might have travelled from the Uruguay to the Parana without other protection than the dread which the Supreme Dictator had inspired.'—This is saying something, your Reverence!

'But what is all this compared to the demon of Anarchy? Oh!' exclaims his simple Reverence, 'Oh, my friends, would I had the talent to paint to you the miseries of a people that fall into anarchy! And was not our Republic on the very eve of this? Yes, brethren.'—'It behoved his Excellency to be prompt; to smother the enemy in his cradle! He did so. He seized the leaders; brought to summary trial, they were convicted of high treason against the country. What a struggle now, for his Excellency, between the law of duty, and the voice of feeling'—if feeling to any extent there were! 'I,' exclaims his Reverence, 'am confident that had the doom of imprisonment on those persons seemed sufficient for the State's peace, his Excellency never would have ordered their execution.' It was unavoidable; nor was it avoided; it was done! 'Brethren, should not I hesitate, lest it be a profanation of the sacred place I now occupy, if I seem to approve sanguinary measures in opposition to the mildness of the Gospel? Brethren, no. God himself approved the conduct of Solomon in putting Joab and Adonijah to death.' Life is sacred, thinks his Reverence, but there is something more sacred still: woe to him who does not know that withal!

Alas, your Reverence, Paraguay has not yet succeeded in abolishing capital punishment, then? But indeed neither has Nature, anywhere that I hear of, yet succeeded in abolishing it. Act with the due degree of perversity, you are sure enough of being violently put to death, in hospital or highway,—by dyspepsia, delirium tremens, or stuck through by the kindled rage of your fellow-men! What can the friend of humanity do?—Twaddle in Exeter-hall or elsewhere, 'till he become a bore to us,' and perhaps worse! An Advocate in Arras once gave up a good judicial appointment, and retired into frugality and privacy, rather than doom one culprit to die by law. The name of this Advocate, let us mark it well, was Maximilien Robespierre. There are sweet kinds of twaddle that have a deadly virulence of poison concealed in them; like the sweetness of sugar of lead. Were it not better to make *just* laws, think you, and then execute them strictly,—as the gods still do?

'His Excellency next directed his attention to purging the State from another class of enemies,' says Perez in the Incarnation Church; 'the peculating Tax-gatherers, namely. Vigilantly detecting their frauds, he made them refund for what was past, and took precautions against the like in future; all their accounts were to be handed in, for his examination, once every year.'

'The habit of his Excellency when he delivered out articles for the supply of the public; that prolix and minute counting of things apparently unworthy of his attention,—had its origin in the same motive. I believe that he did so, less from a want of confidence in the individuals lately appointed for this purpose, than from a desire to show them with what delicacy they should proceed. Hence likewise his ways, in scrupulously examining every piece of artisans' workmanship.'

'Republic of Paraguay, how art thou indebted to the toils, the vigils and cares of our Perpetual Dictator! It seemed as if this extraordinary man were endowed with ubiquity, to attend to all thy wants and exigences. Whilst in his closet, he was traversing thy frontiers to place thee in an attitude of security. What devastation did not those inroads of Indians from the Chaco occasion to the inhabitants of Rio-Abajo? Ever and anon there reached Assumpcion, tidings of the terror and affliction caused by their incursions. Which of us hoped that evils so widespread, ravages so appalling, could be counteracted? Our Dictator, nevertheless, did devise effectual ways of securing that part of the Republic.

'Four respectable Fortresses with competent garrisons have been the impregnable barrier which has restrained the irruptions of those ferocious Savages. Inhabitants of Rio-Abajo! rest tranquil in your homes; you are a portion of the People whom the Lord confided to the care of our Dictator; you are safe.'

'The precautions and wise measures he adopted to repel force, and drive back the Savages to the north of the Republic; the Fortresses of Climpo, of San Carlos de Apa, placed on the best footing for defence; the orders and instructions furnished to the Villa de la Concepcion,—secured that quarter of the Republic under attack from any.

'The great Wall, ditch and fortress on the opposite bank of the River Paraná; the force and judicious arrangement of the troops distributed over the interior in the south of our Republic, have commanded the respect of its enemies in that quarter.'

'The beauty, the symmetry and good taste displayed in the building of cities convey an advantageous idea of their inhabitants,' continues Perez: 'Thus thought Caractacus, King of the Angles,'—thus think most persons! 'His Excellency, glancing at the condition of the Capital of the Republic, saw a city in disorder and without police; streets without regularity, houses built according to the caprice of their owners.'

But enough, O Perez; for it becomes too nasal! Perez, with a confident face, asks in fine, Whether all these things do not clearly prove to men and Guachos

of sense, that Dictator Francia *was* 'the deliverer whom the Lord raised up to deliver Paraguay from its enemies?'—Truly, O Perez, the benefits of him seem to have been considerable. Undoubtedly a man 'sent by Heaven,'—as all of us are! Nay, it may be, the benefit of him is not even yet exhausted, even yet entirely become visible. Who knows but, in unborn centuries, Paragueno men will look back to their lean iron Francia, as men do in such cases to the one veracious person, and institute considerations! Oliver Cromwell, dead two hundred years, does yet speak; nay, perhaps now first begins to speak. The meaning and meanings of the one true man, never so lean and limited, starting up direct from Nature's heart, in this bewildered Guacho world, gone far away from Nature, are endless!

The Messrs. Robertson are very merry on this attempt of Francia's to rebuild on a better plan the City of Assumpcion. The City of Assumpcion, full of tropical vegetation and 'permanent hedges, the deposits of nuisance and vermin,'* has no pavement, no straightness of streets; the sandy thoroughfare in some quarters is torn by the rain into gullies, impassable with convenience to any animal but a kangaroo. Francia, after meditation, decides on having it remodelled, paved, straightened,—irradiated with the image of the one regular man. Robertson laughs to see a Dictator, sovereign ruler, straddling about, 'taking observations with his theodolite,' and so forth: O Robertson, if there was no other man that *could* observe with a theodolite? Nay, it seems farther, the improvement of Assumpcion was attended, once more, with the dreadfullest tyrannies: peaceable citizens dreaming no harm, no active harm to any soul, but mere peaceable passive dirt and irregularity to all souls, were ordered to pull down their houses which happened to stand in the middle of streets; forced (under rustle of the gallows) to draw their purses, and rebuild them elsewhere! It is horrible. Nay, they said, Francia's true aim in these improvements, in this cutting down of the luxuriant 'cross hedges' and architectural monstrosities, was merely to save himself from being shot, from under cover, as he rode through the place. It may be so: but Assumpcion is now an improved paved City, much squarer in the corners (and with the planned capacity, it seems, of growing ever squarer†); passable with convenience not to kangaroos only, but to wooden bullock-carts and all vehicles and animals.

Indeed our Messrs. Robertson find something comic as well as tragic in Dictator Francia; and enliven their running shriek, all through this *Reign of Terror,* with a pleasant vein of conventional satire. One evening, for example, a Robertson being about to leave Paraguay for England, and having waited upon

* Perez.

† *Ibid.*

Francia to make the parting compliments, Francia, to the Robertson's extreme astonishment, orders in a large bale of goods, orders them to be opened on the table there: Tobacco, poncho-cloth, and other produce of the country, all of first-rate quality, and with the prices ticketed. These goods this astonished Robertson is to carry to the 'Bar of the House of Commons,' and there to say, in such fashion and phraseology as a native may know to be suitable: "Mr. Speaker,—Dr. Francia is Dictator of Paraguay, a country of tropical fertility and 100,000 square miles in extent, producing these commodities, at these prices. With nearly all foreign nations he declines altogether to trade; but with the English, such is his notion of them, he is willing and desirous to trade. These are his commodities, in endless quantity; of this quality, at these prices. He wants arms, for his part. What say you, Mr. Speaker?"—Sure enough, our Robertson, arriving at the 'Bar of the House of Commons' with such a message, would have cut an original figure! Not to the 'House of Commons,' was this message properly addressed; but to the English Nation; which Francia, idiot-like, supposed to be somehow represented, and made accessible and addressable in the House of Commons. It was a strange imbecility in any Dictator!—The Robertson, we find accordingly, did *not* take this bale of goods to the Bar of the House of Commons; nay, what was far worse, he did not, owing to accidents, go to England at all, or bring any arms back to Francia at all: hence, indeed, Francia's unreasonable detestation of him, hardly to be restrained within the bounds of common politeness! A man who said he would do, and then did not do, was at no time a kind of man admirable to Francia. Large sections of this *Reign of Terror* are a sort of unmusical sonata, or free duet with variations, to this text: "How unadmirable a hide-merchant that does not keep his word!"—"How censurable, not to say ridiculous and imbecile, the want of common politeness in a Dictator!"

Francia was a man that liked performance: and sham-performance, in Paraguay as elsewhere, was a thing too universal. What a time of it had this strict man with *un*real performers, imaginary workmen, public and private, cleric and laic! Ye Guachos,—it is no child's play, casting out those Seven Devils from you!

Monastic or other entirely slumberous church-establishments could expect no great favour from Francia. Such of them as seemed incurable, entirely slumberous, he somewhat roughly shook awake, somewhat sternly ordered to begone. *Debout, canaille fainéante*, as his prophet Raynal says; *Debout: aux champs, aux ateliers!* Can I have you sit here, droning old metre through your nose; your heart asleep in mere gluttony, the while; and all Paraguay a wilderness or nearly so,—the Heaven's blessed sunshine growing mere tangles, lianas, yellow-fevers,

rattlesnakes, and jaguars on it? Up, swift, to work,—or mark this governmental horsewhip, what the crack of it is, what the cut of it is like to be!—Incurable, for one class, seemed archbishops, bishops, and such like; given merely to a sham-warfare against extinct devils. At the crack of Francia's terrible whip they went, dreading what the cut of it might be. A cheap worship in Paraguay, according to the humour of the people, Francia left; on condition that it did no mischief. Wooden saints and the like ware, he also left sitting in their niches: no new ones, even on solicitation, would he give a doit to buy. Being petitioned to provide a new patron-saint for one of his new Fortifications once, he made this answer: "O People of Paraguay, how long will you continue idiots? While I was a Catholic I thought as you do: but I now see there are no saints but good cannons that will guard our frontiers!"* This also is noteworthy. He inquired of the two Swiss Surgeons, what their religion was; and then added, "Be of what religion you like, here: Christians, Jews, Mussulmans,—but don't be Atheists."

Equal trouble had Francia with his laic workers, and indeed with all manner of workers; for it is in Paraguay as elsewhere, like priest like people. Francia had extensive barrack-buildings, nay city-buildings (as we have seen), arm-furnishings; immensities of work going on, and his workmen had in general a tendency to be imaginary. He could get no work out of them; only a more or less deceptive similitude of work! Masons so called, builders of houses, did not build, but merely seem to build; their walls would not bear weather; stand on their bases in high winds. Hodge-razors, in all conceivable kinds, were openly marketed, 'which were never meant to shave, but only to be sold!' For a length of time Francia's righteous soul struggled sore, yet unexplosively, with the propensities of these unfortunate men. By rebuke, by remonstrance, encouragement, offers of reward, and every vigilance and effort, he strove to convince them that it was unfortunate for a Son of Adam to be an imaginary workman; that every Son of Adam had better make razors which *were* meant to shave. In vain, all in vain! At length, Francia lost patience with them. "Thou wretched Fraction, wilt thou be the ninth part even of a tailor? Does it beseem thee to weave cloth of devil's-dust instead of true wool; and cut and sew it as if thou wert not a tailor, but the fraction of a very tailor! I cannot endure every thing!" Francia, in despair, erected his 'Workman's Gallows.' Yes, that institution of the country did actually exist in Paraguay; men and workmen saw it with eyes. A most remarkable, and, on the whole, not unbeneficial institution of society there. Robertson gives us the following scene with the Belt-maker of Assumpcion; which, be it literal, or

* Rengger.

in part poetic, does, no doubt of it, hold the mirror up to Nature in an altogether true, and surely in a very surprising manner:

'In came, one afternoon, a poor Shoemaker, with a couple of grenadiers' belts, neither according to the fancy of the Dictator. 'Sentinel,'—said he,—and in came the sentinel; when the following conversation ensued:

'*Dictator*. "Take this *bribonazo*" (a very favourite word of the Dictator's, and which being interpreted, means "most impertinent scoundrel")—"take this *bribonazo* to the gibbet over the way; walk him under it half-a-dozen times:—and now," said he, turning to the trembling shoemaker, "bring me such another pair of belts, and instead of *walking* under the gallows, we shall try how you can *swing* upon it."

'*Shoemaker*. "Please your Excellency I have done my best."

'*Dictator*. "Well, *bribon*, if this *be* your best, I shall do *my* best to see that you never again mar a bit of the State's leather. The belts are of no use to me; but they will do very well to hang you upon the little framework which the grenadier will show you."

'*Shoemaker*. "God bless your Excellency, the Lord forbid! I am your vassal, your slave: day and night have I served, and will serve my lord; only give me two days more to prepare the belts; *y por el alma de un triste zapatéro* (by the soul of a poor shoemaker) I will make them to your Excellency's liking."

'*Dictator*. "Off with him, sentinel!"

'*Sentinel*. "*Venga, bribon:* come along, you rascal."

'*Shoemaker*. "Señor Excelentisimo: *This very night* I will make the belts according to your Excellency's pattern."

'*Dictator*. "Well, you shall have till the morning; but still you must pass under the gibbet: it is a salutary process, and may at once quicken the work and improve the workmanship."

'*Sentinel*. "*Vamonos, bribon;* the Supreme commands it."

'Off was the Shoemaker marched: he was, according to orders, passed and repassed under the gibbet; and then allowed to retire to his stall.'

He worked there with such an alacrity and sibylline enthusiasm, all night, that his belts on the morrow were without parallel in South America;—and he is now, if still in this life, Belt-maker general to Paraguay, a prosperous man; grateful to Francia and the gallows, we may hope, for casting certain of the Seven Devils out of him!

Such an institution of society would evidently not be introduceable, under that simple form, in our old-constituted European countries. Yet it may be

asked of constitutional persons in these times, By what succedaneum they mean to supply the want of it, then? In a community of imaginary workmen, how can you pretend to have any government, or social thing whatever, that were real? Certain Tenpound Franchisers, with their 'tremendous cheers,' are invited to reflect on this. With a community of quack workmen, it is by the law of Nature impossible that other than a quack government can be got to exist. Constitutional or other, with ballot-boxes or with none, your society in all its phases, administration, legislation, teaching, preaching, praying, and writing periodicals per sheet, will be a quack society; terrible to live in, disastrous to look upon. Such an institution of society, adapted to our European ways, seems pressingly desirable. O Guachos, South-American and European, what a business is it, casting out your Seven Devils!—

But perhaps the reader would like to take a view of Dr. Francia in the concrete, there as he looks and lives; managing that thousand-sided business for his Paraguenos, in the time of Surgeon Rengger? It is our last extract, or last view of the Dictator, who must hang no longer on our horizon here:

'I have already said that Doctor Francia, so soon as he found himself at the head of affairs, took up his residence in the habitation of the former Governors of Paraguay. This Edifice, which is one of the largest in Assumpcion, was erected by the Jesuits, a short time before their expulsion, as a house of retreat for laymen, who devoted themselves to certain spiritual exercises instituted by Saint Ignatius. This Structure the Dictator repaired and embellished; he has detached it from the other houses in the City, by interposing wide streets. Here he lives, with four slaves, a little negro, one male and two female mulattoes, whom he treats with great mildness. The two males perform the functions of valet-de-chambre and groom. One of the two mulatto women is his cook, and the other takes care of his wardrobe.

'He leads a very regular life. The first rays of the sun very rarely find him in bed. So soon as he rises, the negro brings a chafing-dish, a kettle, and a pitcher of water; the water is made to boil there. The Dictator then prepares, with the greatest possible care, his *maté*, or Paraguay tea. Having taken this, he walks under the Interior Colonnade that looks upon the court; and smokes a cigar, which he first takes care to unroll, in order to ascertain that there is nothing dangerous in it, though it is his own sister who makes up his cigars for him. At six o'clock comes the barber, an ill-washed, ill-clad mulatto, given to drink too; but the only member of the faculty whom he trusts in. If the Dictator is in good humour, he chats with the barber; and often in this manner makes use of him to prepare the public for his projects: this barber may be said to be his *official gazette*. He then steps out, in his dressing-gown of printed calico, to the Outer Colonnade, an open

space with pillars, which ranges all round the building: here he walks about, receiving at the same time such persons as are admitted to an audience. Towards seven, he withdraws to his room, where he remains till nine; the officers and other functionaries then come to make their reports, and receive his orders. At eleven o'clock, the *fiel de fecho* (principal secretary) brings the papers which are to be inspected by him, and writes from his dictation till noon. At noon all the officers retire, and Doctor Francia sits down to table. His dinner, which is extremely frugal, he always himself orders. When the cook returns from market, she deposits her provisions at the door of her master's room; the Doctor then comes out, and selects what he wishes for himself.

'After dinner he takes his *siesta*. On awakening, he drinks his *maté*, and smokes a cigar, with the same precautions as in the morning. From this, till four or five, he occupies himself with business, when the escort to attend him on his promenade arrives. The barber then enters and dresses his hair, while his horse is getting ready. During his ride, the Doctor inspects the public works, and the barracks, particularly those of the cavalry, where he has had a set of apartments prepared for his own use. While riding, though surrounded by his escort, he is armed with a sabre, and a pair of double-barrelled pocket-pistols. He returns home about nightfall, and sits down to study till nine; then he goes to supper, which consists of a roast pigeon and a glass of wine. If the weather be fine, he again walks in the Outer Colonnade, where he often remains till a very late hour. At ten o'clock he gives the watchword. On returning into the house, he fastens all the doors himself.'

Francia's brother was already mad. Francia banished this sister by and by, because she had employed one of his grenadiers, one of the public government's soldiers, on some errand of her own.* Thou lonely Francia!

Francia's escort of cavalry used to 'strike men with the flat of their swords,' much more assault them with angry epithets, if they neglected to salute the Dictator as he rode out. Both he and they, moreover, kept a sharp eye for assassins; but never found any, thanks perhaps to their watchfulness. Had Francia been in Paris!—At one time also, there arose annoyance in the Dictatorial mind from idle crowds gazing about his Government House, and his proceedings there. Orders were given that all people were to move on, about their affairs, straight across this government esplanade; instructions to the sentry, that if any person paused to gaze, he was to be peremptorily bidden, Move on!—and if he still did not move, to be shot with ball-cartridge. All Paraguay men moved on, looking to the ground, swift as possible, straight as possible, through those precarious spaces; and the affluence of crowds thinned itself almost to the verge

* Rengger.

of solitude. One day, after many weeks or months, a human figure did loiter, did gaze in the forbidden ground: "Move on!" cried the sentry sharply;—no effect: "Move on!" and again none. "Move on!" for the third time:—alas, the unfortunate human figure was an Indian, did not understand human speech, stood merely gaping interrogatively,—whereupon a shot belches forth at him, the whewing of winged lead; which luckily only whewed, and did not hit! The astonishment of the Indian must have been considerable, his retreat-pace one of the rapidest. As for Francia he summoned the sentry with hardly suppressed rage, "What news, *Amigo?*" The sentry quoted "Your Excellency's order;" Francia cannot recollect such an order; commands now, that at all events such order cease.

It remains still that we say a word, not in excuse, which might be difficult, but in explanation, which is possible enough, of Francia's unforgivable insult to human Science in the person of M. Aimé Bonpland. M. Aimé Bonpland, friend of Humboldt, after much botanical wandering, did, as all men know, settle himself in Entre Rios, an Indian or Jesuit country close on Francia, now burnt to ashes by Artigas; and there set up a considerable establishment for the improved culture of Paraguay tea. With an eye to botany? Botany? Why, yes,—and perhaps to commerce still more. "Botany?" exclaims Francia: "It is shopkeeping agriculture, and tends to prove fatal to my shop! Who is this extraneous French individual? Artigas could not give him right to Entre Rios; Entre Rios is at least as much mine as Artigas's! Bring him to me!" Next night, or next, Paraguay soldiers surround M. Bonpland's tea-establishment; gallop M. Bonpland over the frontiers, to his appointed village in the interior; root out his tea-plants; scatter his four hundred Indians, and—we know the rest! Hard-hearted Monopoly refusing to listen to the charmings of Public Opinion or Royal-Society presidents, charm they never so wisely! M. Bonpland, at full liberty some time since, resides still in South America,—and is expected by the Robertsons, not altogether by this Editor, to publish his Narrative, with a due running shriek.

Francia's treatment of Artigas, his old enemy, the bandit and firebrand, reduced now to beg shelter of him, was good; humane, even dignified. Francia refused to see or treat with such a person, as he had ever done; but readily granted him a place of residence in the interior, and 'thirty piasters a month till he died.' The bandit cultivated fields, did charitable deeds, and passed a life of penitence, for his few remaining years. His bandit followers, such of them as took to plundering again, says M. Rengger, 'were instantly seized and shot.'

On the other hand, that anecdote of Francia's dying Father—requires to be confirmed! It seems, the old man, who, as we saw, had long since quarrelled with

his son, was dying, and wished to be reconciled. Francia "was busy;—what use was it?—could not come." A second still more pressing message arrives: "The old father dare not die unless he see his son; fears he shall never enter Heaven, if they be not reconciled."—"Then let him enter——!" said Francia, "I will not come!"* If this anecdote be true, it is certainly of all that are in circulation about Dr. Francia, by far the worst. If Francia, in that death-hour, could not forgive his poor old Father, whatsoever he had, or could in the murkiest sultriest imagination be conceived to have done against him, then let no man forgive Dr. Francia! But the accuracy of public rumour, in regard to a Dictator who has executed forty persons, is also a thing that can be guessed at. To whom was it, by name and surname, that Francia delivered this extraordinary response? Did the man make, or can he now be got to make, affidavit of it, to credible articulate-speaking persons resident on this earth? If so, let him do it—for the sake of the Psychological Sciences.

One last fact more. Our lonesome Dictator, living among Guachos, had the greatest pleasure, it would seem, in rational conversation,—with Robertson, with Rengger, with any kind of intelligent human creature, when such could be fallen in with, which was rarely. He would question you with eagerness about the ways of men in foreign places, the properties of things unknown to him; all human interest and insight was interesting to him. Only persons of no understanding being near him for most part, he had to content himself with silence, a meditative cigar and cup of *maté*. O Francia, though thou hadst to execute forty persons, I am not without some pity for thee!

In this manner, all being yet dark and void for European eyes, have we to imagine that the man Rodriguez Francia passed, in a remote, but highly remarkable, not unquestionable or unquestioned manner, across the confused theatre of this world. For some thirty years, he was all the government his native Paraguay could be said to have. For some six-and-twenty years he was express Sovereign of it; for some three, or some two years, a Sovereign with bared sword, stern as Rhadamanthus: through all his years, and through all his days, since the beginning of him, a Man or Sovereign of iron energy and industry, of great and severe labour. So lived Dictator Francia, and had no rest; and only in Eternity any prospect of rest. A Life of terrible labour;—but for the last twenty years the Fulgencio Plot being once torn in pieces and all now quiet under him, it was a more equable labour: severe but equable, as that of a hardy draught-steed fitted in his harness; no longer plunging and champing; but pulling steadily,—till he do all his rough miles, and get to his still *home*.

* Robertson.

So dark were the Messrs. Robertson concerning Francia, they had not been able to learn in the least whether, when their Book came out, he was living or dead. He was living then, he is dead now. He is dead, this remarkable Francia; there is no doubt about it: have not we and our readers heard pieces of his Funeral Sermon! He died on the 20th of September, 1840, as the Rev. Perez informs us; the people crowding round his Government House with much emotion, nay 'with tears,' as Perez will have it. Three Excellencies succeeded him, as some 'Directorate,' '*Junta Gubernativa*,' or whatever the name of it is, before whom this reverend Perez preaches. God preserve them many years.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

It is not a light joy, such as can express itself in vain talk, in bluster, mockery, and 'tremendous cheers;' it is a stern, almost sacred joy, that the late news from Paris excite in earnest men. For a long, melancholy series of years past, there has been no event at all to excite in earnest men much other than weariness and disgust. To France least of all had we been looking, of late, for tidings that could elevate or cheer us. Nor is the present terrible occurrence properly great or joyful, as we say: it is very sad rather; sad as death, and human misery and sin;—yet with a radiance in it like that of stars; sternly beautiful, symbolic of immortality and eternity!

Sophist Guizot, Sham-King Louis Philippe, and the host of quacks, of obscene spectral nightmares under which France lay writhing, are fled. Burst are the stony jaws of that enchanted, accursed living-tomb; rent suddenly are the leaden wrappages and cerements: from amid the noisome clamm and darkness of the grave, bursts forth, thunder-clad, a soul that was not dead, that cannot die! Courage: the righteous gods do still rule this Earth. A divine Nemesis, hidden from the base and foolish, known always to the wise and noble, tracks unerringly the footsteps of the evil-doer; who is Nature's own enemy, and the enemy of her eternal laws, whom she cannot pardon. Him no force of policy, or most dexterous contrivance and vulpine energy and faculty, will save: into his own pit he, at last, does assuredly fall,—sometimes, as now, in the sight and to the wonder of all men.

Alas, that any king, or man, should need to have this oldest truth, older than the world itself, made new to him again, and asserted to be no fable or hearsay but a very truth and fact, in this frightful manner! To the French Nation and

their kings it has been very impressively taught, under many forms, by most expensive courses of experiment, for sixty years back:—and they, it appears, and we, still require new lessons upon it.

Very sad on all sides! Here is a man of much talent, of manifold experience in all provinces of life, accepting the supreme post among his fellow-men, and deliberately, with steadfast persistence, for seventeen years, attempting his high task there, not in the name of God, as we may say, but of the Enemy of God! On the *vulpine* capabilities alone had Louis Philippe any reliance;—not by appealing, with courageous energy and patience, to whatever was good and genuine and worthy round him (which existed too, though wide-scattered, and in modest seclusion rather than flagrant on the house tops); not by heroic appeal to this, but by easy appeal to what was bad and false and sordid, and to that only, has he endeavoured to reign. What noble thing achieved by him, what noble man called forth into beneficent activity by him, can Louis Philippe look back upon? None. His management has been a cunningly-devised system of Iniquity in all its basest shapes. Bribery has flourished; scandalous corruption, till the air was thick with it, and the hearts of men sick. Paltry rhetoricians, parliamentary tongue-fencers; mean jobbers, intriguers; every serviceablest form of human greed and lowmindedness has this 'source of honour' patronised. For the poor French People, who by their blood and agony bore him to that high place, what did he accomplish? Penal repression into silence; that, and too literally nothing more. To arm the sordid cupidities of one class against the bitter unreasonable necessities of the other, and to leave it so,—he saw no other method. His position was indeed difficult:—but he should have called for help from Above, not from Below!

Alas, in his wide roamings through the world,—and few have had a wider ramble than this man,—he had failed to discover the secret of the world, after all. If this universe be indeed a huge swindle? In that case, supreme swindler will mean sovereign ruler: in that case,—but not in the other! Poor Louis Philippe, his Spanish marriages had just prospered with him, to the disgust of all honourable hearts; in his Spanish marriages he felt that he had at length achieved the topstone which consolidated all, and made the Louis-Philippe System (cemented by such bribery-mortar, bound by such diplomatic tie-beams) a miracle of architecture, when the solid Earth (impatient of such edifices) gave way, and the Eumenides rose, and all was blazing insurrection and delirium; and Louis Philippe 'drove off in a brougham,' or *coucou* street cab, 'through the Barrier of Passy,'—towards Night and an avenging doom. Egalité Fils, after a

long painful life-voyage, has ended no better than Egalité Père did. It is a tragedy equal to that of the sons of Atreus.

Louis Philippe one could pity as well as blame, were not all one's pity concentrated upon the millions who have suffered by his sins. On the French People's side, too, is it not tragical? These wild men in blouses, with their faces and their hearts all blazing in celestial and infernal lightning, with their barricades up, and their fusils in their hands,—they are now the *grandsons* of the Bastillers of '89 and the Septemberers of '92; the fathers fought in 1830, they in 1848 are still fighting. To the third generation it has been bequeathed by the second and the first; by the third generation the immense problem, still to solve, is not deserted, is duly taken up. They also protest, with their heart's blood, against a universe of lies; and say, audibly as with the voice of whirlwinds, "In the name of all the gods, we will not have it so! We will die rather; we and our sons and grandsons, as our fathers and grandfathers have done. Take thought of it, therefore, what our first transcendant *French Revolution* did mean; for your own sake and for ours, take thought, and discover it, and accomplish it,—for accomplished it shall and must be, and peace or rest is not in the world till then!"

'The throne was carried out by armed men in blouses; was dragged along the streets, and at last smashed into small pieces,' say the Journals. Into small pieces; let it be elaborately broken, pains be taken that of it there remain nothing:— "Begone, thou wretched upholstery phantasm; descend thou to the abysses, to the cesspools, spurned of all men; thou art not the thing we required to heal us of our unbearable miseries; not thou, it must be something other than thou!" So ends the 'Throne of the Barricades;' and so it right well deserved to end. Thrones founded on iniquity, on hypocrisy, and the appeal to human baseness cannot end otherwise.

When Napoleon, the armed Soldier of Democracy as he has been called,—who at one time had discerned well that lies were unbelievable, that nations and persons ought to strip themselves of lies, that it was better even to go bare than "*clothed* with curses" by way of garment;—when Napoleon, drunk with more victory than he could carry, was about deserting this true faith, and attaching himself to Popes and Kaisers, and other entities of the chimerical kind; and in particular had made an immense explosion of magnificence at Notre-Dame, to celebrate his *Concordat* ('the cowpox of religion,' *la vaccine de la religion*, as he himself privately named it), he said to Augereau, the Fencingmaster who had become Field-Marshal, "Is it not magnificent?"—"Yes, very much so," answered Augereau: "to complete it, there wanted only some shadow of the half-million men who have been shot dead to put an end to all that."

"All fictions are *now* ended," says M. Lamartine at the Hôtel-de-Ville. May the gods grant it. Something other and better, for the French and for us, might then try, were it but afar off, to begin!

5

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

To hear the loud and ever louder voice of poor Ireland for many years back, it must be clear there is but one thing wanting to make that Island happy: total disseverance from this Island; perfect and complete Repeal of the Union, as it is called. If, some night, the Union could but be completely shorn asunder, repealed and annihilated forever, the next morning Ireland, with no England henceforth to molest her, would awake and find herself happy. The Claddagh fishermen would straightway go out and catch herring, no gun-brig now needed to keep them from quarrelling, no Quaker deputation to furnish them with nets. Falsity of word, of thought, and of deed, that morning, would become veracity; futility success; loud mad bluster would become sane talk, transacted at a moderate pitch of voice, in small quantity and for practicable objects. Then should we see ragged sluggardism darn its rags, and everywhere hasten to become industrious energy, ardent patient manfulness, and successful skill: Conciliation and Confederation halls had suddenly become a double sanhedrim of heroic sages; Jarlath a mount of Gospel prophecy, John of Tuam an Irish Paraclete; and generally over the face of that Island, first flower of the earth and first gem of the sea, there would be visible the valiant diligence of human souls, ardent, patient, manfully strong; and there would rise towards Heaven that worship which is the welcomest and the eternally blessed, the sound of wisdom where there was speech, and manifoldly the inarticulate hum likewise of wisdom (which means patient cunning of hand and valiant strength of heart) where there was work. Then were the finest peasantry in the world, indeed a fine peasantry; and Ireland, first flower of the earth, a place that might at least cease to bother its neighbours, borrowing potatoes from them! A consummation devoutly to be wished.

In truth, Ireland awakening that morning, with England totally dissevered from her, would be a mighty pretty "nation," likely to take a high figure among the nations of the world. M. Ledru Rollin could not desire a better Republic than you had here, just getting under way: a Republic ready to fraternise with him to all lengths (so long as he did not starve it as the wicked Lord John Russell does), and sure to be a great favourite with her French sister. American Jonathan too, I fancy his love for that nation and that nation's love for him, on further practical acquaintance. "Considerable water privileges, I guess; good land lots; a d—d deal of white Chactaws, though:—a country we could improve, I guess!" Yes, Jonathan; I have no doubt you could. "We would improve you," says Jonathan to the Canadian *Habitans*, "Oh, we would improve you off the face of the earth!"

All this looks very mad on the part of the sister Island; and yet, alas, such is the state of Ireland and of Irish life, it has to be owned they are not the worst citizens who with mad sincerity proclaim "Repeal of the Union" just now, and purchase pikes and rifles to procure it with, at the expense of insurrection and at all other expenses, that of their own lives included. Not the worst Irish citizens they; no, a still worse sort are those, not hitherto attackable by any Attorney-General, who sit still in the middle of all that, and say "Peace, peace" to it all, as if *it* were or could be peace. Ireland in the quiet chronic state, is still more hideous than Ireland in the critical, even insurrectionary state. No, that is not peace; that of a governing class glittering in foreign capitals, or at home sitting idly in its drawing-rooms, in its hunting-saddles, like a class quite unconcerned with governing, concerned only to get the rents and wages of governing; and the governable *un*governed millions sunk meanwhile in dark cabins, in ignorance, sloth, confusion, superstition, and putrid ignominy, dying the hunger-death, or, what is worse, living the hunger-life, in degradation below that of dogs. A human dog-kennel five millions strong, is that a thing to be quiet over? The maddest John of Tuam, uttering in his afflictive ghastly dialect (a dialect very *ghastly*, made up of extinct Romish cant, and inextinguishable Irish self-conceit, and rage, and ignorant unreason) his brimstone denunciations, is a mild phenomenon compared with some others that say nothing.

That Lord John Russell should feed the Irish people, that in every hungry Irish mouth Lord John Russell should have a spoon with cooked victuals ready, this is the enlarged Gospel according to him of Tuam. One of the maddest Gospels; yet not wholly without a tincture of meaning at the bottom of it. John of Tuam does at least say, there is no peace, there can be no peace till this alter;—John speaks true so far, though in a rabid manner, and like an Irish Gospel Comforter. Not a hypocrite; or if so, one whose *hypocrisis* has grown

into the very blood of him; who is a sacrosanct theological play-actor to the very backbone; and prophesies, since he must prophesy, through the organs of a solemn mountebank and consecrated drug-vendor,—patented by the Holy Father himself to vend Romish quack drugs, doing a little too in Repeal nostrums, and now reduced by just rage, as we say, to *prophesy:* a situation enough of itself to drive one half rabid!—

Meanwhile, it is evident, the sober part of the world begins to get somewhat weary of all that.

Several indolent members of Parliament, and many indolent members of society on this side of the water, are beginning to testify their willingness, for their part, to gratify the Irish populations by conceding the demand for Repeal. Since Ireland wants but this to her happiness, say they, why not allow her to be happy? Of happiness for England, or us, in this sublime union with the sister island, God knows there has been no overplus: our share in the said happiness would sell at a light figure in any market. To have our land overrun with hordes of hungry white savages, covered with dirt and rags, full of noise, falsity, and turbulence, deranging every relation between rich and poor, feeding the gibbets all along our western coasts, submerging our populations into the depths of dirt, savagery, and human degradation: here is no great share of blessedness that we should covet it, and go forth in arms to vindicate it. Nor are the gentry of Ireland, such as we find them, with formidable whiskers and questionable outfit on the spiritual or economical side, drinking punch, fortune-hunting, or playing roulette at Brighton, Leamington, or other places of resort, such an entrancingly beautiful addition to our own washed classes that we would go to war for retaining possession of them. If the gods took all these classes bodily home, and left us wholly bereaved of them for ever and a day, it is a fixed popular belief here, this poor Island could rub on very much as before. The rents of Ireland spent in England,—alas, not even the spending of the rents fascinates us. The rents, it is to be observed, are *spent*, not given away, not a sixpence of them given,—nay, quite the contrary; part of the account, as many poor tradesmen's books, and in debtors' prisons several whiskered gentlemen, can testify, is often left unpaid:—rents all *spent*, we say; laid out in the purchase of things marketable, eatable, enjoyable; the vital fact clearly being, that so long as England *has* things for sale in the market, she will (through the kindness of the gods) find purchasers, Irish or Non-Irish, and even purchasers that will pay her the whole account without need of imprisonment, it is to be hoped!

Certainly, since the first invention of speech, there never was in the heart of any class of human beings a more egregious misunderstanding, than this of the felicity the English nation derives, has derived, or is likely for some time yet to derive, from union with the sister island. Not by drinking cannibal-like the blood and fat of Ireland has England supported herself hitherto in this universe, but by quite other sustenances and exertions. England were a lean nation otherwise. Not with any ecstasy of hope or of remembrance does England contemplate this divine happiness of union with the sister island. England's happiness from that connexion would sell at a small figure. In fact, if poor Bull had not a skin thicker than the shield of Ajax, and a practical patience without example among mankind, he would, reading the Gospel-messages of Jarlath, the debates of Confederation and Conciliation halls, and sorrowfully thinking of his many millions thrown into the black gulf of turbulent hunger, his ten last year, when he could ill spare it,—blaze up wholly into unquenchable indignation, of temperature not measurable by Fahrenheit, and lose command of himself for some time!

Natural enough that several careless members of Parliament, and many careless members of society, should express themselves prepared to concede the Repeal of the Union, and make Ireland happy. Nay, I venture to say, in spite of the present extenuated state of finance, and pressure of the income tax, and unspeakable pressures and extenuations of every kind,—could any projecting Warner of the long range be found who would undertake to *unanchor* the Island of Ireland, and sail fairly away with it, and with all its populations and possessions to the last torn hat that stops a window-pane, and anchor them safe again at a distance, say, of 3,000 miles from us,—funds to any amount would be subscribed here for putting in immediate activity such Warner of the long range. Funds? Our railways have cost us 150 millions: but what were all railways, for convenience to England, in comparison to this unanchoring of Ireland from the side of her? If it depended on funds, such Warner of the long range might have funds in sufficiency. To make the National Debt an even milliard of pounds sterling, which gives 200 and odd millions to the Warner operation,—this, heavy as it is, I should think one of the best investments of capital; and do not doubt it would be cheerfully raised in this country for such an object.

The sadder is the reflection that such operation is impossible, for ever forbidden by the laws of gravitation and terrestrial cohesion; and, alas, that without such operation, Repeal of the Union is also impossible. Impossible this too, my poor English and Irish friends; forbidden, this too, by the laws of the universe just at present, and not to be thought of in these current centuries. I grieve to

say it; but so the matter is: flatly forbidden by the laws of the universe in these current centuries, and not to be ventured upon as an investment by any person whose capital of money, logic, rhetoric, wind-eloquence, influence, courage, strength, old soda-water bottles, or other animal or spiritual possession, is precious to him. In fact, if capital seek investment in such matters, let it rather invest itself in the Warner operation first. That is the preliminary operation, and will be the handsomer. There it will bring mere destruction of itself; arithmetical zero on the day of settlement, and not frightful minus quantities.

For, alas! poor English and Irish friends, do you not see these three things, more or less clear even in your own poor dim imaginations?

1. That Ireland is inhabited by seven or eight millions, who unfortunately speak a partially intelligible dialect of the English language, and having a white skin and European features, cannot be prevented from circulating among us at discretion, and to all manner of lengths and breadths.

2. That the Island of Ireland stretches for a length of some 300 miles parallel to that of Britain, with an Irish Channel everywhere bridged over by ships, steamers, herring-busses, boats, and bomb-ketches, length of said bridge varying from six hours to one hour; so that, for practical purposes, it lies as if in contact, divided only by a strait ditch, and till the Warner operation be completed, cannot by human art be fenced out from us, but is unfortunately *we* till then.

3. That the stern Destinies have laid upon England a terrible job of labour in these centuries, and will inexorably (as their wont is) have it done: a job of labour terrible to look upon, extending superficially to the Indies and the Antipodes over all countries, and in depth, one knows not how deep; for it is not cotton-spinning and commercing merely; it is (as begins to be visible) governing, regulating, which in these days will mean conquering dragons and world-wide chimeras, and climbing as high as the zenith to snatch fire from the gods, and diving as deep as the nadir to fling devils in chains:—and it has been laid upon the poor English people, all this; a heavier, terribler job of labour than any people has been saddled with in these generations! Conquering *Anarchy;* which is not conquerable *except* by weapons gained in Heaven's armoury, and used in battles against Orcus;—so that we may say of him that conquers it, as the Italians were wont to say of Dante: *Eccovi l'uom ch'é stato all' inferno!* Truer this than you suppose.

Under which circumstances, consider whether on any terms England can have her house cut in two, and a foreign nation, with contradictory tendencies and perpetual controversy lodged in her back-parlour itself? Not in any measure conceivable by the liveliest imagination that will be candid! England's

heavy job of work, inexorably needful to be done, cannot go on at all, unless her back-parlour too belong to herself; with foreign controversies, parliamentary eloquences, with American sympathisers, Parisian *émeutiers*, Ledru-Rollins, and a world just now fallen into bottomless anarchy parading incessantly through her back-parlour, no nation can go on with any work. I put it to Conciliation Hall itself, to any Irish Confederation that will be candid. The candid Irish Confederation admits that such is really the fact; that England's work will be effectually stopped by this occupation of her back-parlour; and furthermore that they, the Irish Confederation, mean it so—mean to stop England's work appointed her by the so-called Destinies and Divine Providences. They, the Irish Confederation, and finest peasantry in the world, armed with pikes, will stop all that; and prove that it is not Divine Providence at all, but Diabolic Accident, and a thing which they, the finest peasantry in the world, can stop. And so they will make the experiment, it seems; and certainly, if the finest peasantry can conquer and exterminate this poor nation of England, they will bar the way to her Progress through the Ages, relieve her of her terrible job of work, repeal the Union, and do several other surprising things. So stands the controversy at present.

If the darkness of human creatures, in a state of just or unjust frenzy, were not known to be miraculous, surely we might pause stupent over such a reading of the Heavenly omens on the part of any creature. The chance Ireland has, with her finest peasantry, to bar the way of England through the Ages seems small in the extreme.

Lord Morpeth tries to demonstrate that Ireland herself will be ruined without the Union; that if it really would make Ireland happy, he would concede the Repeal with pleasure; but that it will not, and therefore he cannot. I go farther than his lordship, and say that though it made Ireland never so happy, it could not be conceded even in that impossible contingency. Ireland and her happiness, it should with all clearness be made known to unreasonable noisy men, is a small matter compared with Britain's and Ireland's *nobleness*, or conformity to the eternal law—wherein alone can 'happiness' either for Britain or Ireland be found. Ireland very much misunderstands her own importance at present. Ireland looks at herself on the map in the population returns, and finding a big blot there, rashly supposes that she is an immense element in the sum of British Power. Which is much the reverse of the fact. Deduct what we may call Teutonic Ireland, Ulster and the other analogous regions; leave only the Ireland that clamours for Repeal at present, and in spite of its size on the map and in the population returns, we must say that its value hitherto approaches amazingly to zero, so far as Britain is concerned. Not out of the Tipperary regions did the

artillery that has subdued the world, and its anarchies and its devils and wild dog-kennels, proceed hitherto. No, it was out of other regions than Tipperary, by other equipments than are commonest in Tipperary, that England built up her social Constitutions, wrote her Literature, planted her Americas, subdued her Indias, spun her Cotton-webs, and got along with her enormous job of work so far. This is true, and Tipperary ought to know this, and even will be made to know it,—by terrible schooling, if mild will not serve.

For it behoves men to know what is fact in their position; only by rigorously conforming to that, can they have the Universe on their side, and achieve any prosperity whatever. With fact against you, with the whole Universe and the Eternal Laws against you, what prosperity can you achieve? Monster meetings, O'Connell eloquence, and Mullaghmast caps, cannot change the state of the fact, cannot alter the Laws of the Universe; not a whit; the Universe remains precisely what it was before the Mullaghmast cap took shape among the headgear of men.

Ireland counts some seven, or five, or three, millions of the finest repealing peasantry; but it ought to remember that the British Empire already enumerates as its subjects some hundred-and-fifty millions. To such extent have the gods appointed it to rule in this Planet at this date. There is no denying it. Over so many mortals does Great Britain at this epoch of time preside, and is bound by laws deeper than any written ones to see well how it will care for them. That is her task among the Nations; a heavy and tremendous, but a great and glorious one; to which not I and some public Journalists and Clerks in Downing Street, but the mute voice of the Eternal itself is calling her: to do that task is the supreme of all duties for her, and by the help of God and of all good citizens, to every one of whom it is of awful divine import withal, she will try to do it. If Tipperary choose to obstruct England in this terrible enterprise, Tipperary, I can see, will learn better or meet a doom that makes me shudder. Conquer England; bar the way of England? About as rationally might a violent-tempered starved rat, extenuated into frenzy, attempt to bar the way of a rhinoceros. The frantic extenuated smaller animal cannot bar the way of the other; can but bite the heels of the other, provoke the other, till it lift its broad hoof, squelch the frantic smaller animal, and pass inevitably on.

Let Irish Patriots seek some other remedy than repealing the Union; let all men cease to talk or speculate on that, since once for all it cannot be done. In no conceivable circumstances could or durst a British minister propose to concede such a thing: the British minister that proposed it would deserve to be impeached as a traitor to his high post, and to lose his worthless head. Nay, if, in the present cowardly humour of most ministers and governing persons, and loud

insane babble of anarchic men, a traitorous minister did consent to help himself over the evil hour by yielding to it, and conceding its mad demand,—even he, whether he saved his traitorous head or lost it, would have done nothing towards the Repeal of the Union. A law higher than that of Parliament, as we have said, an Eternal Law proclaims the Union unrepealable in these centuries. England's work, whatever her ministers be, till all her citizens likewise cease, requires to be done. While a British citizen is left, there is left a protestor against our country being occupied by foreigners, a repealer of the Repeal. Not while British men walk erect in this Island can Ledru Rollins, American sympathizers, Parisian *organisateurs*, and an anarchic canaille, be left at rifle-practice and parliamentary eloquence in the other. Never, in my opinion; clearly never. And so, even were Repeal conceded, Repeal would at all moments, by night and by day, cry irrepressibly to be revoked; and one day would get itself revoked,—perhaps in a final way that time! The rhinoceros is long suffering, thick of skin, entirely indisposed to severe methods at present; but the frantic smaller animal should not drive him quite to extremities either, but bethink itself a little.

True, most true, the wretched Irish populations have enough to complain of, and the worst traitors against their country are they who lie quiet in such a putrid lazarhouse; but it is not England alone, as they will find, that has done or does them mischief; not England alone or even chiefly, as they will find. Nor indeed are their woes peculiar, or even specifically different from our own. We too in this Island have our woes; governing classes that do not in the least govern, and working classes that cannot longer do without governing: woes, almost grown unbearable, and precisely in a less degree those of Ireland are in a greater. But we study to bear our woes till they can be got articulated in feasible proposals; we do not think, to rush out into the street and knock men down with our shillelagh will be the way of healing them. We have decided by an immense majority to endure our woes, and wait for feasible proposals; to reserve barricades, insurrections, revolutionary pikes to the very last extremity. Considerable constitutional and social improvements have been made in this Island; really very considerable; which all Europe is now rushing pell-mell, in a very ominous way, to imitate, as the one secret of national wellbeing. Considerable social improvements;—but, what is remarkable, by pikes and insurrection not one of them hitherto. No, our Civil War itself proceeded according to act of Parliament: let all things, even death and battle, be done decently, done in order! By feasible proposals, and determination silently made up, wrought out in long dark silent struggles into *conformity* with the laws of fact, and unalterable as the same,—by these nobler methods, and not by insurrectionary pikes and

street-barricades, has England got along hitherto; and hopes that henceforth too they may suffice her. In which nobler methods we earnestly invite all Irish reformers to join us, promising them that no feasible proposal of theirs but shall be one of ours too, and that in fact our adventure and theirs, whether it have to persuade Repeal into silence or trample it into annihilation, is one and the same.

So that the case stands thus. Ireland, at this moment and for a good while back, has been admitted and is practically invited to become British; to right its wrongs along with ours, to fight its battles by our side, and take share in that huge destiny along with us, if it will and can. Will it; can it? One does not know. The Cherokees, Sioux and Chactaws had a like invitation given them, in the new Continents two centuries ago. "Can you, will you, O noble Chactaws, looking through superficial entanglements, estrangements, irritating temptations, into the heart of the matter, join with us in this heavy job of work we Yankee Englanders have got to do here? Will you learn to plough the ground, to do carpentry, and live peaceably, supporting yourselves in obedience to those above you. If so, you shall be of us, we say, and the gods say. If not—!"—Alas! the answer was in the negative; the Chactaws would not, could not, and accordingly the Chactaws, 'in spite of 200 acts of legislation in their favour at divers times,' are extinct; cut off by the inexorable gods. It is a lesson taught everywhere; everywhere, in these days of Aborigines Protection Societies and Exeter-Hall babble, deserving to be well learned. Noisy, turbulent, irreclaimable savagery cannot be 'protected;' it is doomed to become reclaimable, or to disappear. The Celts of Connemara, and other repealing finest peasantry, are white and not black; but it is not the colour of the skin that determines the savagery of a man. He is a savage who, in his sullen stupidity, in his chronic rage and misery, cannot know the facts of this world when he sees them; whom suffering does not teach but only madden; who blames all men and all things except the one only that can be blamed with advantage, namely *himself;* who believes, on the Hill of Tara or elsewhere, what is palpably untrue, being himself unluckily a liar, and the truth, or any sense of the truth, not in him; who curses, instead of thinks and considers;—brandishes his tomahawk against the Laws of Nature, and prevails therein as we may fancy and can see! Fruitless futile insurrections, continual sanguinary brawls and riots that make his dwellingplace a horror to mankind, mark his progress generation after generation; and if no beneficent hand will chain him into wholesome *slavery* and, with whip on back or otherwise, try to tame him, and get some work out of him,—Nature herself, intent to have her world tilled, has no resource but to exterminate him, as she has done the wolves and various other obstinately *free* creatures before now! These are hard words, but they are true.

C.

IRELAND AND THE BRITISH CHIEF GOVERNOR.

The Easter recess having ended, and Parliament happily got together again, Lord John Russell comes forward with his remedial measures for Ireland. A most proper duty surely. He has put down pike-rioting, open and advised incendiary eloquence, and signified to Ireland that her wrongs are not to be redressed by street-barricades just at present; an act for which all sane men, Irish and English, applaud him. But this act done, the question rises, more naked and irrepressible than ever: By what means, then, *are* Irish wrongs to be redressed? Fifty thousand armed soldiers,—in red coats or in green, there are said to be about so many,—here is prohibition of Repeal treason, but here is no cure of the disease which produces Repeal treason, and other madnesses and treasons among us. Here is still no indication how the Irish population is to begin endeavouring to live on just terms with one another and with us,—or, alas, even how it is to continue living at all.

Of a truth, remedial measures are very needful: for Ireland's sake, and indeed for Britain's, which is indissolubly chained to her, and is drifting along with her and by reason of her, close in the rear of her, towards unspeakable destinies otherwise. Our copartnery being indissoluble, and the "Warner operation" lately spoken of* impossible, it is to ourselves also of the last importance that the

* "Could any projecting Warner of the long range be found who would undertake to *unanchor* the Island of Ireland, and sail fairly away with it, and with all its populations and possessions to the last torn hat that stops a window-pane, and anchor them safe again at a distance, say, of 3,000 miles from us,—funds

depths of Irish wretchedness be actually sounded; that we get to the real bottom of that unspeakable cloaca, and endeavour, by Heaven's blessing, with all the strength that is in us, to commence operations upon it. Purified that hideous mass must be, or we ourselves cannot live! More stringent than O'Connell eloquence, or O'Brien pike-manufacture, the law of Nature itself makes us now, in every fibre, participant of Ireland's wretchedness. Steam-passage from Ireland is occasionally as low as fourpence a head. Not a wandering Irish lackall that comes over to us, to parade his rags and hunger, and sin and misery, but comes in all senses as an irrepressible missionary of the like to our own people; an inarticulate prophet of God's justice to Nations; heralding to us also a doom like his own. Of our miseries and fearful entanglements here in Britain, he, the Irish lackall, is by far the heaviest; and we cannot shake him off. No, we have deserved him: by our incompetence and unveracity—by our cowardly, false, and altogether criminal neglect of Ireland—by our government of make-believe and not of truth and reality, so long continued there, we have deserved him; and suddenly, by the aid of steam and modern progress of the sciences, we have got him. The irrepressible missionary and God's messenger to us, I say, is this one, he! A strange sight, and one that gives rise to thoughts—"the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." He comes to us to revenge his country; and he does revenge it. The mad cry of Repeal you can put down,—change into another as mad, or less, or still more mad; but him you cannot put down.

For Britain's sake itself, if Britain is to continue habitable much longer, Ireland must actually attain remedial measures,—and of a kind we have not been much used to, for two centuries back, in this country. We have been a little idle, in respect of Irish remedial measures, for two centuries back! In fact, ever since Oliver Cromwell's time, we have done little but grimace and make-believe, and *sham* a kind of governing there; attaching ourselves to any entity or sham that would help us along from year to year; imagining (miserable criminals that we have been!) that falsities and injustices, well varnished, would do instead of facts and continuous performance according to the eternal laws,—as if not a God had made Ireland and us, but a Devil, who could quote Scripture on occasion! And now it has all come down upon us; and we welter among it, on the edge of huge perils: and we must alter it, or prepare to perish. Surely, if ever for any country in the world, remedial measures are needed for Ireland now!

The remedial measures propounded, or to be propounded, for Ireland, by the British chief governor, in this crisis, are—what does the reader think?—*first*, a bill

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to any amount would be subscribed here for putting in immediate activity such Warner of the long range."—*Examiner*, April 29.

for improved Registration of Irish County Voters; *secondly*, a bill for improved ditto in Irish Municipalities; and—and nothing else at all for the present: these for the present *are* the remedial measures contemplated by the British chief governor, on behalf of Ireland.

How it may pass in Parliament, this first attempt at discharge of governor's duty and debt towards subjects dying for want of governing, we do not know; but certainly out of Parliament, the attempt does seem almost surprising. Rather a lean instalment, you would say, of the big debt due; probably among the leanest instalments towards so enormous a liquidation ever offered by any son of Adam! Extension of the electoral suffrage,—good Heavens, what will that do for a country which labours under the frightfullest immediate want of potatoes? Potatoes, possibility of work that will procure potatoes, or a substitute for that sad root, and enable the electors to sustain themselves alive: there lies the awful prime necessity for Ireland just now. Towards that goal first of all, and not as yet towards any other, does Ireland, from the depths of its being, struggle and endeavour. Extension of the suffrage? Could the chief governor, in his beneficence, extend the suffrage through municipalities and counties, through villages and parishes, so that not only all the men of Ireland, but all the women and children, and even all the oxen and asses and dogs of Ireland, should be asked their vote, and taught to give it with the exactest authenticity, and the last finish of constitutional perfection,—of what avail would all that be? Not that course, I should say, leads towards work and potatoes; but rather it leads directly away from it. Not by extending the electoral or other suffrage, but by immensely curtailing it (were the good *method* once found), could a constitutional benefit be done, there or here! Not who votes, but who or what is voted for, what is decided on: that is the important question! Constitutional men are by no means aware of it yet; but the real truth, in a private way, is, that no fool's vote, no knave's, no liar's, no gluttonous greedy-minded cowardly person's (rich or poor), in a word, no *slave's* vote, is other than a nuisance, and even the chief of nuisances in its kind, be given where, when, or in what manner it like! That is the everlasting fact of the matter; true today as it was at the beginning of the world,—and only overlooked (for reasons) in certain confused heavy-laden periods, which by their nature are either fatal or else transitory. Constitutional men, I believe, will gradually become aware of this; and once well discerning it, will find a whole unelaborated world of practical reform, on that unexpected side, of *curtailing* the suffrage again!

In brief, his Lordship's bill for improved Registration of Irish County Voters, which is said to be good of its sort, and bill for improved ditto in Irish

Municipalities, which has not yet come into the light, do, to impartial extra-parliamentary persons, seem as strange a pair of bills as ever were propounded on such an occasion. Our impious Irish *Tower of Babel*, built high for centuries now against God's commandment, having at last, with fateful shudder through every stone of it, cracked from top to base; and bending now visibly to every eye, and hanging in momentary peril of tumbling wholly, and of carrying our own dwelling-place along with it,—will his Lordship, with these two exquisite Whitechapel needles, bring the imminent bulging masonries, the big beams and deranged boulders, into square again? These, it appears, are his *first* crowbars; with these he means to begin and try!

Is his Lordship not aware, then, that the Irish potato has, practically speaking, fallen extinct; that the hideous form of Irish so-called "social existence," sustained thereby, has henceforth become impossible? That some new existence, deserving a little more to be called "social," will have to introduce itself there; or worse, and ever worse, down to some nameless worst of all, will have to follow? That accordingly a real *government*, come from where it can, is indispensable for the human beings that inhabit Ireland? That on the whole, real government, effective guidance and constraint of human folly by human wisdom, is very desirable for all manner of human beings! That, in fine, the King of the French drove lately through the Barrier of Passy in a one-horse chaise? And furthermore that Europe at large has risen behind him, to testify that it also will, at least, have done with sham-government, and have either true government or else none at all? These are grave facts; and indicate to all creatures that a *new* and very ominous æra, for Ireland and for us, has arrived.

Ireland, which was never yet organic with other than make-believe arrangement, now writhes in bitter agony, plainly disorganic from shore to shore; its perennial hunger grown too sharp even for Irish nerves. England has her Chartisms, her justly discontented workpeople countable by the million; repressed for the moment, not at all either remedied or extinguished by the glorious 10th of April, for which a monument is to be built. No; and Europe, we say, from Cadiz to Copenhagen, has crashed together suddenly into the bottomless deeps, the thin earthrind, wholly *artificial*, giving way beneath it; and welters now one huge Democracy, one huge Anarchy or *Kinglessness;* its "kings" all flying like a set of mere play-actor kings, and none now even pretending to rule, and heroically, at his life's peril, command and constrain. Does our chief governor calculate that England, with such a Chartism under deck, and such a fire-ship of an Ireland indissolubly chained to her, beaten on continually by an anarchic Europe and its all-permeating influences and impulses, can keep the waters on

those terms? By her old constitutional methods, of producing small registration bills, much Parliamentary eloquence, and getting the supplies voted,—in which latter point, it would seem now, owing to increase of Parliamentary eloquence, the chief governor finds difficulties? Is it by such alchemy that he will front the crisis?—A chief governor of that humour, at the present juncture, is surely rather an alarming phænomenon! C.

IRISH REGIMENTS (OF THE NEW ÆRA).

Will his Lordship go along with us in the following practical reflection, and anticipation of what can be from what is; which ought to prove consolatory to governors of men, in such universal downbreak as now threatens in Ireland and elsewhere? Much is possible for the governor of men; much has been possible, when he tried it with a true dead-lift effort, feeling that he *must* do it!—Here, visible far off on the edge of our horizon, seems to be some actual peak or headland of the country of the Future; which is already looming vaguely in the general eye; and which, I think, the helmsman everywhere will have to take note of, and intently steer towards, before long! A small fraction of that huge business called "Organization of Labour," which is of infinite concernment and of vital necessity to all of us,—though numerous Louis-Blancs, Owen-Fouriers, Luxembourg Commissions, and I know not what sad set of soothsayers, with their dreams of Fraternity, Equality, and universal Paradise-made-easy, throw it into some discredit for the moment. Let us look steadily, and see whether the thing is not now partly visible even to the naked eye?

The unemployed vagrant miscellaneous Irish, once dressed in proper red coats, and put under proper drill-sergeants, with strict military law above them, can be trained into soldiers; and will march to any quarter of the globe and fight fiercely, and will keep step and pas-de-charge, and subdue the enemy for you, like real soldiers,—none better, I understand, or few, in this world. Here is a thing worth noting. The Irish had always, from the first creation of them, a talent for individual fighting: but it took several thousand years of effort, before, on hest and pressure of clearest Necessity, the indispensable organic concert got introduced into the business, and they could be taught to fight in

this profitable military manner. Several thousand years of faction-fights, pike-skirmishes, combustions, private duels by shillelagh, by dirk and fist, and still feller methods; and indeed it was only comparatively in the late centuries, long posterior to King Rufus and William of Ipres, that the Irish fighting talent was got regimented, and these inestimable advantages (maintenance of public order and government authority, no less) could be educed from it. And what taming and manipulation it took; how many agonistic struggles on the part of sergeant, conqueror, legislator, pacificator, wolf-subduer, howsoever the Organizing Man was named,—long generations of multiform agonistic struggle, managed in a more or less heroic, and at last in a successful manner,—the gods and the forgotten Williams-of-Ipres alone know. But it was done, accomplished; and we see it now before us, and bless the unknown heroes and forgotten benefactors for it.

Is organization to fight, the only organization achievable by Irishmen under proper sergeants? There is the question! For example, the Irish have in all times shown, and do now show, an indisputable talent for spade-work, which, under slight modification, means all kinds of husbandry work. Men skilled in the business testify that, with the spade, there is no defter or tougher worker than the common Irishman at present. None who will live on humbler rations, and bring a greater quantity of efficient spade-work out of him, than the vagrant, unemployed, and in fact quite chaotic Irishman of this hour. Here is a fact; really rather notable, and such as invites meditation. For, like the old fighting talent, this new delving talent, being as yet quite chaotic, brings no advantage whatever to the poor Irishman possessor of it. Here he is, willing and able to dig, as ever his ancestor was to do faction-fighting or irregular multiform duel: but him, alas, no William of Ipres, or other sternly benign drill-sergeant, has yet ranked into regiment; clothed in effectual woollen russet, or drab cotton moleskin; and bidden wisely: "Go thither, that way not this, and dig swiftly (pay and rations await thee) for that object not for this. This will profit thee and me; that will not: dig there and thus!" Alas, no; he wanders inorganic; and his fate at present, with nothing but "supply and demand" buzzing round him, and in *his* ear the inexorable doom-summons, "Thou shalt die starved for all thy digging talent," is the hardest of any creature's,—and I should say, the unjustest. Is there seen on this earth at present other such fatal sight? A whole world, or nearly so, undug; a man with the skilfullest, eagerest digging-talent, condemned to die because none will show him where to dig. There are many that have leisure, money, sense; but it is impossible, they all cry! Alas, the thrice-beneficial William of Ipres that will take up this wandering spademan and turn him to account, has not yet presented himself among us. Nay, I hear it said everywhere that *he* is flatly an

inconceivability; that the old fighting drill-sergeant, sternly benign, did indeed prove successful and unspeakably advantageous; but that the new pacific one, prayed for by some, is mere madness,—nay that there is a kind of sin, allied to blasphemy and the other unforgivable treasons against the Universe, in so much as thinking of him, or at least publicly speaking of him.

Which opinion I must here take the liberty, in my own name and that of as many as will follow me, of mildly but peremptorily and for evermore denying. Not so, my friends; I take the gods to witness that it is not so. In the name of human nature, I protest that fighting is *not* the only talent which can be regulated, regimented, and by organization and human arrangement be made, instead of hideous, beautiful, beneficent, and of indispensable advantage to us. Not the only arrangeable, commandable, captainable talent, that of fighting; I say, that of digging is another, and a still better. Nay, there is no human talent whatever but is capable of the like beneficent process, and calculated to profit infinitely by it. As shall be seen yet, gradually, in happier days, if it please Heaven: for the future work of human wisdom and human heroism is discernible to be even this, Not of fighting with, and beating to death one's poor fellow creatures in other countries, but of regimenting into blessed activity more and more one's poor fellow creatures in one's own country, for their and all people's profit more and more. A field wide enough, untilled enough, God knows; and in which, I should say, human heroism, and all the divine wisdom that is among us, could not too soon, with one accord, begin! For the time presses; the years, and the days, at this epoch, are precious; teeming with either deliverance or destruction!

Yes, much is yet unready, put off till the morrow; but this, of trying to find some spade-work for the disorganic Irish and British spademan, cannot be delayed much longer. Colonels of field-labour, as well as colonels of field-fighting, doubt it not, *can* be found, if you will search for them with diligence; nay, I myself have seen some such: colonels, captains, lieutenants, down to the very sergeants and fifers of field-labour, can be got, if you will honestly want them,—oh, in what abundance, and with what thrice-blessed results, could *they* be "supplied" if you did indeed with due intensity continue to "demand" them! And, I think, one regiment, ten regiments, of diggers, on the Bog of Allen, would look as well almost as ten regiments of shooters on the field of Waterloo; and probably ten times as well as ten war-ships riding in the Tagus, for body-guard to Donna Maria da Gloria, at this epoch of the world! Some incipiency of a real effective regimenting of spademen is actually a possibility for human creatures at this time. Possible, I say, and even easier than William of Ipres found *his* work; and it is pressingly needful withal, and indeed practically indispensable

before long. Never can the mad cry of Repeal, or some cry, equally mad, cease in Ireland; never can the world cease writhing and moaning, in dull agony, in dark stifled rage, till the disorganic perishing spademan begin to get fairly in contact with his spade-work: he cannot, and he even should not, know a moment's loyal peace till then. Some regimenting of spade-work *can*, by honest life-and-death effort long continued on the part of governing men, be done; and even must be done. All Nations, and I think our own foremost, will either get a beginning made towards doing it, or die in nameless anarchies before long!

Do the governing persons of this country, does our present respectable Premier, consider that all this lies quite beyond his province; belongs to the field of private benevolence, field of private enterprise; and that he and the British Government have for their share, nothing to do with it? Him also I must humbly but positively answer, No! It is in his province withal; and, if it be essential to the ends of British society, surely it is more in his province than in any other man's. Alas, I know, or can figure in some measure, the shoreless imbroglio of red-tape and parliamentary eloquence in which he lives and has his sorrowful being;—tape-thrums heaped high above him as the Heaven, and deep below him as the Abyss; and loud inane eloquence (public-speaking transacted in the hearing of twenty-seven millions, many of whom are fools!) beating on him likewise, as a mad ocean, and every single billow and every separate tape-thrum singing merely, "Impossible, impossible to do any real business here! Nothing but parliamentary eloquence possible here!" All this I know, or can fancy in some measure, and sorrow over. Nevertheless, all this will not excuse an unfortunate British Premier. He stands at the summit of our society; has, with his eyes open, and what real or imaginary views he knows best, taken his station there; and to him inevitably do perishing British subjects cry,—if not for help, yet for some signal that somebody, somewhere, in some manner should at least begin to try to help them! Decidedly they do; and will, so long as there is anything called by the name of Government among us. To say, "impossible! Good citizens, be obliging enough to perish in peace: you see I have no help!"—alas, can that answer ever, in the profoundest imbroglio of tape-thrums, and loudest parliamentary eloquence of the British Constitution, continue to be available? The perishing British subjects do not think so, nor do I. Let the British chief governor cry earnestly from the abysses and the red-tape imbroglios, whatever they may be: a Jonah was heard from the whale's belly;—and he too, unless the Heavens help him to some scheme or counsel, he and we are lost! C.

LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND.

Lord John Russell has before Parliament, or in due time will have, two small Bills for improved Registration of Voters in Ireland; and a third for some slight loan, only another million or less, to Irish Landlords, if they will behave well: but what has become of the Sale of Encumbered Estates Bill for Ireland? Surely in the front rank, and as a preliminary to all other bills, the Minister was bound to have got that Bill passed. It is the preliminary and foundation-stone of all other Irish arrangements whatsoever.

By the Poor Law Bill, now passed into law, and struggling to get itself passed everywhere into practice as a fact, it has been, so to speak, solemnly declared, That there are to be no more starvations in Ireland; that 'the white European man, with his ten cunning fingers at his shacklebones, and miraculous head on his shoulders,' is no more to perish for want of guidance towards work and sustenance of food; that such inhuman tragedy, the most scandalous the sun now sees, is not to be transacted any more in Ireland, or in any land of ours. That Irish wealth, which means Irish strength and wisdom and resource, shall not continue to play such tricks in the governance of Irish indigence and resourceless ignorance; but that it shall straightway cease from such, for neither God nor man can stand it any longer. That, in a word, the Irish Aristocracy, if it will preserve its land much longer, shall rapidly come home from foreign capitals, cease drinking punch and playing roulette at Bath or Leamington, dismount from its idle hunting saddles, descend from its idle drawingrooms into the neighbouring hunger-cabins; and see how on these terms it will manage Irish Poverty, for on these terms only can or shall it be managed henceforth.

By this new Poor-Law, speaking a small piece of Everlasting Justice in Chancery dialect for once, it has been declared, That the land of Ireland is the mother of all Irishmen; and that no Irishman, not doomed to it by some judge or law, shall die starved in future. That accordingly the Aristocracy have now before them a really tremendous task of work; a task criminally left undone, unattempted, for so many generations, and which has now accumulated till it seeks its fellow in the world! That nevertheless it is their task, and with fearful limitations of *time* too;—and that they have not a minute to lose! That verily this is it: If the millions die, the units cannot and shall not be left living. That they are all in one boat now; that according to the steerage of the said boat, shall they all swim, or else all sink.—It is the everlasting law of Heaven; and much do all good citizens rejoice that it has, at length, become the express law of Earth as well.

So that Irish landowners, who are the only considerable class of wealthy Irishmen, are now also brought to book, even as Irish lackalls are; and the inexorable Destinies inquire of them too, "Is there any wisdom in you, any heroism in you, that you can deal with this chaotic heap of vice and misery, of darknesses, injustices,—in one word, of long-continued *falsities*, acted, spoken, thought? If so, it shall be well; if not so, it shall be ill and ever worse. Hands to the work; and now, then, or else literally never!"

Whether Irish landlords understand completely that this inexorable just law, long valid in Heaven, has gone forth against them on Earth too, I do not quite know; but guess rather that many of them still idly think, It cannot be possible but the old use-and-wont will still somehow contrive to continue. They will get out of it, or beneficent British legislation will get them out of it by some official sleight-of-hand; they will fall back on the English, make it an imperial calamity;—on the whole, can the laws of Nature suddenly change? Somehow or other, certainly to Heaven, the old use-and-wont will continue!—Such, I rather think, is their idle computation hitherto: but if so, I rejoice to discern that such computation is fallacious quite, in all parts of it; a broken reed, upon which if a man lean, it will run into his hand.

Even so; and all of us thank God for the merciful destruction of the Potatoe, (much as we love that tragic vegetable when well boiled); and, in pious silence, worshipping the decrees of Heaven, perceive that, with the Potatoe rotten, Irish existence can no longer, by any human cunning, be maintained in the hideous quiet chronic state, but will either begin to base itself on God's justice, or continue insurrectionary till all end together. By no official sleight-of-hand can Irish landlordism continue idly glittering, and Irish Pauperism idly dying, henceforth.

No, we discern, with inexpressible thankfulness so far, that all must either die together, or else all live together; nay now that, with the Potatoe rotten, this critical crucial experiment (a true *experimentum crucis*) has actually begun, and cannot, by human cunning and all the redtape of the world, be prevented from going on ever more rapidly, and getting to its decision. Decision, "Yes, we have wisdom enough, and shall live;" or decision, "No, we have not wisdom enough, and must depart and give place to others that have:" one or the other is rapidly coming, and now inevitable.

But now surely, if in these circumstances there is any law indisputably needful, and pressingly called for as the preliminary of everything, it is this, That the Irish landlord should instantly be brought into free contact, and unlimited power of manipulation, and action and reaction, with his land; that he should enter on his stern crucial experiment, with at least the possibility of *trying* to get through it! At present, what with mortgages, debts, encumbrances, what with leases, subleases, leases for lives, leases for terms, and other inextricable leases, contracts, and covenants,—the Irish landlord stands indeed looking at all his land, but with his hands tied from touching great part of it. Landlords nominally of £10,000 a year rent, do not command more than one thousand; over the remaining 9,000, they have no more command than I: That is the situation of the Irish landlord. A crueller situation, with such a law of Heaven and of Earth now hanging over him, is hardly conceivable. Swiftly, instantly, should Government emancipate any and every true Irish landlord, bent to try this terrible problem, from such an inconceivably absurd position. Swiftly, instantly, should this bill, all manner of needful bills to facilitate the sale of encumbered Estates,—to bring a man into contact with the chaotic problem he has got, or at once to absolve him from it,—be passed through Parliament.

Nay, if this bill and other bills would not do, a swift Special Commission of Twelve just men,—a just Lawyer one of them, just Husbandmen, Tenants, Landlords, just men experienced in the business, the other eleven,—should be named swiftly, to serve as a summary, conclusive General Jury for Ireland, in regard to this matter; and in the name of God, to settle it, as justly as they could, and above all things *soon*. The case warrants it, such a plan even as the latter; but I do not think the Minister will adopt that! No;—and in fact, the circumstance that no Irish landlord yet complains, aloud to the world, that while the new Poor-Law is in action, and their crucial experiment begun, this other law, to untie their hands and let them have at least a possibility, remains unpassed,—is rather remarkable; and excites the sad surmise that our Irish landlord friends do not at heart believe in the critical nature of their position,

but idly think, official sleight-of-hand will still save them, and old use-and-wont will somehow be got to go on as heretofore. In which delusive thought does the Minister perhaps encourage them, encourage himself? A flattering unction indeed, and very comfortable, laid softly on the soul; but what will the cost of it be, thinks this Minister? I can compare him only to the steersman encouraging his fellow-rowers to continue idle, and *not* bale the sinking boat! "The waves will not swallow her," he intimates; "sleight-of-hand, and the broad back of England, will still bear her up!"

What does the Minister mean by listening to money-lenders, mortgagees, steward attorneys or any class of creatures, and not hastening through with this Bill, these Bills, that Special Commission itself, or whatever else *will* straightway bring the Irish landlord into practical contact with his land? Is it, as some surmise, that the Irish landlords themselves, menaced by Attorney Mortgagees, object, and threaten to go into opposition? "Oh, *don't* think of baling the boat, then; sit quiet; I wouldn't for the world distress you, friends: nay, you will overset us if you make a stir, and then—!"—Madder neglect of legislation than the want of this measure to follow in the rear of the other, is not seen even in the British Parliament at present.

Alas, in disorganic Ireland itself there struggle (as everywhere in Creation and even in Chaos) organic filaments,—which even in a British Parliament, a chief Governor *could* endeavour to spin together! Ireland itself is not without some similitude of the Two Aristocracies, hitherto the vital element in all human societies, and likely henceforth to be so when societies again become human: a Governing Class, or rich Aristocracy of Landlords, and a Teaching Class, or a poor Aristocracy of Priests. Sore defaced from their just shape, both of those classes; yet capable, both, of being dealt with by the British Parliament,—to unspeakable profit, both, if well dealt with. His Lordship, even in the depths of most complex officiality, is not quite without resources; no living man anywhere ever was. Resources far superior, it may be hoped, to this of passing registration bills for Ireland, and polishing the electoral suffrage into its last finish of perfection there! Or if he *is*,—the world should, with all speed, be made aware of the alarming fact, and asked what steps it will take in consequence. Steps must be taken, and that soon. These weeks and months are precious, are perhaps priceless; rushing swiftly,—every one asks, Whitherward? The rapids of Niagara, after a while, become too rapid; and *then* there is no oaring or steering! C.

DEATH OF CHARLES BULLER.

A very beautiful soul has suddenly been summoned from among us; one of the clearest intellects, and most ærial activities, in England has unexpectedly been called away. Charles Buller died on Wednesday morning last; without previous sickness, reckoned of importance, till a day or two before. An event of unmixed sadness; which has created a just sorrow, private and public. The light of many a social circle is dimmer henceforth, and will miss long a presence which was always gladdening and beneficent; in the coming storms of political trouble, which heap themselves more and more in ominous clouds on our horizon, one radiant element is to be wanting now.

Mr Buller was in his forty-third year, and had sat in Parliament some twenty of those. A man long kept under, by the peculiarities of his endowment and position; but rising rapidly into importance, of late years; beginning to reap the fruits of long patience, and to see an ever wider field open round him. He was what, in party language, is called a "Reformer," from his earliest youth; and never swerved from that faith, nor could swerve. His luminous sincere intellect laid bare to him in all its abject incoherency the thing that was untrue; which thenceforth became for him a thing that was not tenable, that it was perilous and scandalous to attempt maintaining. Twenty years in the dreary weltering lake of parliamentary confusion, with its disappointments and bewilderments, had not quenched this tendency; in which, as we say, he persevered as by a law of nature itself: for the essence of his mind was clearness, healthy purity, incompatibility with fraud in any of its forms. What he accomplished, therefore, whether great or little, was all to be *added* to the sum of good; none of it to be

deducted. There shone mildly in his whole conduct a beautiful veracity, as if it were unconscious of itself; a perfect spontaneous absence of all cant, hypocrisy and hollow pretence, not in word and act only, but in thought and instinct. To a singular extent it can be said of him that he was a spontaneous clear man. Very gentle too, tho' full of fire; simple, brave, graceful. What he did, and what he said, came from him as light from a luminous body; and had thus always in it a high and rare merit, which any of the more discerning could appreciate fully.

To many, for a long while, Mr Buller passed merely for a man of wit; and certainly his beautiful natural gaiety of character, which by no means meant *levity*, was commonly thought to mean it, and did, for many years, hinder the recognition of his intrinsic higher qualities. Slowly it began to be discovered that, under all this many-coloured radiancy and coruscation, there burnt a most steady light; a sound penetrating intellect, full of adroit resources, and loyal by nature itself to all that was methodic, manful, true;—in brief a mildly resolute, chivalrous and gallant character; capable of doing much serious service.

A man of wit he indisputably was, whatever more; among the wittiest of men. His speech, and manner of being, played everywhere like soft brilliancy of lambent fire round the common objects of the hour; and was, beyond all others that English society could shew, entitled to the name of excellent; for it was spontaneous, like all else in him, genuine, humane,—the glittering play of the soul of a real man. To hear him, the most serious of men might think within himself, "How beautiful is human gaiety too!" Alone of wits, Buller never *made* wit; he could be silent, or grave enough, where better was going; often rather liked to be silent if permissible, and always was so where needful. His wit moreover was ever the ally of wisdom, not of folly or unkindness or injustice; no soul was ever hurt by it: never, we believe never, did his wit offend justly any man; and often have we seen his ready resource relieve one ready to be offended, and light up a pausing circle all into harmony again. In truth it was beautiful to see such clear, almost childlike simplicity of heart, coexisting with the finished dexterities, and large experiences, of a man of the world. Honour to human worth, in whatever form we find it! This man was true to his friends; true to his convictions,—and true without effort, as the magnet is to the North. He was ever found on the right side; helpful to it, not obstructive of it, in all he attempted or performed.

Weak health; a faculty indeed brilliant, clear, prompt, not deficient in depth either, or in any kind of active valour, but wanting the stern energy that could long endure to *continue* in the deep, in the chaotic, new, and painfully incondite,—this marked out for him his limits; which, perhaps with regrets enough,

his natural veracity and practicality would lead him quietly to admit and stand by. He was not the man to grapple, in its dark and deadly dens, with the Lernaean coil of social Hydras; perhaps not under any circumstances: but he did, unassisted, what he could; faithfully himself did something, nay something truly considerable;—and in his *patience* with the much that by him and his strength could not be done, let us grant there was something of beautiful too!

Properly, indeed, his career as a public man was but beginning. In the Office he last held, much was silently expected of him: he himself, too, recognised well what a fearful and immense question this of Pauperism is; with what ominous rapidity the demand for solution of it is pressing on; and how little the world generally is yet aware what methods and principles, new, strange, and altogether contradictory to the shallow maxims and idle philosophies current at present, would be needed for dealing with it! This task he perhaps contemplated with apprehension;—but he is not now to be tried with this, or with any task more. He has fallen, at this point of the march, an honourable soldier; and has left us here, to fight along without him. Be his memory dear and honourable to us, as that of one so worthy ought. What in him was true and valiant endures forevermore,—beyond all memory or record. His light airy brilliancy has suddenly become solemn, fixed in the earnest stillness of Eternity. *There* shall we also, and our little works, all shortly be.

C.

IRELAND AND SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Sir Robert Peel's two speeches on the state of Ireland may be regarded as the most important occurrence of this session, or indeed of many past sessions. Not for their qualities as speeches: on that side, though very excellent on that too, they are very indifferent to us; ingenious words which do not spring from any earnest meaning, and are not to end in any action, being of all human products the plentifullest at present, and the most worthless,—not to say (as we might) far worse than worthless, positively noxious, unwholesome in a high degree to every human virtue, and fast becoming a mere offence and affliction to all serious persons. But as a foreshadow of coming facts for Ireland, these words, of such a man, are of moment to every British citizen; and to the considerable class of British citizens who, this long while past, look with despair on the red-tape doctrines and imbecile performances alone prevalent in official quarters as to this affair, they come like a prophecy of better things, inexpressibly cheering.

For it is a fact, however little it may be surmised in Downing Street at present, that a new condition of affairs has arrived for Ireland and us; that an old condition of affairs has, as it right well deserved to do, fallen irretrievably dead,—lies there, by due course of nature, prostrate in ruin, inanition, and starvation; from which it will never rise alive, and in which no official galvanism (with rates-in-aid, and grants of ten millions, and grants of the twentieth part of one million) can prolong much further its hideous counterfeit of life. Some honour to the statesman,—great and peculiar honour, such as his contemporaries cannot any of them claim,—who admits this fact; accepts it in its alarming undeniable magnitude; and is prepared to deal with it, to rally the valour and intelligence of the British nation against it! This we account important news. A man in

high position, more acquainted with officialities and all their intricacies and details than any other man, and whose words are liable to be demanded of him as deeds, informs us that the time for paltering with Ireland, by palliatives, by makeshifts, and routine tinkerages, is past: that we must quit the region of commonplace officialities altogether in regard to Ireland; strip ourselves bare of those frightful long-accumulated cobwebberies, and coils of red-tape, which tie us up hand and foot, and shut out the light of day from us;—that we must front this Irish monster with real human faculty, if we have such; look into him eye to eye, practically grapple with him strength to strength, and either conquer him or else be devoured by him.

To that alternative, Sir Robert cautiously but distinctly intimates, we have now come. Vain to think of palliating this Irish monster, intimates Sir Robert; vain to try feeding him by Indian meal, or rates-in-aid: he will not feed, he has a stomach like the grave, the whole world cannot feed him! Besides, in sad truth, why feed him; what is the use of him when fed? Sir Robert does not ask this latter question; but tragic fact, in the hearts of all men that *have* humanity, and do reverence the awful being of man,—very loudly asks it. This miserable monster, unless he can radically change himself and become a new creature, ought to *wish* to die. In sad earnest it is so. Brutalities, like Irish society as founded on the late potato, or on the present Downing-Street tinkerage and rate-in-aid, ought not to be allowed to live under the title of human. In the name of Adam's united posterity, and for the honour of the family, they are called to become new creatures, unspeakably improved in various essential respects, or else to die, and disgrace the light no longer! Alive, by Indian meal or the regenerated potato, no human heart could wish this Irish monster. Let him become an unspeakably improved monster; let him at least learn to feed himself, be taught to feed himself, which is the primary stage of all improvement, and first renders improvement possible;—let him become human instead of brutal, or else die. The universe, if he could hear its eternal admonition, perpetually solicits him to do the one or the other. The universe—the potato being dead—has now happily brought it so far that he *must* do the one or the other! For which stern mercy all pious men, and good citizens of this world, are bound to be thankful.

The condition of Ireland, we often enough hear, is frightful; and certainly it is far from a charming condition to anybody just now. It is in fact *our* English share of that "General Bankruptcy of Imposture," which the events of the last year all over Europe have very loudly announced,—somewhat unexpectedly to some. What the fall of Louis Philippe, and the street-barricades of Paris, have been to Europe, the ruin of the potato has been to us. Frightful enough;

yet not without some consolatory features. If "Imposture," official routine, grimace, red-tape, and Parliamentary-eloquence, were really *insolvent*,—unable to perform the task of guiding men, and able only to perform the scandalous make-believe of it,—the sooner that fact was rendered public, and put into the gazette, it will be the better and not the worse for all parties! The truly frightful element in the condition of Ireland, for a good while past, has been the official manner of dealing with its condition. The official theory, so far as one could see, was that nothing specially new had occurred in Ireland; that Ireland had indeed lost the potato, but through the blessing of Heaven would perhaps get it again; for the rest, that Ireland must be dealt with as heretofore,—kept from revolt by Attorney-Generals and armed police, and kept from starvation by Indian meal, (mingling the due modicum of *soot* or "workhouse test" in it, to make it disgusting enough,) till once the potato returned, after which times would perhaps mend a little. This was the official theory, reduced to practice with great frankness, in a more or less magnificent manner, extending to tens of millions or to tens of thousands, according as the circumstances, as the English nation's strength of purse and strength of faith (both rapidly *declining*, as was natural, in such an enterprise) would permit.

To maintain 50,000 armed policemen, horse, foot, and artillery, for the tranquillizing of a sister island, which you had to keep alive with Indian meal at the same time, did seem rather anomalous to the English mind. The poor English mind has immense practice in anomalies, is everywhere quite used to anomalies, and is of thick-skinned nature withal; nevertheless there are things a little strong for it,—and the thickest-skinned mind does feel money oozing from its pocket. The finest peasantry in the world,—are they in sad truth to become a finest human pheasantry; fed all winter, regardless of expense, that in summer you may have the satisfaction, with your fifty thousand keepers, of shooting them? The world heretofore saw nowhere such gigantic sportsmanship! In fact, it has long been a thing—to keep *silence* upon; no polite speech being possible about it. And the Duffy Trial—with your Attorney-General, and all the learned wigs, and best-trained official intellects of Ireland, struggling, toiling with the enthusiasm of Kilkenny cats, these five months, to ascertain by the uttermost exertion of their law-wit and official machinery, Whether a man *has* a nose upon his face? and unable hitherto to ascertain it, finding it doubtful hitherto;—this also is a thing to be silent upon: this,—which indeed lets us see a little into the soul of the whole abomination, and how a "throne of iniquity," and throne of *lies*, has long peaceably established itself in that wretched section of God's earth, and dominates everywhere, unquestioned there from sea to sea,

till at last by blessed death of the potato, and by other blessed helps, it has now fallen *bankrupt*,—is a sight to create *un*utterable reflections!

How long placid commonplace is to continue its paltering with such a perilous immeasurable business for us all? that is, and has been more and more emphatically of late, the question with every thinking man. And sure enough, if there be any truth in almanacks, if this is indeed the year 1849, and from side to side of Europe, "Imposture," impotent speciosity, and the reign of red-tape do lie hopelessly "bankrupt," doomed to inevitable swift abolition, let what result soever follow,—this question of "How long?" is profoundly interesting! For it means, What chance have *we*, inexpressibly favoured by Heaven with some respite, and space for repentance and amendment, to escape conflagration and destruction? Time presses, the continually advancing peril presses: shall we use our time, shall we squander and misuse it? Ireland is frightful; the vanguard of an England, of a British Empire, ripening daily towards unfathomable issues, which the highest wisdom, and heroic virtues, and manful veracities, such as have long been asleep among us, will be required to deal with: Ireland is frightful; but Ireland is by no means the frightfullest. A chief Pilot of the Nation steering his ship, on these terms, in such a condition of the elements, he is properly the frightful phænomenon. "Starboard, larboard!" there stands he, in his old pea-jacket, with his old official equanimity, Foreign-office lantern hung ahead; and steers and veers, now clear of the Disraeli Scylla on this hand, now of the Cobden Charybdis on that; and thinks the sea is a little knotty, and squalls are out; but hopes confidently the weather must mend, asks you meanwhile by the look of his eye, If the steering is not good? The unhappy mortal! and *smoke* is issuing from every port-hole; and before long, with this steerage, there will be news for him and us! Such a phænomenon of a steersman, he, I say, is the alarming one. Placid commonplace, and the thing is not "common"; the thing is huge and new, and springs from the foundations of the world; and will not have become "common" till after strenuous generations have spent themselves to subdue it for us! New æras, changed circumstances,—universal Bankruptcy of Imposture, beneficent Doom of the Potato,—do actually come; the world's history, since its creation, is that of their coming. Recognize them; look with man's eyes into them; they too can be dealt with, they too are *blessings* of the Supreme Power. Look with poor pedant *spectacles* into them; recognize them not, pass on as if they were not, they will make you know that they *are;* they will grind you to pieces if you do not get to recognize them, and to conquer them too! The routine steersman, in this extremely unusual condition of the ship, he—what shall we do with him? The French papers said last year, he felt the fatigues of office disagree with him,

and was about to "retire from public affairs *à tout jamais*." "*A tout jamais*, for ever and a day," said the French editors! He really ought to consider it; and we. For the time is most *un*common, singular as any we have had these thousand years or more: and really, if England have a distinguished constructive talent, equal to conquering the ugliest jungles yet met with; and be, as somebody has sulkily said, "the biggest *beaver* in this sublunary creation,"—we may ask with considerable interest, Is this gentleman in pea-jacket, then, who steers in this extraordinary manner, is he the living emblem, solemnly selected representative, practical focus, and working overseer of your English constructive faculty? The consummate flower of what you can do in the constructive line, at present, is this? You have had Cromwells, Longshank Edwards, Henry Plantagenets, Wilhelmus Conquestors; not to mention Arkwrights, Brindleys, Shakspeares, Samuel Johnsons: and this is what, in the progress of ages, you have finally got to? This; and, buried under continents of tape-thrums, dead traditions, and long-accumulated cobwebs, you *cannot* find a better than this;—and it is the year 1849; and "Imposture," everywhere in open bankruptcy, is rushing towards the Abyss! Does the idea, if not of suicide, at least of calling in the lawyers and settling your earthly affairs, never occur to you?

Sir Robert Peel's speech we take as a prophecy,—and otherwise, or in the form of a project or practical proposal, at this vague incipient stage, we are not called to consider it;—sure prophecy that the baneful disgraceful empire of red-tape and imbecile routine, in this matter, has become intolerable to gods and men, and is to *end* before long: that whosoever pretends to govern England or Ireland henceforth, must look out for other methods, or prepare to take himself away—the sooner the better! Truer message, we venture to say, or more beneficent and indispensable, has not been uttered in any Parliament this long while past. In the name of all that is real and not imaginary in England, we joyfully accept the omen! C.

INDIAN MEAL.

It is much to be regretted that no individual of the many large classes whose business and interest it might seem to be, has yet taken any effective steps towards opening to our population the immense resource of Indian corn as an article of food. To all that have well considered it, this grain seems likely henceforth to be the staff of life for over-crowded Europe; capable not only of replacing the deceased potato which has now left us, but of infinitely surpassing in usefulness and cheapness all that the potato ever was.

For general attainability, there was no article of food ever comparable to it before: a grown man, in any part of Europe accessible by sea, can be supported on it, at this date, wholesomely, and, if we understood the business, even agreeably, at the rate of little more than a penny a-day;—which surely is cheap enough. Neither, as the article is not grown at home, and can be procured only by commerce, need political economists dread new 'Irish difficulties' from the cheapness of it. Nor is there danger, for unlimited periods yet, of its becoming dearer: it grows in the warm latitudes of the earth, profusely, with the whole impulse of the sun; can grow over huge tracts and continents lying vacant hitherto, festering hitherto as pestiferous jungles, yielding only rattlesnakes and yellow-fever:—it is probable, if we were driven to it, the planet Earth, sown where fit with Indian corn, might produce a million times as much food as it now does, or has ever done! To the disconsolate Malthusian this grain ought to be a sovereign comfort. In the single Valley of the Mississippi alone, were the rest of the earth all lying fallow, there could Indian corn enough be grown to support the whole Posterity of Adam now alive: let the disconsolate Malthusian fling his 'geometrical series' into the corner; assist wisely in the 'free-trade movement;' and dry up his

tears. For a thousand years or two, there is decidedly no danger of our wanting food, if we do not want good sense and industry first. In a word, this invaluable foreign corn is not only calculated, as we said, to replace the defunct potato, but to surpass it a thousandfold in benefit for man: and if the death of the potato have been the means of awakening us to such an immeasurably superior resource, we shall, in addition to our sorrowful Irish reasons, have many joyful English, European, American and universal reasons, to thank Heaven that the potato has been so kind as die!

In the meanwhile, though extensively employed in the British Islands within these three years, Indian corn cannot yet be said to have come into use; for only the bungled counterfeit of it is hitherto in use; which may be well called not the use of Indian corn, but the abuse of it. Government did indeed, on the first failure of the potato, send abroad printed papers about the cooking of this article, for behoof of the poor; and once, I recollect there circulated in all the newspapers, for some weeks, promulgated by some 'Peace Missionary,' a set of flowery prophetic recipes for making Indian meal into most palatable puddings, with 'quarts of cream,' 'six eggs well whipt,' &c.,—ingredients out of which the British female intellect used to make tolerable puddings, even without Indian meal, and by recipes of its own! Those recipes were circulated among the population,—of little or no value, I now find, even as recipes;—but in the meanwhile there was this fatal omission made, that no Indian meal on fair terms, and no good Indian meal on any terms at all, was or is yet attainable among us to try by any recipe. In that unfortunate condition, I say, matters still remain.

The actual value of Indian meal by retail with a free demand, is about one penny per pound; or with a poor demand, as was inevitable at first, but need not have been necessary long, let us say three-halfpence a pound. The London shops, two years ago, on extensive inquiry, were not found to yield any of it under threepence a pound,—the price of good wheaten flour; somewhere between twice and three times the real cost of Indian meal. But farther, and worse, all the Indian meal so purchasable was found to have a *bitter* fusty taste in it; which, after multiplied experiments, was not eradicable by any cookery, though long continued boiling in clear water did abate it considerably. Our approved method of cookery came at last to be, that of making the meal with either hot or cold water into a thick batter, and boiling it, tied up in a linen cloth or set in a crockery shape, for four or sometimes seven hours;—which produced a thick handsome-looking pudding, such as one might have hoped would prove very eligible for eating instead of potatoes along with meat. Hope however did not

correspond to experience. This handsome-looking pudding combined readily with any kind of sauce, sweet, spicy, oleaginous; but except the old tang of bitterness, it had little taste of its own; and along with meat, 'it could,' like Charles of Sweden's bread, 'be eaten,' but was never good, at best was barely endurable.

Yet the Americans praised their Indian meal; celebrated its sapid excellencies, and in Magazine-Novels, as we could see, 'lyrically recognised' them. Where could the error lie? This meal, of a beautiful golden colour, equably ground into fine hard powder, and without speck or admixture of any kind, seemed to the sight, to the feel and the smell, faultless; only to the taste was there this ineradicable final bitterness, which in bad samples even made the throat smart; and, as the meal seemed otherwise tasteless, acquired for it, from unpatriotic mockers among us, the name of 'soot-and-sawdust meal.'—American friends at last informed us that the meal was *fusty*, spoiled; that Indian meal, especially in warm weather, did not keep sweet above a few weeks;—that we ought to procure Indian corn, and have it ground ourselves. Indian corn was accordingly procured; with difficulty from the eastern City regions; and with no better result, nay with a worse. How old the corn might be we, of course, knew only by testimony not beyond suspicion; perhaps it was corn of the *second* year in bond; but at all events the meal of it too was bitter; and the new evil was added of an intolerable mixture of *sand;* which, on reflection, we discovered to proceed from the English millstones; the English millstones, too soft for this new substance, could not grind it, could only grind themselves and it, and so produce a mixture of meal and sand. Soot-and-sawdust meal with the addition of brayed flint: there was plainly no standing of this. I had to take farewell of this Indian meal experiment; my poor patriotic attempt to learn eating the new food of mankind, had to terminate here. My molendinary resources (as you who read my name will laughingly admit) were small; my individual need of meal was small;—in fine my stock of patience too was done.

This being the condition under which Indian meal is hitherto known to the British population, no wonder they have little love for it, no wonder it has got a bad name among them! 'Soot-and-sawdust meal, with an admixture of brayed flint:' this is not a thing to fall in love with; nothing but starvation can well reconcile a man to this. The starving Irish paupers, we accordingly find, do but eat and curse; complain loudly that their meal is unwholesome; that it is bad and bitter; that it is this and that;—to all which there is little heed paid, and the official person has to answer with a shrug of the shoulders. In the unwholesomeness, except perhaps for defect of boiling, I do not at all believe; but as to the bitter uncooked unpalatability my evidence is complete.

Well; three days ago I received, direct from the barn of an American friend, as it was stowed there last autumn, a small barrel of Indian corn in the natural state; large ears or cobs of the Indian corn, merely stript of its loose leaves. On each ear, which is of obelisk shape, about the size of a large thick truncated carrot, there are perhaps about five hundred grains, arranged in close order in their eight columns; the colour gold yellow, or in some cases with a flecker of blood-red. These grains need to be rubbed off, and ground by some rational miller, whose millstones are hard enough for the work: that is all the secret of preparing them. And here comes the important point. This grain, I now for the first time find, is *sweet*, among the sweetest; with an excellent rich taste something like that of nuts; indeed it seems to me, perhaps from novelty in part, decidedly sweeter than wheat, or any other grain I have ever tasted. So that, it would appear, all our experiments hitherto on Indian meal have been vitiated to the heart by a deadly original sin, or fundamental falsity to start with:—as if in experimenting on Westphalian ham, all the ham presented to us hitherto for trial had been—in a *rancid* state. The difference between ham and rancid-ham, M. Soyer well knows, is considerable! *This* is the difference however, this highly considerable one, we have had to encounter hitherto in all our experiences of Indian meal. Ground by a reasonable miller, who grinds only it and not his millstones along with it, this grain, I can already promise, will make excellent, cleanly, wholesome, and palatable eating; and be fit for the cook's art under all manner of conditions; ready to combine with whatever judicious condiment, and reward well whatever wise treatment, he applies to it: and indeed on the whole, I should say, a more promising article could not well be submitted to him, if his art is really a useful one.

These facts, in a time of potato-failures, apprehension of want, and occasional fits of wide-spread too-authentic want and famine, when M. Soyer has to set about concocting miraculously cheap soup, and the Government to make enormous grants and rates-in-aid, seem to me of a decidedly comfortable kind;—well deserving practical investigation by the European Soyers, Governments, Poor-law Boards, Mendicity Societies, Friends of Distressed Needlewomen, and Friends of the Human Species, who are often sadly in alarm as to the 'food prospects,'—and who have here, if they will clear the entrance, a most extensive harbour of refuge. Practical English enterprise, independent of benevolence, might now find, and will by and bye have to find, in reference to this foreign article of food, an immense developement. And as for specially benevolent bodies of men, whose grand text is the 'food prospects,' they, I must declare,

are wandering in darkness with broad day beside them, till they teach us to get Indian meal, such as our American cousins get, that we may eat it with thanks to Heaven as they do. New food, whole continents of food;—and not rancid ham, but the actual sound Westphalia! To this consummation we must come; there is no other harbour of refuge for hungry human populations:—but all the distressed population fleets and disconsolate Malthusians of the world may ride there; and surely it is great pity the entrance were not cleared a little, and a few buoys set up, and soundings taken by competent persons.

18 *April*, 1849. C.

TREES OF LIBERTY.

[A friend with a surly, satirical face flings in our way this banter upon "Irish indolence." Very well friend; we shame the devil and print your libel. *Fas et ab hoste doceri*. If there be any seeds of truth in it they will grow, when the chaff and wrappage only make manure for them.]

(From Mr. Bramble's unpublished *Arboretum Hibernicum*.)

Many Irishmen talk of dying, &c., for Ireland, and I really believe almost every Irishman now alive longs in his way for an opportunity to do the dear old country some good. Opportunities of at once usefully and conspicuously "dying" for countries are not frequent, and, truly, the rarer they are the better; but the opportunity of usefully if unconspicuously living for one's country, this was never denied to any man. Before "dying" for your country, think my friends, in how many quiet strenuous ways you might beneficially live for it.

Every patriotic Irishman (that is, by hypothesis, almost every Irishman now alive), who would so fain make the dear old country a present of his whole life and self, why does he not for example—directly after reading this, and choosing a feasible spot—at least, plant one tree? That were a small act of self-devotion, small, but feasible. Him such tree will never shelter. Hardly any mortal but could manage that—hardly any mortal, if he were serious in it, but could plant and nourish into growth one tree. Eight million trees before the present generation run out, that were an indubitable acquisition for Ireland, for it is one of the barest, raggedest countries now known: far too ragged a country with patches of beautiful park and fine cultivation like shreds of bright scarlet on a

beggar's clouted coat—a country that stands decidedly in need of shelter, shade, and ornamental fringing, look at its landscape where you will. Once, as the old chroniclers write, "a squirrel (by bending its course a little, and taking a longish leap here and there) could have run from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway without once touching the ground;" but now, eight million trees, and I rather conjecture eight times eight million would be very welcome in that part of the empire. Of fruit trees, though these too are possible enough, I do not yet insist, but trees—at least, trees.

That eight million persons will be persuaded to plant each his tree we cannot expect just yet; but do thou, my friend, in silence go and plant thine—that thou canst do; one most small duty, but a real one, if among the smallest conceivable, and a duty which henceforth it will be a sweet possession for thee to have lying *done*. Ireland for the present is not to be accounted a pleasant landscape—vigorous corn, but thistles and docks equally vigorous; ulcers of reclaimable bog lying black, miry and abominable at intervals of a few miles; no tree shading you, nor fence that avails to turn cattle—most fences merely, as it were, soliciting the cattle to be so good as not come through—by no means a beautiful country just now! But it tells all men how beautiful it might be. Alas, it carries on it, as the surface of this earth ever does ineffaceably legible, the physiognomy of the people that have inhabited it: a people of holed breeches, dirty faces, ill-roofed huts—a people of impetuosity and of levity—of vehemence, impatience, imperfect, fitful industry, imperfect, fitful *veracity*. Oh Heaven! there lies the woe of woes, which is the root of all.

"Trees of liberty," though an Abbe wrote a book on them, and incalculable trouble otherwise was taken, have not succeeded well in these ages. Plant you your eight million trees of shade, shelter, ornament, fruit: that is a symbol much more likely to be prophetic. Each man's tree of industry will be, of a surety, *his* tree of liberty; and the sum of them, never doubt of it, will be Ireland's.

THE OPERA.*

["Dear P.,—Not having anything of my own which I could contribute (as is my wish and duty) to this pious Adventure of yours, and not being able in these busy days to get anything ready, I decide to offer you a bit of an Excerpt from that singular *Conspectus of England*, lately written, not yet printed, by Professor Ezechiel Peasemeal, a distinguished American friend of mine. Dr. Peasemeal will excuse my printing it here. His *Conspectus*, a work of some extent, has already been crowned by the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Buncombe, which includes, as you know, the chief thinkers of the New World; and it will probably be printed entire in their 'Transactions' one day. Meanwhile let your readers have the first taste of it; and much good may it do them and you!"—T. C.]

Music is well said to be the speech of angels; in fact, nothing among the utterances allowed to man is felt to be so divine. It brings us near to the Infinite; we look for moments, across the cloudy elements, into the eternal Sea of Light, when song leads and inspires us. Serious nations, all nations that can still listen to the mandate of Nature, have prized song and music as the highest; as a vehicle for worship, for prophecy, and for whatsoever in them was divine. Their singer was a *vates*, admitted to the council of the universe, friend of the gods, and choicest benefactor to man.

* Keepsake for 1852.—The 'dear P.' there, I recollect, was my old friend Procter (Barry Cornwall); and his 'pious Adventure' had reference to that same Publication, under touching human circumstances which had lately arisen.

Reader, it was actually so in Greek, in Roman, in Moslem, Christian, most of all in Old-Hebrew times: and if you look how it now is, you will find a change that should astonish you. Good Heavens, from a Psalm of Asaph to a seat at the London Opera in the Haymarket, what a road have men travelled! The waste that is made in music is probably among the saddest of all our squanderings of God's gifts. Music has, for a long time past, been avowedly mad, divorced from sense and the reality of things; and runs about now as an open Bedlamite, for a good many generations back, bragging that she has nothing to do with sense and reality, but with fiction and delirium only; and stares with unaffected amazement, not able to suppress an elegant burst of witty laughter, at my suggesting the old fact to her.

Fact nevertheless it is, forgotten, and fallen ridiculous as it may be. Tyrtæus, who had a little music, did not sing Barbers of Seville, but the need of beating back one's country's enemies; a most *true* song, to which the hearts of men did burst responsive into fiery melody, followed by fiery strokes before long. Sophocles also sang, and showed in grand dramatic rhythm and melody, not a fable but a fact, the best he could interpret it: the judgments of Eternal Destiny upon the erring sons of men. Æschylus, Sophocles, all noble poets were priests as well; and sang the *truest* (which was also the divinest) they had been privileged to discover here below. To 'sing the praise of God,' that, you will find, if you can interpret old words, and see what new things they mean, was always, and will always be, the business of the singer. He who forsakes that business, and, wasting our divinest gifts, sings the praise of Chaos, what shall we say of him!

David, king of Judah, a soul inspired by divine music and much other heroism, was wont to pour himself in song; he, with seer's eye and heart, discerned the Godlike amid the Human; struck tones that were an echo of the sphere-harmonies, and are still felt to be such. Reader, art thou one of a thousand, able still to *read* a Psalm of David, and catch some echo of it through the old dim centuries; feeling far off, in thy own heart, what it once was to other hearts made as thine? To sing it attempt not, for it is impossible in this late time; only know that it once was sung. Then go to the Opera, and hear, with unspeakable reflections, what things men now sing! * * *

Of the Haymarket Opera my account, in fine, is this:—Lustres, candelabras, painting, gilding at discretion: a hall as of the Caliph Alraschid, or him that commanded the slaves of the Lamp; a hall as if fitted up by the genies, regardless of expense. Upholstery, and the outlay of human capital, could do no more. Artists too, as they are called, have been got together from the ends

of the world, regardless likewise of expense, to do dancing and singing, some of them even geniuses in their craft. One singer in particular, called Coletti or some such name, seemed to me, by the cast of his face, by the tones of his voice, by his general bearing, so far as I could read it, to be a man of deep and ardent sensibilities, of delicate intuitions, just sympathies; originally an almost poetic soul, or man of *genius* as we term it; stamped by Nature as capable of far other work than squalling here, like a blind Samson, to make the Philistines sport!

Nay, all of them had aptitudes, perhaps of a distinguished kind; and must, by their own and other people's labour, have got a training equal or superior in toilsomeness, earnest assiduity, and patient travail, to what breeds men to the most arduous trades. I speak not of kings, grandees, or the like show-figures; but few soldiers, judges, men of letters, can have had such pains taken with them. The very ballet-girls, with their muslin saucers round them, were perhaps little short of miraculous; whirling and spinning there in strange mad vortexes, and then suddenly fixing themselves motionless, each upon her left or right great-toe, with the other leg stretched out at an angle of ninety degrees;—as if you had suddenly pricked into the floor, by one of their points, a pair, or rather a multitudinous cohort, of mad restlessly jumping and clipping scissors, and so bidden them rest, with opened blades, and stand still, in the Devil's name! A truly notable motion; marvellous, almost miraculous, were not the people there so used to it. Motion peculiar to the Opera; perhaps the ugliest, and surely one of the most difficult, ever taught a female creature in this world. Nature abhors it; but Art does at least admit it to border on the impossible. One little Cerito, or Taglioni the Second, that night when I was there, went bounding from the floor as if she had been made of Indian-rubber, or filled with hydrogen gas, and inclined by positive levity to bolt through the ceiling: perhaps neither Semiramis nor Catherine the Second had bred herself so carefully.

Such talent, and such martyrdom of training, gathered from the four winds, was now here, to do its feat and be paid for it. Regardless of expense, indeed! The purse of Fortunatus seemed to have opened itself, and the divine art of Musical Sound and Rhythmic Motion was welcomed with an explosion of all the magnificences which the other arts, fine and coarse, could achieve. For you are to think of some Rossini or Bellini in the rear of it, too; to say nothing of the Stanfields, and hosts of scene-painters, machinists, engineers, enterprisers;—fit to have taken Gibraltar, written the History of England, or reduced Ireland into Industrial Regiments, had they so set their minds to it!

Alas, and of all these notable or noticeable human talents, and excellent perseverances and energies, backed by mountains of wealth, and led by the

divine art of Music and Rhythm vouchsafed by Heaven to them and us, what was to be the issue here this evening? An hour's amusement, not amusing either, but wearisome and dreary, to a high-dizened select Populace of male and female persons, who seemed to me not much worth amusing! Could any one have pealed into their hearts once, one true thought, and glimpse of self-vision: "High-dizened, most expensive persons, Aristocracy so-called, or *Best* of the World, beware, beware what proofs you give of betterness and bestness!" And then the salutary pang of conscience in reply: "A select Populace, with money in its purse, and drilled a little by the posture-master: good Heavens! if that were what, here and everywhere in God's Creation, I *am?* And a world all dying because I am, and shew myself to be, and to have long been, even that? John, the carriage, the carriage; swift! Let me go home in silence, to reflection, perhaps to sackcloth and ashes!" This, and not amusement, would have profited those high-dizened persons.

Amusement, at any rate, they did not get from Euterpe and Melpomene. These two Muses, sent for, regardless of expense, I could see, were but the vehicle of a kind of service which I judged to be Paphian rather. Young beauties of both sexes used their opera-glasses, you could notice, not entirely for looking at the stage. And it must be owned the light, in this explosion of all the upholsteries and the human fine arts and coarse, was magical; and made your fair one an Armida,—if you liked her better so. Nay, certain old Improper-Females (of quality), in their rouge and jewels, even these looked some *reminiscence* of enchantment; and I saw this and the other lean domestic Dandy, with icy smile on his old worn face; this and the other Marquis Chatabagues, Prince Mahogany, or the like foreign Dignitary, tripping into the boxes of said females; grinning there awhile, with dyed moustachios and macassar-oil graciosity, and then tripping out again:—and, in fact, I perceived that Coletti and Cerito and the Rhythmic Arts were a mere accompaniment here.

Wonderful to see; and sad, if you had eyes! Do but think of it. Cleopatra threw pearls into her drink, in mere waste; which was reckoned foolish of her. But here had the Modern Aristocracy of men brought the divinest of its Arts, heavenly Music itself; and, piling all the upholsteries and ingenuities that other human art could do, had lighted them into a bonfire to illuminate an hour's flirtation of Chatabagues, Mahogany, and these improper persons! Never in Nature had I seen such waste before. O Coletti, you whose inborn melody, once of kindred as I judged to 'the Melodies Eternal,' might have valiantly weeded out this and the other false thing from the ways of men, and made a bit of God's Creation more melodious,—they have purchased you away from that; chained you to

the wheel of Prince Mahogany's chariot, and here you make sport for a macassar Chatabagues and his improper-females past the prime of life! Wretched spiritual Nigger, oh, if you *had* some genius, and were not a born Nigger with mere appetite for pumpkin, should you have endured such a lot? I lament for *you*, beyond all other expenses. Other expenses are light; you are the Cleopatra's pearl that should not have been flung into Mahogany's claret-cup. And Rossini too, and Mozart and Bellini——Oh Heavens, when I think that Music too is condemned to be mad and to burn herself, to this end, on such a funeral pile,—your celestial Opera-house grows dark and infernal to me! Behind its glitter stalks the shadow of Eternal Death; through it too I look not 'up into the divine eye,' as Richter has it, 'but down into the bottomless eyesocket'—not up towards God, Heaven, and the Throne of Truth, but too truly down towards Falsity, Vacuity, and the dwelling-place of Everlasting Despair. * * *

Good sirs, surely I by no means expect the Opera will abolish itself this year or the next. But if you ask me, Why heroes are not born now, why heroisms are not done now? I will answer you, It is a world all calculated for strangling of heroisms. At every ingress into life, the genius of the world lies in wait for heroisms, and by seduction or compulsion unweariedly does its utmost to pervert them or extinguish them. Yes; to its Hells of sweating tailors, distressed needlewomen, and the like, this Opera of yours is the appropriate Heaven! Of a truth, if you will read a Psalm of Asaph till you understand it, and then come hither and hear the Rossini-and-Coletti Psalm, you will find the ages have altered a good deal.* * *

Nor do I wish all men to become Psalmist Asaphs and fanatic Hebrews. Far other is my wish; far other, and wider, is now my notion of this Universe. Populations of stern faces, stern as any Hebrew, but capable withal of bursting into inextinguishable laughter on occasion:—do you understand that new and better form of character? Laughter also, if it come from the heart, is a heavenly thing. But, at least and lowest, I would have you a Population abhorring phantasms;—abhorring *unveracity* in all things; and in your 'amusements,' which are voluntary and not compulsory things, abhorring it most impatiently of all.***

PROJECT OF A NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF SCOTTISH PORTRAITS.

To David Laing, *Esquire (Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), Signet Library, Edinburgh.*

My Dear Sir, Chelsea, 3*d May* 1854.

With regard to that *General Exhibition of Scottish Historical Portraits*, it is certain there are many people more qualified to speak than I. In fact, it has never been with me more than an aspiration; an ardent wish, rather without much hope: to make it into an executable project, there are needed far other capacities and opportunities than mine. However, you shall at once hear what my crude notions on the subject are or have been, since you wish it.

First of all, then, I have to tell you, as a fact of personal experience, that in all my poor Historical investigations it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after; a good *Portrait* if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, *any* representation, made by a faithful human creature, of that Face and Figure, which *he* saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all. This, which is my own deep experience, I believe to be, in a deeper or less deep degree, the universal one; and that every student and reader of History, who strives earnestly to conceive for himself what manner of Fact and *Man* this or the other vague Historical *Name* can have been, will, as the first and directest indication of all, search eagerly for a Portrait, for all the reasonable Portraits there are; and never rest till he have made out, if possible, what the man's natural face was like. Often I have found

a Portrait superior in real instruction to half-a-dozen written 'Biographies,' as Biographies are written;—or rather, let me say, I have found that the Portrait was as a small lighted *candle* by which the Biographies could for the first time be *read*, and some human interpretation be made of them; the *Biographied* Personage no longer an empty impossible Phantasm, or distracting Aggregate of inconsistent rumours—(in which state, alas his usual one, he is *worth* nothing to anybody, except it be as a dried thistle for Pedants to thrash, and for men to fly out of the way of),—but yielding at last some features which one could admit to be human. Next in directness are a man's genuine Letters, if he have left any, and you can get to *read* them to the bottom: of course, a man's *actions* are the most complete and indubitable stamp of him; but without these aids, of Portraits and Letters, they are in themselves so infinitely abstruse a stamp, and so confused by foreign rumour and false tradition of them, as to be oftenest undecipherable with certainty.

This kind of value and interest I may take as the highest pitch of interest there is in Historical Portraits; this, which the zealous and studious Historian feels in them: and one may say, all men, just in proportion as they are '*Historians*' (which every mortal is, who has a *memory*, and attachments and possessions in the Past), will feel something of the same,—every human creature, something. So that I suppose there is absolutely nobody so dark and dull, and every way sunk and stupified, that a Series of Historical Portraits, especially of his native country, would not be of real interest to him;—*real* I mean, as coming from himself and his own heart, not *imaginary*, and preached in upon him by the Newspapers; which is an important distinction.

And all this is quite apart from the *artistic* value of the Portraits (which also is a real value, of its sort, especially for some classes, however exaggerated it may sometimes be): all this is a quantity to be *added* to the artistic value, whatever it may be; and appeals to a far deeper and more universal principle in human nature than the love of Pictures is. Of which principle some dimmer or clearer form may be seen continually active wherever men are;—in your Antiquarian Museum, for example, may be seen, giving very conspicuous proofs of itself, sanctioned more or less by all the world! If one would buy an indisputably authentic *old shoe* of William Wallace for hundreds of pounds and run to look at it from all ends of Scotland, what would one give for an authentic visible shadow of his face, could such, by art natural or art magic, now be had!

It has always struck me that Historical Portrait Galleries far transcend in worth all other kinds of National Collections of Pictures whatever; that in fact they ought to exist (for many reasons, of all degrees of weight) in every country,

as among the most popular and cherished National Possessions:—and it is not a joyful reflection, but an extremely mournful one, that in no country is there at present such a thing to be found. What Louis-Philippe may have collected, in the way of French Historical Portrait, at Versailles, I did not see: if worth much (which I hear it is not), it might have proved the best memorial left by him, one day. Chancellor Clarendon made a brave attempt in that kind for England; but his House and 'Gallery' fell all asunder, in a sad way; and as yet there has been no second attempt that I can hear of. As matters stand, Historical Portraits abound in England; but where they are, or where any individual of them is, no man knows, or can discover except by groping and hunting (*underground*, as it were, and like the mole!) in an almost desperate manner: even among the intelligent and learned of your acquaintance, you inquire to no purpose. Nor is the English National Gallery poorer in this respect than others,—perhaps even much the reverse. The sad rule holds in all countries. In the Dresden Gallery, for instance, you find Flayings of Bartholomew, Flayings of Marsyas, Rapes of the Sabines: but if you ask for a Portrait of Martin Luther, of Friedrich the Wise, nay even of August the Big, of Marshal Saxe or poor Count Brühl, you will find no satisfactory answer. In Berlin itself, which affects to be a wiser city, I found, not long ago, Picture Galleries not a few, with ancient and modern *virtù* in abundance and superabundance,—whole acres of mythological smearing (Tower of Babel, and I know not what), by Kaulbach and others, still going on: but a *genuine Portrait of Frederic the Great* was a thing I could nowhere hear of. That is strange, but that is true. I roamed through endless lines of Pictures; inquired far and wide, even Sculptor Rauch could tell me nothing: at last it was chiefly by good luck that the thing I was in quest of turned up.—This I find to be one of the saddest of those few defects in the world which are easily capable of remedy: I hope you in Scotland, in the 'new National Museum' we hear talk of, will have a good eye to this, and remedy it in your own case! Scotland at present is not worse than other countries in the point in question: but neither is it at all better; and as Scotland, unlike some other countries, *has* a History of a very readable nature, and has never published even an *engraved* series of National Portraits, perhaps the evil is more sensible and patent there than elsewhere. It is an evil which should be everywhere remedied: and if Scotland be the first to set an example in that respect, Scotland will do honourably by herself, and achieve a benefit to all the world.

From this long Prologue, if you have patience to consider it over, you will see sufficiently what my notion of the main rules for executing the Project would

be. The grand interest to be held in view is that which I have defined as the *Historian's*, the ingenuous sincere *Student of History's*. Ingenuous and sincere student; not *pedantic*, fantastic and imaginary! It seems to me all *real* interest for the other classes of mankind, down to the most ignorant class, may well be considered as only a more and more diluted form of that interest. The rule therefore is, Walk straight towards that; not refusing to look to the right and left, but keeping your face steadily on that: if you can manage to secure that *well*, all else will follow from it, or attend it. Ask always, What would the best-informed and most ingenuous Scottish soul like most to see, for illuminating and verifying of Scottish History to himself? This is what it concerns us to try if we can get for him and for the world;—and on the whole this only; for it is certain, all other men will by and by follow this best-informed and most ingenuous one; and at the end of the account, if you have served him well, you will turn out to have served everybody well.

Great zeal, great industry will of course be needed in hunting up what Portraits there are, scattered wide over country mansions in all parts of Scotland;—in gathering in your raw-material, so to speak. Next, not less, but even more important, will be skill,—knowledge, judgment, and above all, fidelity,—in selecting, exhibiting and elucidating these. That indeed, I reckon, will be the vitallest condition of all; the cardinal point, on which success or failure will turn. You will need the best Pictorial judgment (some faithful critic who really *knows* the Schools and Epochs of Art a little, and can help towards the solution of so many things that will depend on that); especially all the *Historical* knowledge and good sense that can be combined upon the business will be indispensable! For the rest, I would sedulously avoid all concern with the vulgar Showman or Charlatan line of action in this matter. For though the thing must depend, a good deal at least, on popular support, the real way to get that (especially in such a matter) is, to deserve it: the thing can by no means be done by *Yankee-Barnum* methods; nor should it, if it could.—In a word, here as everywhere, to winnow out the chaff of the business, and present in a clear and pure state what of *wheat* (little or much) may be in it; on this, as I compute, the Project will stand or fall. If faithfully executed,—the chaff actually well suppressed, the wheat honestly given,—I cannot doubt but it might succeed. Let it but promise to deserve success, I suppose honourable help might be got for it among the wealthier and wiser classes of Scotchmen.

But to come now to your more specific questions, I should be inclined, on the above principles, to judge—

1°. That no living Scotchman's portrait should be admitted, however 'Historical' it promised to be. And I would farther counsel that you should be extremely chary about such 'Historical men' as have died within the last twenty-five or thirty years; it requires always the space of a generation to discriminate between popular monstrosities and Historical realities in the matter of Men,—to let mere dust-clouds settle into their natural place and bulk. But from that point, especially from the beginning of this century, you have free scope, and ever freer, backwards to the very beginning of things,—which, alas, in the Pictorial respect, I fear will only be some two or three centuries, or little more! The oldest Scottish portrait I can recollect to have seen, of any worth, is that of James IV. (and only as an engraving, the original at Taymouth), though probably enough you may know of older. But for the earlier figures,—I would go back to Colm and Adamnan,—if I *could*, by any old illuminated missal or otherwise? You will have engravings, coins, casts of sepulchral monuments—I have seen Bruce's *skull*, at least, cast in plaster!—and remember always that any genuine help to conceive the actual likeness of the man will be welcome, in these as indeed in all cases. The one question is, that they be genuine (or, if not, well marked as *doubtful*, and in what degree doubtful); that they *be* 'helps,' instead of *hindrances* and criminal misguidances!

2°. In regard to modern pictures representing historical events, my vote would clearly be, To make the rule absolute *not* to admit any one of these; at least not till I saw one that was *other* than an infatuated blotch of insincere ignorance, and a mere distress to an earnest and well-instructed eye! Since the time of *Hollar*, there is not the least *veracity*, even of intention, in such things; and, for most part, there is an *ignorance* altogether abject. *Wilkie's John Knox*, for example: no picture that I ever saw by a man of genius can well be, in regard to all earnest purposes, a more perfect failure! Can anything, in fact, be more entirely *useless* for earnest purposes, more *un*like what ever could have been the reality, than that gross Energumen, more like a boxing butcher, whom he has set into a pulpit surrounded with draperies, with fat-shouldered women, and play-actor men in mail, and labelled KNOX? I know the picture only by engravings, always hasten on when I see it in a window, and would not for much have it hung on the wall beside me! So, too, I have often seen a *Battle of Worcester*, by some famed Academician or other, which consists of an angry man and horse (man presumably intended for Cromwell, but not like him),—man, with heavy flapping Spanish cloak, &c., and no hat to his head, firing a pistol over his shoulder into what seems a dreadful shower of rain in the distance! What can be the use of such things, except to persons who have turned their back on real interests, and gone

wool-gathering in search of imaginary? All that kind of matter, as indisputable 'chaff,' ought to be severely purged away.

3°. With respect to *plurality* of portraits, when you have the offer of more than one? The answer to that, on the principles already stated, will come out different in different cases, and be an affair of consideration and compromise. For the earlier (and more uncertain) figures, I should incline to admit *all* that could be got; certainly all that could be found genuine, that were 'helps,' as above said. Nay, such even as were only half genuine, if there were no others; marking well their doubtful character. As you come lower down, the selection will be stricter; and in quite modern times when pictures are plentiful, I should think *one* portrait would in general be the rule. But of course respect must be had to the importance of the man, the *excellence* of the portraits offered (or their peculiar worth for your objects), the quantity of house-room you are like to have, &c., &c., and the decision will be the summary and adjustment of all these considerations.

For example, during the *Reformation period* I would take of John Knox, and his consorts and adversaries (Lethington, Kirkcaldy, Regents Murray, Morton, and Mar, Buchanan, Bothwell, even Rizzio, and the like), any picture I could get; all attainable pictures, engravings, &c., or almost all, unless they be more numerous than I suppose,—might promise to be 'helps,' in that great scarcity, and great *desire* to be helped. While, again, in reference to *The Forty-five*, where pictures abound, and where the personages and their affair are so infinitely insignificant in comparison, I should expect that one portrait, and that only of the very topmost men, would well suffice. Yet there is a real interest, too, in that poor Forty-five,—for, in fine, we lie very *near* it still, and that is always a great point; and I should somehow like to have a Hawley, a Sir John Cope, Wade, and Duke of Cumberland smuggled in, by way of 'illustrative Notes,' if that were possible. Nay, I really think it should be done; and, on the whole, perceive that *The Forty-five* will be one of your more opulent fields.

The question "Who is a Historical Character?" is, in many cases, already settled, and, in most cases, will be capable of easy settlement. In general, whoever *lives* in the memory of Scotchmen, whoever is yet practically recognisable as a conspicuous worker, speaker, singer, or sufferer in the past time of Scotland, he is a 'Historical Character,' and we shall be glad to see the veritable likeness of him. For examples, given at random:—George Buchanan, David Rizzio, Lord Hailes, Lord Kames, Monboddo, Bozzy, Burns, Gawin Douglas, Barbour, Jamie Thomson. I would take in, and eagerly, David Dale (of the cotton manufacture), less eagerly Dundas (of the suffrage ditto), and, in general, ask myself, Who said, did, or suffered anything truly memorable, or even anything still much

remembered? From Bruce down to Heathfield and Abercromby, the common History books will direct you plentifully as to one class; and for the others, knowledge and good judgment will be the methods.

4°. Lastly, as to the Catalogue. I am accustomed to conceive the Catalogue, if well done, as one of the best parts of the whole. Brevity, sound knowledge, exactitude, fidelity, ought to be the characteristic of every feature of it. Say you allow, on the average, not more than half a page to each, in by far the majority of cases; hardly more than a page to any: historical, lucid, above all things exact. I would give the *essence* of the man's history, *condensed* to the very utmost; the dates, his birth, death, main transactions,—in short, the *bones* of his history; then add reference to books and sources (carefully distinguishing the good from the less good), where his history and character can be learned farther by such as wish to study it. Afterwards, in a line or two, indicate the actual *habitat* of the picture here exhibited; *its* history, if it have one; that it is *known* to be by such and such a master (and on what authority), or that it is only guessed. What value and excellence might lie in such a Catalogue, if rightly done, I need not say to David Laing; nor what labour, knowledge, and resources would be needed to do it well! Perhaps divided among several men (with some head to *preside* over all), according to the several *periods* and classes of subject;—I can perceive *work* enough for *you*, among others, there! But, on the whole, it could be done; and it would be well worth doing, and a permanently useful thing. I would have it printed in some *bound* form, not as a pamphlet, but still very cheap; I should expect a wide immediate sale for it at railway stations and elsewhere while the Exhibition went on, and a steady and permanent sale for it afterwards for a long time indeed. A modern *Nicolson*, done according to the *real want* of the present day; and far beyond what any 'Historical Library,' with its dusty pedantries, ever was before!

But enough now. Your patience must not be quite ridden to death, and the very paper admonishes me to have done. Accept in good part what hasty stuff I have written; forgive it at least. I must say, this small National Project has again grown to look quite beautiful to me,—*possible* surely in some form, and full of uses. Probably the real '*Crystal Palace*' that would beseem poor old Scotland in these days of Exhibitions,—a country rather eminently rich in men perhaps, which is the pearl and soul of all other 'riches.'—Believe me yours ever truly,

T. Carlyle.*

* Some efforts, I believe, were made in the direction indicated, by Gentlemen of the Antiquarian Society and others; but as yet without any actual "Exhibition" coming to light. Later, and for Britain at large, we have had, by the Government itself, some kind of "Commission" or "Board" appointed, for forming a permanent "National Portrait-Gallery,"—with what success, is still to be seen.—(*Note of* 1857.)

ILIAS (Americana) IN NUCE.

Peter *of the North* (*to* Paul *of the South*). "Paul, you unaccountable scoundrel, I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year as I do! You are going straight to Hell, you——!"

Paul. "Good words, Peter! The risk is my own; I am willing to take the risk. Hire you your servants by the month or the day, and get straight to Heaven; leave me to my own method."

Peter. "No, I won't. I will beat your brains out first!" (*and is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it*.)

May, 1863.

T. C.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

AT EDINBURGH, 2ND APRIL 1866,

ON BEING INSTALLED AS RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY THERE.

Gentlemen,—I have accepted the office you have elected me to, and it is now my duty to return thanks for the great honour done me. Your enthusiasm towards me, I must admit, is in itself very beautiful, however undeserved it may be in regard to the object of it. It is a feeling honourable to all men, and one well known to myself when I was of an age like yours, nor is it yet quite gone. I can only hope that, with you too, it may endure to the end,—this noble desire to honour those whom you think worthy of honour; and that you will come to be more and more select and discriminate in the choice of the object of it:—for I can well understand that you will modify your opinions of me and of many things else, as you go on. (*Laughter and cheers.*) It is now fifty-six years, gone last November, since I first entered your City, a boy of not quite fourteen; to 'attend the classes' here, and gain knowledge of all kinds, I could little guess what, my poor mind full of wonder and awe-struck expectation; and now, after a long course, this is what we have come to. (*Cheers.*) There is something touching and tragic, and yet at the same time beautiful, to see, as it were, the third generation of my dear old native land, rising up and saying, "Well, you are not altogether an unworthy labourer in the vineyard; you have toiled through a great variety of fortunes, and have had many judges: this is our judgment of you!" As the old proverb says, 'He that builds by the wayside has many masters.' We must expect a variety of judges; but the voice of young Scotland, through you, is really of some value to me; and I return you many thanks for it,—though I cannot go into describing my emotions to you, and perhaps they will be much more perfectly conceivable if expressed in silence. (*Cheers.*)

When this office was first proposed to me, some of you know I was not very ambitious to accept it, but had my doubts rather. I was taught to believe that there were certain more or less important duties which would lie in my power. This, I confess, was my chief motive in going into it, and overcoming the objections I felt to such things: if I could do anything to serve my dear old *Alma Mater* and you, why should not I? (*Loud cheers.*) Well, but on practically looking into the matter when the office actually came into my hands, I find it grows more and more uncertain and abstruse to me whether there is much real duty that I can do at all. I live four hundred miles away from you, in an entirely different scene of things; and my weak health, with the burden of the many years now accumulating on me, and my total unacquaintance with such subjects as concern your affairs here,—all this fills me with apprehension that there is really nothing worth the least consideration that I can do on that score. You may depend on it, however, that if any such duty does arise in any form, I will use my most faithful endeavour to do in it whatever is right and proper, according to the best of my judgment. (*Cheers.*)

Meanwhile, the duty I at present have,—which might be very pleasant, but which is not quite so, for reasons you may fancy,—is to address some words to you, if possible not quite useless, nor incongruous to the occasion, and on subjects more or less cognate to the pursuits you are engaged in. Accordingly, I mean to offer you some loose observations, loose in point of order, but the truest I have, in such form as they may present themselves; certain of the thoughts that are in me about the business you are here engaged in, what kind of race it is that you young gentlemen have started on, and what sort of arena you are likely to find in this world. I ought, I believe, according to custom, to have written all that down on paper, and had it read out. That would have been much handier for me at the present moment—(*A laugh*);—but, on attempting the thing, I found I was not used to write speeches, and that I didn't get on very well. So I flung that aside; and could only resolve to trust, in all superficial respects, to the suggestion of the moment, as you now see. You will therefore have to accept what is readiest; what comes direct from the heart; and you must just take that in compensation for any good order or arrangement there might have been in it. I will endeavour to say nothing that is not true, so far as I can manage; and that is pretty much all I can engage for. (*A laugh.*)

Advices, I believe, to young men, as to all men, are very seldom much valued. There is a great deal of advising, and very little faithful performing; and talk that does not end in any kind of action is better suppressed altogether. I would not, therefore, go much into advising; but there is one advice I must give

you. In fact, it is the summary of all advices, and doubtless you have heard it a thousand times; but I must nevertheless let you hear it the thousand-and-first time, for it is most intensely true, whether you will believe it at present or not:—namely, That above all things the interest of your whole life depends on your being *diligent*, now while it is called to-day, in this place where you have come to get education! Diligent: that includes in it all virtues that a student can have: I mean it to include all those qualities of conduct that lead on to the acquirement of real instruction and improvement in such a place. If you will believe me, you who are young, yours is the golden season of life. As you have heard it called, so it verily is, the seed-time of life; in which, if you do not sow, or if you sow tares instead of wheat, you cannot expect to reap well afterwards, and you will arrive at little. And in the course of years, when you come to look back, if you have not done what you have heard from your advisers,—and among many counsellors there is wisdom,—you will bitterly repent when it is too late. The habits of study acquired at Universities are of the highest importance in after-life. At the season when you are young in years, the whole mind is, as it were, fluid, and is capable of forming itself into any shape that the owner of the mind pleases to allow it, or constrain it, to form itself into. The mind is then in a plastic or fluid state; but it hardens gradually, to the consistency of rock or of iron, and you cannot alter the habits of an old man: he, as he has begun, so he will proceed and go on to the last.

By diligence I mean among other things, and very chiefly too,—honesty, in all your inquiries, and in all you are about. Pursue your studies in the way your conscience can name honest. More and more endeavour to do that. Keep, I should say for one thing, an accurate separation between what you have really come to know in your minds and what is still unknown. Leave all that latter on the hypothetical side of the barrier, as things afterwards to be acquired, if acquired at all; and be careful not to admit a thing as known when you do not yet know it. Count a thing known only when it is imprinted clearly on your mind, and has become transparent to you, so that you may survey it on all sides with intelligence. There is such a thing as a man endeavouring to persuade himself, and endeavouring to persuade others, that he knows things, when he does not know more than the outside skin of them; and yet he goes flourishing about with them. (*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*) There is also a process called cramming, in some Universities (*A laugh*),—that is, getting up such points of things as the examiner is likely to put questions about. Avoid all that, as entirely unworthy of an honourable mind. Be modest, and humble, and assiduous in your attention to what your teachers tell you, who are profoundly interested in trying to

bring you forward in the right way, so far as they have been able to understand it. Try all things they set before you, in order, if possible, to understand them, and to follow and adopt them in proportion to their fitness for you. Gradually see what kind of work you individually can do; it is the first of all problems for a man to find out what kind of work he is to do in this universe. In short, morality as regards study is, as in all other things, the primary consideration, and overrules all others. A dishonest man cannot do anything real; he never will study with real fruit; and perhaps it would be greatly better if he were tied up from trying it. He does nothing but darken counsel by the words he utters. That is a very old doctrine, but a very true one; and you will find it confirmed by all the thinking men that have ever lived in this long series of generations of which we are the latest.

I daresay you know, very many of you, that it is now some seven hundred years since Universities were first set up in this world of ours. Abelard and other thinkers had arisen with doctrines in them which people wished to hear of, and students flocked towards them from all parts of the world. There was no getting the thing recorded in books, as you now may. You had to hear the man speaking to you vocally, or else you could not learn at all what it was that he wanted to say. And so they gathered together, these speaking ones,—the various people who had anything to teach;—and formed themselves gradually, under the patronage of kings and other potentates who were anxious about the culture of their populations, and nobly studious of their best benefit; and became a body-corporate, with high privileges, high dignities, and really high aims, under the title of a University.

Possibly too you may have heard it said that the course of centuries has changed all this; and that 'the true University of our days is a Collection of Books.' And beyond doubt, all this is greatly altered by the invention of Printing, which took place about midway between us and the origin of Universities. Men have not now to go in person to where a Professor is actually speaking; because in most cases you can get his doctrine out of him through a book; and can then read it, and read it again and again, and study it. That is an immense change, that one fact of Printed Books. And I am not sure that I know of any University in which the whole of that fact has yet been completely taken in, and the studies moulded in complete conformity with it. Nevertheless, Universities have, and will continue to have, an indispensable value in society;—I think, a very high, and it might be, almost the highest value. They began, as is well known, with their grand aim directed on Theology,—their eye turned earnestly on Heaven.

And perhaps, in a sense, it may be still said, the very highest interests of man are virtually entrusted to them. In regard to theology, as you are aware, it has been, and especially was then, the study of the deepest heads that have come into the world,—what is the nature of this stupendous universe, and what are our relations to it, and to all things knowable by man, or known only to the great Author of man and it. Theology was once the name for all this; all this is still alive for man, however dead the name may grow! In fact, the members of the Church keeping theology in a lively condition—(*Laughter*)—for the benefit of the whole population, theology was the great object of the Universities. I consider it is the same intrinsically now, though very much forgotten, from many causes, and not so successful—(*A laugh*)—as might be wished, by any manner of means!

It remains, however, practically a most important truth, what I alluded to above, that the main use of Universities in the present age is that, after you have done with all your classes, the next thing is a collection of books, a great library of good books, which you proceed to study and to read. What the Universities can mainly do for you,—what I have found the University did for me, is, That it taught me to read, in various languages, in various sciences; so that I could go into the books which treated of these things, and gradually penetrate into any department I wanted to make myself master of, as I found it suit me.

Well, gentlemen, whatever you may think of these historical points, the clearest and most imperative duty lies on every one of you to be assiduous in your reading. Learn to be good readers,—which is, perhaps, a more difficult thing than you imagine. Learn to be discriminative in your reading; to read faithfully, and with your best attention, all kinds of things which you have a real interest in, a real not an imaginary, and which you find to be really fit for what you are engaged in. Of course, at the present time, in a great deal of the reading incumbent on you, you must be guided by the books recommended by your Professors for assistance towards the effect of their prelections. And then, when you leave the University, and go into studies of your own, you will find it very important that you have chosen a field, some province specially suited to you, in which you can study and work. The most unhappy of all men is the man who cannot tell what he is going to do, who has got no work cut out for him in the world, and does not go into it. For work is the grand cure of all the maladies and miseries that ever beset mankind,—honest work, which you intend getting done.

If, in any vacant vague time, you are in a strait as to choice of reading,—a very good indication for you, perhaps the best you could get, is towards some book you have a great curiosity about. You are then in the readiest and best of

all possible conditions to improve by that book. It is analogous to what doctors tell us about the physical health and appetites of the patient. You must learn, however, to distinguish between false appetite and true. There is such a thing as a false appetite, which will lead a man into vagaries with regard to diet; will tempt him to eat spicy things, which he should not eat at all, nor would, but that the things are toothsome, and that he is under a momentary baseness of mind. A man ought to examine and find out what he really and truly has an appetite for, what suits his constitution and condition; and that, doctors tell him, is in general the very thing he ought to have. And so with books.

As applicable to all of you, I will say that it is highly expedient to go into history; to inquire into what has passed before you on this Earth, and in the Family of Man.

The history of the Romans and Greeks will first of all concern you; and you will find that the classical knowledge you have got will be extremely applicable to elucidate that. There you have two of the most remarkable races of men in the world set before you, calculated to open innumerable reflections and considerations; a mighty advantage, if you can achieve it;—to say nothing of what their two languages will yield you, which your Professors can better explain; model languages, which are universally admitted to be the most perfect forms of speech we have yet found to exist among men. And you will find, if you read well, a pair of extremely remarkable nations, shining in the records left by themselves, as a kind of beacon, or solitary mass of illumination, to light up some noble forms of human life for us, in the otherwise utter darkness of the past ages; and it will be well worth your while if you can get into the understanding of what these people were, and what they did. You will find a great deal of hearsay, of empty rumour and tradition, which does not touch on the matter; but perhaps some of you will get to see the old Roman and the old Greek face to face; you will know in some measure how they contrived to exist, and to perform their feats in the world.

I believe, also, you will find one important thing not much noted, That there was a very great deal of deep religion in both nations. This is pointed out by the wiser kind of historians, and particularly by Ferguson, who is particularly well worth reading on Roman history,—and who, I believe, was an alumnus of our own University. His book is a very creditable work. He points out the profoundly religious nature of the Roman people, notwithstanding their ruggedly positive, defiant, and fierce ways. They believed that Jupiter Optimus Maximus was lord of the universe, and that he had appointed the Romans to become the

chief of nations, provided they followed his commands,—to brave all danger, all difficulty, and stand up with an invincible front, and be ready to do and die; and also to have the same sacred regard to truth of promise, to thorough veracity, thorough integrity, and all the virtues that accompany that noblest quality of man, valour,—to which latter the Romans gave the name of 'virtue' proper (*virtus*, manhood), as the crown and summary of all that is ennobling for a man. In the literary ages of Rome, this religious feeling had very much decayed away; but it still retained its place among the lower classes of the Roman people. Of the deeply religious nature of the Greeks, along with their beautiful and sunny effulgences of art, you have striking proof, if you look for it. In the tragedies of Sophocles, there is a most deep-toned recognition of the eternal justice of Heaven, and the unfailing punishment of crime against the laws of God. I believe you will find in all histories of nations, that this has been at the origin and foundation of them all; and that no nation which did not contemplate this wonderful universe with an awestricken and reverential belief that there was a great unknown, omnipotent, and all-wise and all-just Being, superintending all men in it, and all interests in it,—no nation ever came to very much, nor did any man either, who forgot that. If a man did forget that, he forgot the most important part of his mission in this world.

Our own history of England, which you will naturally take a great deal of pains to make yourselves acquainted with, you will find beyond all others worthy of your study. For indeed I believe that the British nation,—including in that the Scottish nation,—produced a finer set of men than any you will find it possible to get anywhere else in the world. (*Applause*.) I don't know, in any history of Greece or Rome, where you will get so fine a man as Oliver Cromwell, for example. (*Applause*.) And we, too, have had men worthy of memory, in our little corner of the Island here, as well as others; and our history has had its heroic features all along; and did become great at last in being connected with world-history:—for if you examine well, you will find that John Knox was the author, as it were, of Oliver Cromwell; that the Puritan revolution never would have taken place in England at all, had it not been for that Scotchman. (*Applause*.) That is an authentic fact, and is not prompted by national vanity on my part, but will stand examining. (*Laughter and applause*.)

In fact, if you look at the struggle that was then going on in England, as I have had to do in my time, you will see that people were overawed by the immense impediments lying in the way. A small minority of God-fearing men in that country were flying away, with any ship they could get, to New England, rather

than take the lion by the beard. They durst not confront the powers with their most just complaints, and demands to be delivered from idolatry. They wanted to make the nation altogether conformable to the Hebrew Bible, which they, and all men, understood to be the exact transcript of the Will of God;—and could there be, for man, a more legitimate aim? Nevertheless, it would have been impossible in their circumstances, and not to be attempted at all, had not Knox succeeded in it here, some fifty years before, by the firmness and nobleness of his mind. For he also is of the select of the earth to me,—John Knox. (*Applause.*) What he has suffered from the ungrateful generations that have followed him should really make us humble ourselves to the dust, to think that the most excellent man our country has produced, to whom we owe everything that distinguishes us among the nations, should have been so sneered at, misknown, and abused. (*Applause.*) Knox was heard by Scotland; the people heard him, believed him to the marrow of their bones: they took up his doctrine, and they defied principalities and powers to move them from it. "We must have it," they said; "we will and must!" It was in this state of things that the Puritan struggle arose in England; and you know well how the Scottish earls and nobility, with their tenantry, marched away to Dunse Hill in 1639, and sat down there: just at the crisis of that struggle, when it was either to be suppressed or brought into greater vitality, they encamped on Dunse Hill,—thirty thousand armed men, drawn out for that occasion, each regiment round its landlord, its earl, or whatever he might be called, and zealous all of them 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant.' That was the signal for all England's rising up into unappeasable determination to have the Gospel there also; and you know it went on, and came to be a contest whether the Parliament or the King should rule; whether it should be old formalities and use and wont, or something that had been of new conceived in the souls of men, namely, a divine determination to walk according to the laws of God here, as the sum of all prosperity; which of these should have the mastery: and after a long, long agony of struggle, it was decided—the way we know.

I should say also of that Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell's, notwithstanding the censures it has encountered, and the denial of everybody that it could continue in the world, and so on, it appears to me to have been, on the whole, the most salutary thing in the modern history of England. If Oliver Cromwell had continued it out, I don't know what it would have come to. It would have got corrupted probably in other hands, and could not have gone on; but it was pure and true, to the last fibre, in his mind; there was perfect truth in it while he ruled over it. Machiavelli has remarked, in speaking of the Romans, that Democracy

cannot long exist anywhere in the world; that as a mode of government, of national management or administration, it involves an impossibility, and after a little while must end in wreck. And he goes on proving that, in his own way. I do not ask you all to follow him in that conviction—(*hear*),—but it is to him a clear truth; he considers it a solecism and impossibility that the universal mass of men should ever govern themselves. He has to admit of the Romans, that they continued a long time; but believes, it was purely in virtue of this item in their constitution, namely, of their all having the conviction in their minds that it was solemnly necessary, at times, to appoint a Dictator; a man who had the power of life and death over everything, who degraded men out of their places, ordered them to execution, and did whatever seemed to him good in the name of God above him. He was commanded to take care that the republic suffer no detriment. And Machiavelli calculates that this was the thing which purified the social system, from time to time, and enabled it to continue as it did. Probable enough, if you consider it. And an extremely proper function surely, this of a Dictator, if the republic was composed of little other than bad and tumultuous men, triumphing in general over the better, and all going the bad road, in fact. Well, Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate, or Dictatorate if you will let me name it so, lasted for about ten years, and you will find that nothing which was contrary to the laws of heaven was allowed to live by Oliver. (*Applause*.)

For example, it was found by his Parliament of Notables, what they call the 'Barebones Parliament,'—the most zealous of all Parliaments probably (*Laughter*),—that the Court of Chancery in England was in a state which was really capable of no apology; no man could get up and say that that was a right court. There were, I think, fifteen thousand, or fifteen hundred (*laughter*),—I really don't remember which, but we will call it by the last number, to be safe (*Renewed laughter*);—there were fifteen hundred cases lying in it undecided; and one of them, I remember, for a large amount of money, was eighty-three years old, and it was going on still; wigs were wagging over it, and lawyers were taking their fees, and there was no end of it. Upon view of all which, the Barebones people, after deliberation about it, thought it was expedient, and commanded by the Author of Man and Fountain of Justice, and in the name of what was true and right, to abolish said court. Really, I don't know who could have dissented from that opinion. At the same time, it was thought by those who were wiser in their generation, and had more experience of the world, that this was a very dangerous thing, and wouldn't suit at all. The lawyers began to make an immense noise about it. (*Laughter*.) All the public, the great mass of solid and well-disposed people who had got no deep insight into such matters, were very adverse to it:

and the Speaker of the Parliament, old Sir Francis Rous,—who translated the Psalms for us, those that we sing here every Sunday in the Church yet; a very good man, and a wise and learned, Provost of Eton College afterwards,—he got a great number of the Parliament to go to Oliver the Dictator, and lay down their functions altogether, and declare officially, with their signature, on Monday morning, that the Parliament was dissolved. The act of abolition had been passed on Saturday night; and on Monday morning, Rous came and said, "We cannot carry on the affair any longer, and we remit it into the hands of your Highness." Oliver in that way became Protector, virtually in some sort a Dictator, for the first time.

And I give you this as an instance that Oliver did faithfully set to doing a Dictator's function, and of his prudence in it, as well. Oliver was faithfully doing a Dictator's function, and of his prudence in it, as well. Oliver felt that the Parliament, now dismissed, had been perfectly right with regard to Chancery, and that there was no doubt of the propriety of abolishing Chancery, or else reforming it in some kind of way. He considered the matter, and this is what he did. He assembled fifty or sixty of the wisest lawyers to be found in England. Happily, there were men great in the law; men who valued the laws of England as much as anybody ever did; and who knew withal that there was something still more sacred than any of these. (*A laugh.*) Oliver said to them, "Go and examine this thing, and in the name of God inform me what is necessary to be done with it. You will see how we may clean out the foul things in that Chancery Court, which render it poison to everybody." Well, they sat down accordingly, and in the course of six weeks,—(there was no public speaking then, no reporting of speeches, and no babble of any kind, there was just the business in hand,)—they got some sixty propositions fixed in their minds as the summary of the things that required to be done. And upon these sixty propositions, Chancery was reconstituted and remodelled; and so it got a new lease of life, and has lasted to our time. It had become a nuisance, and could not have continued much longer. That is an instance of the manner of things that were done when a Dictatorship prevailed in the country, and that was how the Dictator did them. I reckon, all England, Parliamentary England, got a new lease of life from that Dictatorship of Oliver's; and, on the whole, that the good fruits of it will never die while England exists as a nation.

In general, I hardly think that out of common history books you will ever get into the real history of this country, or ascertain anything which can specially

illuminate it for you, and which it would most of all behove you to know. You may read very ingenious and very clever books, by men whom it would be the height of insolence in me to do other than express my respect for. But their position is essentially sceptical. God and the Godlike, as our fathers would have said, has fallen asleep for them; and plays no part in their histories. A most sad and fatal condition of matters; who shall say how fatal to us all! A man unhappily in that condition will make but a temporary explanation of anything:—in short, you will not be able, I believe, by aid of these men, to understand how this Island came to be what it is. You will not find it recorded in books. You will find recorded in books a jumble of tumults, disastrous ineptitudes, and all that kind of thing. But to get what you want, you will have to look into side sources, and inquire in all directions.

I remember getting Collins's *Peerage* to read,—a very poor performance as a work of genius, but an excellent book for diligence and fidelity. I was writing on Oliver Cromwell at the time. (*Applause.*) I could get no biographical dictionary available; and I thought the Peerage Book, since most of my men were peers or sons of peers, would help me, at least would tell me whether people were old or young, where they lived, and the like particulars, better than absolute nescience and darkness. And accordingly I found amply all I had expected in poor Collins, and got a great deal of help out of him. He was a diligent dull London bookseller, of about a hundred years ago, who compiled out of all kinds of parchments, charter-chests, archives, books that were authentic, and gathered far and wide wherever he could get it the information wanted. He was a very meritorious man.

I not only found the solution of everything I had expected there, but I began gradually to perceive this immense fact, which I really advise every one of you who read history to look out for, if you have not already found it. It was that the Kings of England, all the way from the Norman Conquest down to the times of Charles I., had actually, in a good degree, so far as they knew, been in the habit of appointing as Peers those who *deserved* to be appointed. In general, I perceived, those Peers of theirs were all royal men of a sort, with minds full of justice, valour, and humanity, and all kinds of qualities that men ought to have who rule over others. And then their genealogy, the kind of sons and descendants they had, this also was remarkable:—for there is a great deal more in genealogy than is generally believed at present. I never heard tell of any clever man that came of entirely stupid people. (*Laughter.*) If you look around, among the families of your acquaintance, you will see such cases in all directions;—I know that my own experience is steadily that way; I can trace the father, and the son, and the grandson, and the family stamp is quite distinctly legible upon each of them.

So that it goes for a great deal, the hereditary principle,—in Government as in other things; and it must be recognised so soon as there is any fixity in things. You will remark, too, in your Collins, that, if at any time the genealogy of a peerage goes awry, if the man that actually holds the peerage is a fool,—in those earnest practical times, the man soon gets into mischief, gets into treason probably,—soon gets himself and his peerage extinguished altogether, in short. (*Laughter.*)

From those old documents of Collins, you learn and ascertain that a peer conducts himself in a pious, high-minded, grave, dignified, and manly kind of way, in his course through life, and when he takes leave of life:—his last will is often a remarkable piece, which one lingers over. And then you perceive that there was kindness in him as well as rigour, pity for the poor; that he has fine hospitalities, generosities,—in fine, that he is throughout much of a noble, good and valiant man. And that in general the King, with a beautiful approximation to accuracy, had nominated this kind of man; saying, "Come you to me, sir. Come out of the common level of the people, where you are liable to be trampled upon, jostled about, and can do in a manner nothing with your fine gift; come here and take a district of country, and make it into your own image more or less; be a king under me, and understand that that is your function." I say this is the most divine thing that a human being can do to other human beings, and no kind of thing whatever has so much of the character of God Almighty's Divine Government as that thing, which, we see, went on all over England for about six hundred years. That is the grand soul of England's history. (*Cheers.*) It is historically true that, down to the time of James, or even Charles I., it was not understood that any man was made a Peer without having merit in him to constitute him a proper subject for a peerage. In Charles I.'s time, it grew to be known or said that, if a man was born a gentleman, and cared to lay out £10,000 judiciously up and down among courtiers, he could be made a Peer. Under Charles II. it went on still faster, and has been going on with ever-increasing velocity, until we see the perfectly breakneck pace at which they are going now (*A laugh*), so that now a peerage is a paltry kind of thing to what it was in those old times. I could go into a great many more details about things of that sort, but I must turn to another branch of the subject.

First, however, one remark more about your reading. I do not know whether it has been sufficiently brought home to you that there are two kinds of books. When a man is reading on any kind of subject, in most departments of books,—in all books, if you take it in a wide sense,—he will find that there is a division into good books and bad books. Everywhere a good kind of book and a bad kind of book. I am not to assume that you are unacquainted, or ill acquainted

with this plain fact; but I may remind you that it is becoming a very important consideration in our day. And we have to cast aside altogether the idea people have, that, if they are reading any book, that if an ignorant man is reading any book, he is doing rather better than nothing at all. I must entirely call that in question; I even venture to deny it. (*Laughter and cheers*.) It would be much safer and better for many a reader, that he had no concern with books at all. There is a number, a frightfully increasing number, of books that are decidedly, to the readers of them, not useful. (*Hear*.) But an ingenuous reader will learn also that a certain number of books were written by a supremely noble kind of people,—not a very great number of books, but still a number fit to occupy all your reading industry, do adhere more or less to that side of things. In short, as I have written it down somewhere else, I conceive that books are like men's souls; divided into sheep and goats. (*Laughter and cheers*.) Some few are going up, and carrying us up, heavenward; calculated, I mean, to be of priceless advantage in teaching,—in forwarding the teaching of all generations. Others, a frightful multitude, are going down, down; doing ever the more and the wider and the wilder mischief. Keep a strict eye on that latter class of books, my young friends!—

And for the rest, in regard to all your studies and readings here, and to whatever you may learn, you are to remember that the object is not particular knowledges,—not that of getting higher and higher in technical perfections, and all that sort of thing. There is a higher aim lying at the rear of all that, especially among those who are intended for literary or speaking pursuits, or the sacred profession. You are ever to bear in mind that there lies behind that the acquisition of what may be called wisdom;—namely, sound appreciation and just decision as to all the objects that come round you, and the habit of behaving with justice, candour, clear insight, and loyal adherence to fact. Great is wisdom; infinite is the value of wisdom. It cannot be exaggerated; it is the highest achievement of man: 'Blessed is he that getteth understanding.' And that, I believe, on occasion, may be missed very easily; never more easily than now, I sometimes think. If that is a failure, all is failure!—However, I will not touch further upon that matter.

But I should have said, in regard to book-reading, if it be so very important, how very useful would an excellent library be in every University! I hope, that will not be neglected by the gentlemen who have charge of you; and, indeed, I am happy to hear that your library is very much improved since the time I knew it, and I hope it will go on improving more and more. Nay, I have sometimes thought, why should not there be a library in every county town, for benefit of those that could read well, and might if permitted? True, you require money to

accomplish that;—and withal, what perhaps is still less attainable at present, you require judgment in the selectors of books; real insight into what is for the advantage of human souls, the exclusion of all kinds of clap-trap books which merely excite the astonishment of foolish people (*Laughter*), and the choice of wise books, as much as possible of good books. Let us hope the future will be kind to us in this respect.

In this University, as I learn from many sides, there is considerable stir about endowments; an assiduous and praiseworthy industry for getting new funds collected to encourage the ingenuous youth of Universities, especially of this our chief University. (*Hear, hear.*) Well, I entirely participate in everybody's approval of the movement. It is very desirable. It should be responded to, and one surely expects it will. At least, if it is not, it will be shameful to the country of Scotland, which never was so rich in money as at the present moment, and never stood so much in need of getting noble Universities, and institutions to counteract many influences that are springing up alongside of money. It should not be slack in coming forward in the way of endowments (*A laugh*); at any rate, to the extent of rivalling our rude old barbarous ancestors, as we have been pleased to call them. Such munificence as theirs is beyond all praise; and to them, I am sorry to say, we are not yet by any manner of means equal, or approaching equality. (*Laughter.*) There is an abundance and over-abundance of money. Sometimes I cannot help thinking that probably never has there been, at any other time, in Scotland, the hundredth part of the money that now is, or even the thousandth part. For wherever I go there is that same gold-nuggeting (*A laugh*),—that 'unexampled prosperity,' and men counting their balances by the million sterling. Money was never so abundant, and nothing that is good to be done with it. (*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*) No man knows,—or very few men know,—what benefit to get out of his money. In fact, it too often is secretly a curse to him. Much better for him never to have had any. But I do not expect that generally to be believed. (*Laughter.*) Nevertheless, I should think it would be a beneficent relief to many a rich man who has an honest purpose struggling in him, to bequeath some house of refuge, so to speak, for the gifted poor man who may hereafter be born into the world, to enable him to get on his way a little. To do, in fact, as those old Norman kings whom I have been describing; to raise some noble poor man out of the dirt and mud where he is getting trampled on unworthily, by the unworthy, into some kind of position where he might acquire the power to do a little good in his generation! I hope that as much as possible will be achieved in this direction; and that efforts will not be relaxed till the thing

is in a satisfactory state. In regard to the classical department, above all, it surely is to be desired by us that it were properly supported,—that we could allow the fit people to have their scholarships and subventions, and devote more leisure to the cultivation of particular departments. We might have more of this from Scotch Universities than we have; and I hope we shall.

I am bound, however, to say that it does not appear as if, of late times, endowment were the real soul of the matter. The English, for example, are the richest people in the world for endowments in their Universities; and it is an evident fact that, since the time of Bentley, you cannot name anybody that has gained a European name in scholarship, or constituted a point of revolution in the pursuits of men in that way. The man who does so is a man worthy of being remembered; and he is poor, and not an Englishman. One man that actually did constitute a revolution was the son of a poor weaver in Saxony; who edited his Tibullus, in Dresden, in a poor comrade's garret, with the floor for his bed, and two folios for pillow; and who, while editing his Tibullus, had to gather peasecod shells on the streets and boil them for his dinner. That was his endowment. (*Laughter*.) But he was recognised soon to have done a great thing. His name was Heyne. (*Cheers*.) I can remember, it was quite a revolution in my mind when I got hold of that man's edition of Virgil. I found that, for the first time, I understood Virgil; that Heyne had introduced me, for the first time, into an insight of Roman life and ways of thought; had pointed out the circumstances in which these works were written, and given me their interpretation. And the process has gone on in all manner of developments, and has spread out into other countries.

On the whole, there is one reason why endowments are not given now as they were in old days, when men founded abbeys, colleges, and all kinds of things of that description, with such success as we know. All that has now changed; a vast decay of zeal in that direction. And truly the reason may in part be, that people have become doubtful whether colleges are now the real sources of what I called wisdom; whether they are anything more, anything much more, than a cultivating of man in the specific arts. In fact, there has been in the world a suspicion of that kind for a long time. (*A laugh*.) There goes a proverb of old date, 'An ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy.' (*Laughter*.) There is a suspicion that a man is perhaps not nearly so wise as he looks, or because he has poured out speech so copiously. (*Laughter*.) When 'the seven free arts' which the old Universities were based on, came to be modified a little, in order to be convenient for the wants of modern society,—though perhaps some of them are

obsolete enough even yet for some of us,—there arose a feeling that mere vocality, mere culture of speech, if that is what comes out of a man, is not the synonym of wisdom by any means! That a man may be a 'great speaker,' as eloquent as you like, and but little real substance in him,—especially, if that is what was required and aimed at by the man himself, and by the community that set him upon becoming a learned man. Maid-servants, I hear people complaining, are getting instructed in the 'ologies,' and are apparently becoming more and more ignorant of brewing, boiling, and baking (*Laughter*); and above all, are not taught what is necessary to be known, from the highest of us to the lowest,—faithful obedience, modesty, humility, and correct moral conduct.

Oh, it is a dismal chapter all that if one went into it,—what has been done by rushing after fine speech! I have written down some very fierce things about that, perhaps considerably more emphatic than I could now wish them to be; but they were and are deeply my conviction. (*Hear, hear.*) There is very great necessity indeed of getting a little more silent than we are. It seems to me as if the finest nations of the world,—the English and the American, in chief,—were going all off into wind and tongue. (*Applause and laughter.*) But it will appear sufficiently tragical by-and-by, long after I am away out of it. There is a time to speak, and a time to be silent. Silence withal is the eternal duty of a man. He won't get to any real understanding of what is complex, and what is more than aught else pertinent to his interests, without keeping silence too. 'Watch the tongue,' is a very old precept, and a most true one.

I don't want to discourage any of you from your Demosthenes, and your studies of the niceties of language, and all that. Believe me, I value that as much as any one of you. I consider it a very graceful thing, and a most proper, for every human creature to know what the implement which he uses in communicating his thoughts is, and how to make the very utmost of it. I want you to study Demosthenes, and to know all his excellences. At the same time, I must say that speech, in the case even of Demosthenes, does not seem, on the whole, to have turned to almost any good account. He advised next to nothing that proved practicable; much of the reverse. Why tell me that a man is a fine speaker, if it is not the truth that he is speaking? Phocion, who mostly did not speak at all, was a great deal nearer hitting the mark than Demosthenes. (*Laughter.*) He used to tell the Athenians, "You can't fight Philip. Better if you don't provoke him, as Demosthenes is always urging to you to do. You have not the slightest chance with Philip. He is a man who holds his tongue; he has great disciplined armies; a full treasury; can bribe anybody you like in your cities here; he is going

on steadily with an unvarying aim towards his object; while you, with your idle clamourings, with your Cleon the Tanner spouting to you what you take for wisdom—! Philip will infallibly beat any set of men such as you, going on raging from shore to shore with all that rampant nonsense." Demosthenes said to him once, "Phocion, you will drive the Athenians mad some day, and they will kill you." "Yes," Phocion answered, "me, when they go mad; and as soon as they get sane again, you!" (*Laughter and applause.*) It is also told of him how he went once to Messene, on some deputation which the Athenians wanted him to head, on some kind of matter of an intricate and contentious nature: Phocion went accordingly; and had, as usual, a clear story to have told for himself and his case. He was a man of few words, but all of them true and to the point. And so he had gone on telling his story for a while, when there arose some interruption. One man, interrupting with something, he tried to answer; then another, the like; till finally, too many went in, and all began arguing and bawling in endless debate. Whereupon Phocion struck down his staff; drew back altogether, and would speak no other word to any man. It appears to me there is a kind of eloquence in that rap of Phocion's staff which is equal to anything Demosthenes ever said: "Take your own way, then; I go out of it altogether." (*Applause.*)

Such considerations, and manifold more connected with them,—innumerable considerations, resulting from observation of the world at this epoch,—have led various people to doubt of the salutary effect of vocal education altogether. I do not mean to say it should be entirely excluded; but I look to something that will take hold of the matter much more closely, and not allow it to slip out of our fingers, and remain worse than it was. For, if a 'good speaker,' never so eloquent, does not see into the fact, and is not speaking the truth of that, but the untruth and the mistake of that,—is there a more horrid kind of object in creation? (*Loud cheers.*) Of such speech I hear all manner of people say, "How excellent!" Well, really it is not the speech, but the thing spoken, that I am anxious about! I really care very little how the man said it, provided I understand him, and it be true. Excellent speaker? But what if he is telling me things that are contrary to the fact; what if he has formed a wrong judgment about the fact,—if he has in his mind (like Phocion's friend, Cleon the Tanner) no power to form a right judgment in regard to the matter? An excellent speaker of that kind is, as it were, saying, "Ho, every one that wants to be persuaded of the thing that is not true; here is the man for you!" (*Great laughter and applause.*) I recommend you to be very chary of that kind of excellent speech. (*Renewed laughter.*)

Well, all that sad stuff being the too well-known product of our method of vocal education,—the teacher merely operating on the tongue of the pupil, and teaching him to wag it in a particular way (*Laughter*),—it has made various thinking men entertain a distrust of this not very salutary way of procedure; and they have longed for some less theoretic, and more practical and concrete way of working out the problem of education;—in effect, for an education not vocal at all, but mute except where speaking was strictly needful. There would be room for a great deal of description about this, if I went into it; but I must content myself with saying that the most remarkable piece of writing on it is in a book of Goethe's,—the whole of which you may be recommended to take up, and try if you can study it with understanding. It is one of his last books; written when he was an old man above seventy years of age: I think, one of the most beautiful he ever wrote; full of meek wisdom, of intellect and piety; which is found to be strangely illuminative, and very touching, by those who have eyes to discern and hearts to feel it. This about education is one of the pieces in *Wilhelm Meister's Travels;* or rather, in a fitful way, it forms the whole gist of the book. I first read it many years ago; and, of course, I had to read into the very heart of it while I was translating it (*Applause*)*;* and it has ever since dwelt in my mind as perhaps the most remarkable bit of writing which I have known to be executed in these late centuries. I have often said that there are some ten pages of that, which, if ambition had been my only rule, I would rather have written, been able to write, than have written all the books that have appeared since I came into the world. (*Cheers.*) Deep, deep is the meaning of what is said there. Those pages turn on the Christian religion, and the religious phenomena of the modern and the ancient world: altogether sketched out in the most aërial, graceful, delicately wise kind of way, so as to keep himself out of the common controversies of the street and of the forum, yet to indicate what was the result of things he had been long meditating upon.

Among others, he introduces in an airy, sketchy kind of way, with here and there a touch,—the sum-total of which grows into a beautiful picture,—a scheme of entirely mute education, at least with no more speech than is absolutely necessary for what the pupils have to do. Three of the wisest men discoverable in the world have been got together, to consider, to manage and supervise, the function which transcends all others in importance; that of building up the young generation so as to keep it free from that perilous stuff that has been weighing us down, and clogging every step;—which function, indeed, is the only thing we can hope to go on with, if we would leave the world a little better, and not the worse, of our having been in it, for those who are to follow. The Chief,

who is the Eldest of the three, says to Wilhelm: "Healthy well-formed children bring into the world with them many precious gifts; and very frequently these are best of all developed by Nature herself, with but slight assistance, where assistance is seen to be wise and profitable, and with forbearance very often on the part of the overseer of the process. But there is one thing which no child brings into the world with him, and without which all other things are of no use." Wilhelm, who is there beside him, asks, "And what is that?" "All want it," says the Eldest; "perhaps you yourself." Wilhelm says, "Well, but tell me what it is?" "It is," answers the other, "Reverence (*Ehrfurcht);* Reverence! Honour done to those who are greater and better than ourselves; honour distinct from fear. *Ehrfurcht;* the soul of all religion that has ever been among men, or ever will be."

And then he goes into details about the religions of the modern and the ancient world. He practically distinguishes the kinds of religion that are, or have been, in the world; and says that for men there are three reverences. The boys are all trained to go through certain gesticulations; to lay their hands on their breast and look up to heaven, in sign of the first reverence; other forms for the other two: so they give their three reverences. The first and simplest is that of reverence for what is above us. It is the soul of all the Pagan religions; there is nothing better in the antique man than that. Then there is reverence for what is around us,—reverence for our equals, to which he attributes an immense power in the culture of man. The third is reverence for what is beneath us; to learn to recognise in pain, in sorrow and contradiction, even in those things, odious to flesh and blood, what divine meanings are in them; to learn that there lies in these also, and more than in any of the preceding, a priceless blessing. And he defines that as being the soul of the Christian religion,—the highest of all religions; 'a height,' as Goethe says (and that is very true, even to the letter, as I consider), 'a height to which mankind was fated and enabled to attain; and from which, having once attained it, they can never retrograde.' Man cannot quite lose that (Goethe thinks), or permanently descend below it again; but always, even in the most degraded, sunken, and unbelieving times, he calculates there will be found some few souls who will recognise what this highest of the religions meant; and that, the world having once received it, there is no fear of its ever wholly disappearing.

The Eldest then goes on to explain by what methods they seek to educate and train their boys; in the trades, in the arts, in the sciences, in whatever pursuit the boy is found best fitted for. Beyond all, they are anxious to discover the boy's aptitudes; and they try him and watch him continually, in many wise ways, till by degrees they can discover this. Wilhelm had left his own boy there, perhaps

expecting they would make him a Master of Arts, or something of the kind; and on coming back for him, he sees a thunder-cloud of dust rushing over the plain, of which he can make nothing. It turns out to be a tempest of wild horses, managed by young lads who had a turn for horsemanship, for hunting, and being grooms. His own son is among them; and he finds that the breaking of colts has been the thing *he* was most suited for. (*Laughter*.)

The highest outcome, and most precious of all the fruits that are to spring from this ideal mode of educating, is what Goethe calls Art:—of which I could at present give no definition that would make it clear to you, unless it were clearer already than is likely. (*A laugh*.) Goethe calls it music, painting, poetry: but it is in quite a higher sense than the common one; and a sense in which, I am afraid, most of our painters, poets, and music men, would not pass muster. (*A laugh*.) He considers this as the highest pitch to which human culture can go; infinitely valuable and ennobling; and he watches with great industry how it is to be brought about, in the men who have a turn for it. Very wise and beautiful his notion of the matter is. It gives one an idea that something far better and higher, something as high as ever, and indubitably true too, is still possible for man in this world.—And that is all I can say to you of Goethe's fine theorem of mute education.

I confess it seems to me there is in it a shadow of what will one day be; will and must, unless the world is to come to a conclusion that is altogether frightful: some kind of scheme of education analogous to that; presided over by the wisest and most sacred men that can be got in the world, and watching from a distance: a training in practicality at every turn; no speech in it except speech that is to be followed by action, for that ought to be the rule as nearly as possible among men. Not very often or much, rarely rather, should a man speak at all, unless it is for the sake of something that is to be done; this spoken, let him go and do his part in it, and say no more about it.

I will only add that it is possible,—all this fine theorem of Goethe's, or something similar! Consider what we have already; and what 'difficulties' we have overcome. I should say there is nothing in the world you can conceive so difficult, *prima facie*, as that of getting a set of men gathered together as soldiers. Rough, rude, ignorant, disobedient people; you gather them together, promise them a shilling a day; rank them up, give them very severe and sharp drill; and by bullying and drilling and compelling (the word *drilling*, if you go to the original, means 'beating,' 'steadily *tormenting*' to the due pitch), they do learn what it is necessary to learn; and there is your man in red coat, a trained soldier; piece of an animated machine incomparably the most potent in this world; a

wonder of wonders to look at. He will go where bidden; obeys one man, will walk into the cannon's mouth for him; does punctually whatever is commanded by his general officer. And, I believe, all manner of things of this kind could be accomplished, if there were the same attention bestowed. Very many things could be regimented, organized into this mute system;—and perhaps in some of the mechanical, commercial, and manufacturing departments, some faint incipiences may be attempted before very long. For the saving of human labour, and the avoidance of human misery, the effects would be incalculable, were it set about and begun even in part.

Alas, it is painful to think how very far away it all is, any real fulfilment of such things! For I need not hide from you, young gentlemen,—and it is one of the last things I am going to tell you,—that you have got into a very troublous epoch of the world; and I don't think you will find your path in it to be smoother than ours has been, though you have many advantages which we had not. You have careers open to you, by public examinations and so on, which is a thing much to be approved of, and which we hope to see perfected more and more. All that was entirely unknown in my time, and you have many things to recognise as advantages. But you will find the ways of the world, I think, more anarchical than ever. Look where one will, revolution has come upon us. We have got into the age of revolutions. All kinds of things are coming to be subjected to fire, as it were: hotter and hotter blows the element round everything. Curious to see how, in Oxford and other places that used to seem as lying at anchor in the stream of time, regardless of all changes, they are getting into the highest humour of mutation, and all sorts of new ideas are afloat. It is evident that whatever is not inconsumable, made of *asbestos*, will have to be burnt, in this world. Nothing other will stand the heat it is getting exposed to.

And in saying that, I am but saying in other words that we are in an epoch of anarchy. Anarchy *plus* a constable! (*Laughter*.) There is nobody that picks one's pocket without some policeman being ready to take him up. (*Renewed laughter*.) But in every other point, man is becoming more and more the son, not of Cosmos, but of Chaos. He is a disobedient, discontented, reckless, and altogether waste kind of object (the commonplace man is, in these epochs); and the wiser kind of man,—the select few, of whom I hope you will be part,—has more and more to see to this, to look vigilantly forward; and will require to move with double wisdom. Will find, in short, that the crooked things he has got to pull straight in his own life all round him, wherever he may go, are manifold, and will task all his strength, however great it be.

But why should I complain of that either? For that is the thing a man is born to, in all epochs. He is born to expend every particle of strength that God Almighty has given him, in doing the work he finds he is fit for; to stand up to it to the last breath of life, and do his best. We are called upon to do that; and the reward we all get,—which we are perfectly sure of if we have merited it,—is that we have got the work done, or at least that we have tried to do the work. For that is a great blessing in itself; and I should say, there is not very much more reward than that going in this world. If the man gets meat and clothes, what matters it whether he buy those necessaries with seven thousand a year, or with seven million, could that be, or with seventy pounds a year? He can get meat and clothes for that; and he will find intrinsically, if he is a wise man, wonderfully little real difference. (*Laughter*.)

On the whole, avoid what is called ambition; that is not a fine principle to go upon,—and it has in it all degrees of *vulgarity*, if that is a consideration. 'Seekest thou great things, seek them not:' I warmly second that advice of the wisest of men. Don't be ambitious; don't too much need success; be loyal and modest. Cut down the proud towering thoughts that get into you, or see that they be pure as well as high. There is a nobler ambition than the gaining of all California would be, or the getting of all the suffrages that are on the Planet just now. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*.)

Finally, gentlemen, I have one advice to give you, which is practically of very great importance, though a very humble one. In the midst of your zeal and ardour,—for such, I foresee, will rise high enough, in spite of all the counsels to moderate it that I can give you,—remember the care of health. I have no doubt you have among you young souls ardently bent to consider life cheap, for the purpose of getting forward in what they are aiming at of high; but you are to consider throughout, much more than is done at present, and what it would have been a very great thing for me if I had been able to consider, that health is a thing to be attended to continually; that you are to regard that as the very highest of all temporal things for you. (*Applause*.) There is no kind of achievement you could make in the world that is equal to perfect health. What to it are nuggets and millions? The French financier said, "Why, is there no sleep to be sold!" Sleep was not in the market at any quotation. (*Laughter and applause*.)

It is a curious thing, which I remarked long ago, and have often turned in my head, that the old word for 'holy' in the Teutonic languages, *heilig*, also means 'healthy.' Thus *Heilbronn* means indifferently 'holy-well,' or 'health-well.' We have, in the Scotch too, 'hale,' and its derivatives; and, I suppose, our English

word 'whole' (with a 'w'), all of one piece, without any *hole* in it, is the same word. I find that you could not get any better definition of what 'holy' really is than 'healthy.' Completely healthy; *mens sana in corpore sano*. (*Applause*.) A man all lucid, and in equilibrium. His intellect a clear mirror geometrically plane, brilliantly sensitive to all objects and impressions made on it, and imaging all things in their correct proportions; not twisted up into convex or concave, and distorting everything, so that he cannot see the truth of the matter without endless groping and manipulation: healthy, clear, and free, and discerning truly all round him. We never can attain that at all. In fact, the operations we have got into are destructive of it. You cannot, if you are going to do any decisive intellectual operation that will last a long while; if, for instance, you are going to write a book,—you cannot manage it (at least, I never could) without getting decidedly made ill by it: and really one nevertheless must; if it is your business, you are obliged to follow out what you are at, and to do it, if even at the expense of health. Only remember, at all times, to get back as fast as possible out of it into health; and regard that as the real equilibrium and centre of things. You should always look at the *heilig*, which means 'holy' as well as 'healthy.'

And that old etymology,—what a lesson it is against certain gloomy, austere, ascetic people, who have gone about as if this world were all a dismal prison-house. It has indeed got all the ugly things in it which I have been alluding to; but there is an eternal sky over it; and the blessed sunshine, the green of prophetic spring, and rich *harvests* coming,—all this is in it too. Piety does not mean that a man should make a sour face about things, and refuse to enjoy wisely what his Maker has given. Neither do you find it to have been so with the best sort,—with old Knox, in particular. No; if you look into Knox you will find a beautiful Scotch humour in him, as well as the grimmest and sternest truth when necessary, and a great deal of laughter. We find really some of the sunniest glimpses of things come out of Knox that I have seen in any man; for instance, in his *History of the Reformation*,—which is a book I hope every one of you will read (*Applause*), a glorious old book.

On the whole, I would bid you stand up to your work, whatever it may be, and not be afraid of it; not in sorrows or contradictions to yield, but to push on towards the goal. And don't suppose that people are hostile to you or have you at ill-will, in the world. In general, you will rarely find anybody designedly doing you ill. You may feel often as if the whole world were obstructing you, setting itself against you: but you will find that to mean only, that the world is travelling in a different way from you, and, rushing on in its own path, heedlessly treads on you. That is mostly all: to you no specific ill-will;—only each has an

extremely good-will to himself, which he has a right to have, and is rushing on towards his object. Keep out of literature, I should say also, as a general rule (*Laughter*),—though that is by-the-by. If you find many people who are hard and indifferent to you, in a world which you consider to be inhospitable and cruel, as often indeed happens to a tender-hearted, striving young creature, you will also find there are noble hearts who will look kindly on you; and their help will be precious to you beyond price. You will get good and evil as you go on, and have the success that has been appointed you.

I will wind up with a small bit of verse which is from Goethe also, and has often gone through my mind. To me, it has something of a modern psalm in it, in some measure. It is deep as the foundations, deep and high, and it is true and clear:—no clearer man, or nobler and grander intellect has lived in the world, I believe, since Shakspeare left it. This is what the poet sings;—a kind of road-melody or marching-music of mankind:

'The Future hides in it
Gladness and sorrow;
We press still thorow,
Nought that abides in it
Daunting us,—onward.

And solemn before us,
Veiled, the dark Portal;
Goal of all mortal:—
Stars silent rest o'er us,
Graves under us silent.

While earnest thou gazest,
Comes boding of terror,
Comes phantasm and error;
Perplexes the bravest
With doubt and misgiving.

But heard are the Voices,
Heard are the Sages,
The Worlds and the Ages:
"Choose well, your choice is
Brief, and yet endless.

Here eyes do regard you,
In Eternity's stillness;
Here is all fulness,
Ye brave, to reward you;
Work, and despair not.'"

Work, and despair not: *Wir heissen euch hoffen*, We bid you be of hope!—let that be my last word. Gentlemen, I thank you for your great patience in hearing me; and, with many most kind wishes, say Adieu for this time.

FINIS OF RECTORSHIP.—'*Edinburgh University*. Mr. Carlyle, ex-Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, has been asked to deliver a valedictory address to the students, but has declined. The following is a copy of the correspondence.

'2 S.-W. Circus Place, Edinburgh, 3d December, 1868.

'SIR,—On the strength of being Vice-President of the Committee for your election as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, I have been induced to write to you, in order to know if you will be able to deliver a Valedictory Address to the Students. Mr. Gladstone gave us one, and we fondly hope you will find it convenient to do so as well. Your Inaugural Address is still treasured up in our memories, and I am sure nothing could give us greater pleasure than once more to listen to your words. I trust you will pardon me for this intrusion; and hoping to receive a favourable answer, I am, &c.

'A. ROBERTSON, M.A.

'T. CARLYLE, ESQ.

'Chelsea, 9th December 1868.

'DEAR SIR,—I much regret that a Valedictory Speech from me, in present circumstances, is a thing I must not think of. Be pleased to assure the young Gentlemen who were so friendly towards me, that I have already sent them, in silence, but with emotions deep enough, perhaps too deep, my loving Farewell, and that ingratitude, or want of regard, is by no means among the causes that keep me absent. With a fine youthful enthusiasm, beautiful to look upon, they bestowed on me that bit of honour, loyally all they had; and it has now, for reasons one and another, become touchingly memorable to me,—touchingly, and even grandly and tragically,—never to be forgotten for the remainder of my life.

'Bid them, in my name, if they still love me, fight the good fight, and quit themselves like men, in the warfare, to which *they* are as if conscript and consecrated, and which lies ahead. Tell them to consult the eternal oracles (not yet inaudible, not ever to become so, when worthily inquired of); and to disregard, nearly altogether, in comparison, the temporary noises, menacings and deliriums. May they love Wisdom as Wisdom, if she is to yield *her* treasures, must be loved,—piously, valiantly, humbly, beyond life itself or the prizes of life, with all one's heart, and all one's soul:—in that case (I will say again), and not in any other case, it shall be well with them.

'Adieu, my young Friends, a long adieu.

'Yours with great sincerity,
'T. Carlyle.

'A Robertson, Esq.'*

* Edinburgh Newspapers of December 12-13, 1868.

SHOOTING NIAGARA: AND AFTER?

I.

THERE probably never was since the Heptarchy ended, or almost since it began, so hugely critical an epoch in the history of England as this we have now entered upon, with universal self-congratulation and flinging up of caps; nor one in which,—with no Norman Invasion now ahead, to lay hold of it, to bridle and regulate it for us (little thinking it was *for us*), and guide it into higher and wider regions,—the question of utter death or of nobler new life for the poor Country was so uncertain. Three things seem to be agreed upon by gods and men, at least by English men and gods; certain to happen, and are now in visible course of fulfilment.

1° *Democracy* to complete itself; to go the full length of its course, towards the Bottomless or into it, no power now extant to prevent it or even considerably retard it,—till we have seen where it will lead us to, and whether there will *then* be any return possible, or none. Complete "liberty" to all persons; Count of Heads to be the Divine Court of Appeal on every question and interest of mankind; Count of Heads to choose a Parliament according to its own heart at last, and sit with Penny Newspapers zealously watching the same; said Parliament, so chosen and so watched, to do what trifle of legislating and administering may still be needed in such an England, with its hundred and fifty millions 'free' more and more to follow each his own nose, by way of guide-post in this intricate world.

2° That, in a limited time, say 50 years hence, the Church, all Churches and so-called religions, the Christian Religion itself, shall have deliquesced,—into

"Liberty of Conscience," Progress of Opinion, Progress of Intellect, Philanthropic Movement, and other aqueous residues, of a vapid badly-scented character;—and shall, like water spilt upon the ground, trouble nobody considerably thenceforth, but evaporate at its leisure.

3° That, in lieu thereof, there shall be Free Trade, in all senses, and to all lengths: unlimited Free Trade,—which some take to mean, 'Free racing, ere long with unlimited speed, in the career of *Cheap and Nasty;*'—this beautiful career, not in shop-goods only, but in all things temporal, spiritual and eternal, to be flung generously open, wide as the portals of the Universe; so that everybody shall start free, and everywhere, 'under enlightened popular suffrage,' the race shall be to the swift, and the high office shall fall to him who is ablest if not to do it, at least to get elected for doing it.

These are three altogether new and very considerable achievements, lying visibly ahead of us, not far off,—and so extremely considerable, that every thinking English creature is tempted to go into manifold reflections and inquiries upon them. My own have not been wanting, any time these thirty years past, but they have not been of a joyful or triumphant nature; not prone to utter themselves; indeed expecting, till lately, that they might with propriety lie unuttered altogether. But the series of events comes swifter and swifter, at a strange rate; and hastens unexpectedly,—'velocity increasing' (if you will consider, for this too is as when the little stone has been loosened, which sets the whole mountain side in motion) 'as the *square* of the time':—so that the wisest Prophecy finds it was quite wrong as to date; and, patiently, or even indolently waiting, is astonished to see itself fulfilled, not in centuries as anticipated, but in decades and years. It was a clear prophecy, for instance, that Germany would either become honourably Prussian or go to gradual annihilation: but who of us expected that we ourselves, instead of our children's children, should live to behold it; that a magnanimous and fortunate Herr von Bismarck, whose dispraise was in all the Newspapers, would, to his own amazement, find the thing now doable; and would do it, do the essential of it, in a few of the current weeks? That England would have to take the Niagara leap of completed Democracy one day, was also a plain prophecy, though uncertain as to time.

II.

The prophecy, truly, was plain enough this long while:—"Δόγμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τίσ μεταβάλλει; For who can change the opinion of these people!" as the sage Antoninus notes. It is indeed strange how prepossessions and delusions seize

upon whole communities of men; no basis in the notion they have formed, yet everybody adopting it, everybody finding the whole world agree with him in it, and accept it as an axiom of Euclid; and, in the universal repetition and reverberation, taking all contradiction of it as an insult, and a sign of malicious insanity, hardly to be borne with patience. "For who can change the opinion of these people?" as our Divus Imperator says. No wisest of mortals. This people cannot be convinced out of its "axiom of Euclid" by any reasoning whatsoever; on the contrary, all the world assenting, and continually repeating and reverberating, there soon comes that singular phenomenon, which the Germans call *Schwärmerey* ('*enthusiasm*' is our poor Greek equivalent), which means simply '*Swarmery*,' or the 'Gathering of Men in Swarms,' and what prodigies they are in the habit of doing and believing, when thrown into that miraculous condition. Some big Queen Bee is in the centre of the swarm;—but any commonplace stupidest *bee*, Cleon the Tanner, Beales, John of Leyden, John of Bromwicham, any bee whatever, if he can happen, by noise or otherwise, to be chosen for the function, will straightway get fatted and inflated into *bulk*, which of itself means complete capacity; no difficulty about your Queen Bee: and the swarm once formed, finds itself impelled to action, as with one heart and one mind. Singular, in the case of human swarms, with what perfection of unanimity and quasi-religious conviction the stupidest absurdities can be received as axioms of Euclid, nay as articles of faith, which you are not only to believe, unless malignantly insane, but are (if you have any honour or morality) to push into practice, and without delay see *done*, if your soul would live! Divine commandment *to vote* ("Manhood Suffrage,"—Horsehood, Doghood ditto not yet treated of); universal "glorious Liberty" (to Sons of the Devil in overwhelming majority, as would appear); count of Heads the God-appointed way in this Universe, all other ways Devil-appointed; in one brief word, which includes whatever of palpable incredibility and delirious absurdity, universally believed, can be uttered or imagined, on these points, "the equality of men," any man equal to any other; Quashee Nigger to Socrates or Shakspeare; Judas Iscariot to Jesus Christ;—and Bedlam and Gehenna equal to the New Jerusalem, shall we say? If these things are taken up, not only as axioms of Euclid, but as articles of religion burning to be put in practice for the salvation of the world,—I think you will admit that *Swarmery* plays a wonderful part in the heads of poor Mankind; and that very considerable results are likely to follow from it in our day!

But you will in vain attempt, by argument of human intellect, to contradict or turn aside any of these divine axioms, indisputable as those of Euclid, and of sacred or quasi-celestial quality to boot: if you have neglected the one

method (which was a silent one) of dealing with them at an early stage, they are thenceforth invincible; and will plunge more and more madly forward towards practical fulfilment:—once fulfilled, it will then be seen how credible and wise they were. Not even the Queen Bee but will then know what to think of them. Then, and never till then.

By far the notablest case of *Swarmery*, in these times, is that of the late American War, with Settlement of the Nigger Question for result. Essentially the Nigger Question was one of the smallest; and in itself did not much concern mankind in the present time of struggles and hurries. One always rather likes the Nigger; evidently a poor blockhead with good dispositions, with affections, attachments,—with a turn for Nigger Melodies, and the like:—he is the only Savage of all the coloured races that doesn't die out on sight of the White Man; but can actually live beside him, and work and increase and be merry. The Almighty Maker has appointed him to be a Servant. Under penalty of Heaven's curse, neither party to this pre-appointment shall neglect or misdo his duties therein;—and it is certain (though as yet widely unknown), Servantship on the *nomadic* principle, at the rate of so many shillings per day, *cannot* be other than misdone. The whole world rises in shrieks against you, on hearing of such a thing:—yet the whole world, listening to those cool Sheffield disclosures of *rattening*, and the market-rates of murder in that singular 'Sheffield Assassination Company (Limited),' feels its hair rising on end;—to little purpose hitherto; being without even a gallows to make response! The fool of a world listens, year after year, for above a generation back, to "disastrous *strikes*," "merciless *lockouts*," and other details of the nomadic scheme of servitude; nay is becoming thoroughly disquieted about its own too lofty-minded flunkies, mutinous maid-servants (ending, naturally enough, as "distressed needle-women" who cannot sew; thirty thousand of these latter now on the pavements of London), and the kindred phenomena on every hand: but it will be long before the fool of a world open its eyes to the taproot of all that,—to the fond notion, in short, That servantship and mastership, on the nomadic principle, was ever, or will ever be, except for brief periods, possible among human creatures. Poor souls, and when they have discovered it, what a puddling and weltering, and scolding and jargoning, there will be, before the first real step towards remedy is taken!

Servantship, like all solid contracts between men (like wedlock itself, which was *once* nomadic enough, temporary enough!), must become a contract of permanency, not easy to dissolve, but difficult extremely,—a "contract for life," if you can manage it (which you cannot, without many wise laws and regulations,

and a great deal of earnest thought and anxious experience), will evidently be the best of all.* And this was already the Nigger's essential position. Mischief, irregularities, injustices did probably abound between Nigger and Buckra; but the poisonous taproot of all mischief, and impossibility of fairness, humanity, or well-doing in the contract, never had been there! Of all else the remedy was easy in comparison; vitally important to every just man concerned in it; and, under all obstructions (which in the American case, begirt with frantic "Abolitionists," fire-breathing like the old Chimæra, were immense), was gradually getting itself done. To me individually the Nigger's case was not the most pressing in the world, but among the least so! America, however, had got into *Swarmery* upon it (not America's blame either, but in great part ours, and that of the nonsense *we* sent over to them); and felt that in the Heavens or the Earth there was nothing so godlike, or incomparably pressing to be done. Their energy, their valour, their &c. &c. were worthy of the stock they sprang from:—and now, poor fellows, *done* it they have, with a witness. A continent of the earth has been submerged, for certain years, by deluges as from the Pit of Hell; half a million (some say a whole million, but surely they exaggerate†) of excellent White Men, full of gifts and faculty, have torn and slashed one another into horrid death, in a temporary humour, which will leave centuries of remembrance, fierce enough: and three million absurd Blacks, men and brothers (of a sort), are completely "emancipated;" launched into the career of improvement,—likely to be 'improved off the face of the earth' in a generation or two! That is the dismal prediction to me, of the warmest enthusiast to their Cause whom I have known of American men,—who doesn't regret his great efforts either, in the great Cause now won, Cause incomparably the most important on Earth or in Heaven at this time. *Papae, papae;* wonderful indeed!

* "*Ilias* (*Americana*) *in Nuce*.

PETER *of the North* (*to* PAUL *of the South*): "Paul, you unaccountable scoundrel, I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year as I do! You are going straight to Hell, you—!"

PAUL: "Good words, Peter! The risk is my own; I am willing to take the risk. Hire you your servants by the month or the day, and get straight to Heaven; leave me to my own method."

PETER: "No, I won't. I will beat your brains out first!" (*And is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it.*)—T.C.

3d May 1863.'—(*Macmillan's Magazine*, for August 1863.)

† 'More than half a million.' (Lunt, *Origin of the late War:* New York, 1867.)

In our own country, too, *Swarmery* has played a great part for many years past; and especially is now playing, in these very days and months. Our accepted axioms about "Liberty," "Constitutional Government," "Reform," and the like objects, are of truly wonderful texture: venerable by antiquity, many of them, and written in all manner of Canonical Books; or else, the newer part of them, celestially clear as perfect unanimity of all tongues, and *Vox populi vox Dei*, can make them: axioms confessed, or even inspirations and gospel verities, to the general mind of man. To the mind of here and there a man, it begins to be suspected that perhaps they are only conditionally true; that taken unconditionally, or under changed conditions, they are not true, but false and even disastrously and fatally so. Ask yourself about "Liberty," for example; what you do really mean by it, what in any just and rational soul is that Divine quality of liberty? That a good man be "free," as we call it, be permitted to unfold himself in works of goodness and nobleness, is surely a blessing to him, immense and indispensable;—to him and to those about him. But that a bad man be "free,"—permitted to unfold himself in *his* particular way, is contrariwise, the fatallest curse you could inflict on him; curse and nothing else, to him and all his neighbours. Him the very Heavens call upon you to persuade, to urge, induce, compel, into something of well-doing; if you absolutely cannot, if he will continue in ill-doing,—then for him (I can assure you, though you will be shocked to hear it), the one "blessing" left is the speediest gallows you can lead him to. Speediest, that at least his ill-doing may cease *quàm primùm*. Oh, my friends, whither are you buzzing and swarming, in this extremely absurd manner? Expecting a Millennium from "extension of the suffrage," laterally, vertically, or in whatever way?

All the Millenniums I ever heard of heretofore were to be preceded by a "chaining of the Devil for a thousand years,"—laying *him* up, tied neck and heels, and put beyond stirring, as the preliminary. You too have been taking preliminary steps, with more and more ardour, for a thirty years back; but they seem to be all in the opposite direction: a cutting asunder of straps and ties, wherever you might find them; pretty indiscriminate of choice in the matter: a general repeal of old regulations, fetters, and restrictions (restrictions on the Devil originally, I believe, for most part, but now fallen slack and ineffectual), which had become unpleasant to many of you,—with loud shouting from the multitude, as strap after strap was cut, "Glory, glory, another strap is gone!"—this, I think, has mainly been the sublime legislative industry of Parliament since it became "Reform Parliament;" victoriously successful, and thought sublime and beneficent by some. So that now hardly any limb of the Devil has a thrum, or tatter of rope or leather left upon it:—there needs almost superhuman heroism in you

to "whip" a Garotter; no Fenian taken with the reddest hand is to be meddled with, under penalties; hardly a murderer, never so detestable and hideous, but you find him "insane," and 'board him at the public expense,' a very peculiar *British* Prytaneum of these days! And in fact, THE DEVIL (he, verily, if you will consider the sense of words) is likewise become an Emancipated Gentleman; lithe of limb, as in Adam and Eve's time, and scarcely a toe or finger of him *tied* any more. And you, my astonishing friends, *you* are certainly getting into a millennium, such as never was before,—hardly even in the dreams of Bedlam. Better luck to you by the *way*, my poor friends;—a little less of buzzing, humming, *swarming* (*i. e.* tumbling in infinite noise and darkness), that you might try to look a little, each for himself, what kind of "way" it is!

But indeed your "Reform" movement, from of old, has been wonderful to me; everybody meaning by it, not 'Reformation,' practical amendment of his own foul courses, or even of his neighbour's, which is always much welcomer; no thought of that whatever, though that, you would say, is the one thing to be thought of and aimed at;—but meaning simply "Extension of the Suffrage." Bring in more voting; that will clear away the universal rottenness, and quagmire of mendacities, in which poor England is drowning; let England only vote sufficiently, and all is clean and sweet again. A very singular *swarmery* this of the Reform movement, I must say.

III.

Inexpressibly delirious seems to me, at present in my solitude, the puddle of Parliament and Public upon what it calls the "Reform Measure;" that is to say, The calling in of new supplies of blockheadism, gullibility, bribeability, amenability to beer and balderdash, by way of amending the woes we have had from our previous supplies of that bad article. The intellect of a man who believes in the possibility of "improvement" by such a method is to me a finished off and shut up intellect, with which I would not argue: mere waste of wind between us to exchange words on that class of topics. It is not Thought, this which my reforming brother utters to me with such emphasis and eloquence; it is mere 'reflex and reverberation,' repetition of what he has always heard others imagining to think, and repeating as orthodox, indisputable, and the gospel of our salvation in this world. Does not all Nature groan everywhere, and lie in bondage, till you give it a Parliament? Is one a man at all unless one have a suffrage to Parliament? These are axioms admitted by all English creatures for the last two hundred years. If you have the misfortune not to believe in them at all, but to

believe the contrary for a long time past, the inferences and inspirations drawn from them, and the '*swarmeries*' and enthusiasms of mankind thereon, will seem to you not a little marvellous!—

Meanwhile the *good* that lies in this delirious "new Reform Measure,"—as there lies something of good in almost everything,—is perhaps not inconsiderable. It accelerates notably what I have long looked upon as inevitable;—pushes us at once into the Niagara Rapids: irresistibly propelled, with ever-increasing velocity, we shall now arrive; who knows how *soon!* For a generation past, it has been growing more and more evident that there was only this issue; but now the issue itself has become imminent, the distance of it to be guessed by years. Traitorous Politicians, grasping at votes, even votes from the rabble, have brought it on;—one cannot but consider them traitorous; and for one's own poor share, would rather have been shot than been concerned in it. And yet, after all my silent indignation and disgust, I cannot pretend to be clearly sorry that such a consummation is expedited. I say to myself, "Well, perhaps the sooner such a mass of hypocrisies, universal mismanagements and brutal platitudes and infidelities *ends*,—if not in some improvement, then in death and finis,—may it not be the better? The sum of our sins, increasing steadily day by day, will at least be less, the sooner the settlement is!" Nay, have not I a kind of secret satisfaction, of the malicious or even of the judiciary kind (*schadenfreude*, 'mischief-joy,' the Germans call it, but really it is *justice*-joy withal), that he they call "Dizzy" is to do it; that other jugglers, of an unconscious and deeper type, having sold their poor Mother's body for a mess of Official Pottage, this clever conscious juggler steps in, "Soft you, my honourable friends; I will weigh out the corpse of your Mother (mother of mine she never was, but only stepmother and milk-cow);—and you shan't have the pottage: not yours, you observe, but mine!" This really is a pleasing trait of its sort. Other traits there are abundantly ludicrous, but they are too lugubrious to be even momentarily pleasant. A superlative Hebrew Conjuror, spell-binding all the great Lords, great Parties, great Interests of England, to his hand in this manner, and leading them by the nose, like helpless mesmerised somnambulant cattle, to such issue,—did the world ever see a *flebile ludibrium* of such magnitude before? Lath-sword, and Scissors of Destiny; Pickleherring and the Three *Parcæ*, alike busy in it. This too, I suppose, we had deserved. The end of our poor Old England (such an England as we had at last made of it) to be not a tearful Tragedy, but an ignominious Farce as well!—

Perhaps the consummation may be now nearer than is thought. It seems to me sometimes as if everybody had privately now given up serious notion of resisting it. Beales and his ragamuffins pull down the railings of Her Majesty's Park, when Her Majesty refuses admittance; Home Secretary Walpole (representing England's Majesty) listens to a Colonel Dickson talking of "barricades," "improvised pikes," &c.; does *not* order him to be conducted, and if necessary, to be kicked down stairs, with injunction never to return, in case of worse; and when Beales says, "I will see that the Queen's Peace is kept," Queen (by her Walpole) answers, "Will you, then; God bless *you!*" and bursts into tears. Those 'tears' are certainly an epoch in England; nothing seen, or dreamt of, like them in the History of poor England till now.

In the same direction we have also our remarkable "Jamaica Committee;" and a Lord Chief Justice 'speaking six hours' (with such "eloquence," such &c. &c. as takes with ravishment the general Editorial ear, Penny and Threepenny), to prove that there is no such thing, nor ever was, as Martial Law;—and that any governor, commanded soldier, or official person, putting down the frightfullest Mob-insurrection, Black or White, shall do it with the rope round *his* neck, by way of encouragement to him. Nobody answers this remarkable Lord Chief Justice, "Lordship, if you were to speak for six hundred years, instead of six hours, you would only prove the more to us that, unwritten if you will, but real and fundamental, anterior to all written laws, and first making written laws *possible*, there must have been, and is, and will be, coeval with Human Society, from its first beginnings to its ultimate end, an actual *Martial Law*, of more validity than any other law whatever. Lordship, if there is no written law that three and three shall be six, do you wonder at the Statute Book for that omission? You may shut those eloquent lips, and go home to dinner. May your shadow never be less; greater it perhaps has little chance of being."

Truly one knows not whether less to venerate the Majesty's Ministers, who, instead of rewarding their Governor Eyre, throw him out of window to a small loud group, small as now appears, and nothing but a group or knot of rabid Nigger-Philanthropists, barking furiously in the gutter, and threatening one's Reform Bill with loss of certain friends and votes (which could not save it, either, the dear object),—or that other unvenerable Majesty's Ministry, which on Beales's generous undertaking for the Peace of an afflicted Queen's Majesty, bursts into tears.

Memorable considerably, and altogether new in our History, are both those ministerial feats; and both point significantly the same way. The perceptible, but as yet unacknowledged truth is, people are getting dimly sensible that our

Social Affairs and Arrangements, all but the money-safe, are pretty universally a Falsehood, an elaborate old-established Hypocrisy, which is even serving its own poor private purpose ill, and is openly mismanaging every public purpose or interest, to a shameful and indefensible extent. For such a Hypocrisy, in any detail of it (except the money-safe), nobody, official or other, is willing to risk his skin; but cautiously looks round whether there is no postern to retire by, and retires accordingly,—leaving any mob-leader, Beales, John of Leyden, Walter-the-Pennyless, or other impotent enough loud individual, with his tail of loud Roughs, to work their own sweet will. Safer to humour the mob, than repress them, with the rope about *your* neck. Everybody sees this Official slinking off, has a secret fellow-feeling with it; nobody admires it; but the spoken disapproval is languid, and generally from the teeth outwards. "Has not everybody been very good to you?" say the highest Editors, in these current days, admonishing and soothing down Beales and his Roughs.

So that if loud mobs, supported by one or two Eloquences in the House, choose to proclaim, some day, with vociferation, as some day they will, "Enough of kingship, and its grimacings and futilities! Is it not a Hypocrisy and Humbug, as you yourselves well know? We demand to become *Commonwealth of England;* that will perhaps be better, worse it cannot be!"—in such case, how much of available resistance does the reader think would ensue? From official persons, with the rope round their neck, should you expect a great amount? I do not; or that resistance to the death would anywhere, 'within these walls' or without, be the prevailing phenomenon.

For we are a people drowned in Hypocrisy; saturated with it to the bone:—alas it is even so, in spite of far other intentions at one time, and of a languid, dumb, but ineradicable inward protest against it still:—and we are beginning to be universally conscious of that horrible condition, and by no means disposed to die in behalf of continuing it! It has lasted long, that unblessed process; process of 'lying to steep in the Devil's Pickle,' for above two hundred years (I date the formal beginning of it from the year 1660, and desperate *return* of Sacred Majesty after such an ousting as it had got); process which appears to be now about complete. Who could regret the finis of such a thing; finis on any terms whatever! Possibly it will not be death eternal, possibly only death temporal, death temporary.

My neighbours, by the million against one, all expect that it will almost certainly be New-birth, a Saturnian time,—with gold nuggets themselves more plentiful than ever. As for us we will say, Rejoice in the *awakening* of poor England even on these terms. To lie torpid, sluttishly gurgling and mumbling,

spiritually in soak 'in the Devil's Pickle' (choicest elixir the Devil brews,—is not unconscious or half-conscious *Hypocrisy*, and quiet *Make-believe* of yourself and others, strictly that?) for above two hundred years: that was the infinitely dismal condition, all others are but finitely so.

IV.

Practically the worthiest inquiry, in regard to all this, would be: "What are probably the steps towards consummation all this will now take; what are, in main features, the issues it will arrive at, on unexpectedly (with immense surprise to the most) *shooting* Niagara, to the bottom? And above all, what are the possibilities, resources, impediments, conceivable methods and attemptings of its ever getting out again?" Darker subject of Prophecy can be laid before no man: and to be candid with myself, up to this date, I have never seriously meditated it, far less grappled with it as a Problem in any sort practical. Let me avoid branch *first* of this inquiry altogether. If 'immortal smash,' and shooting of the Falls, be the one issue ahead, our and the reformed Parliament's procedures and adventures in arriving there are not worth conjecturing in comparison!—And yet the inquiry means withal, both branches if it mean, "What are the duties of good citizens in it, now and onwards?" Meditated it must be, and light sought on it, however hard or impossible to find! It is not always the part of the infinitesimally small minority of wise men and good citizens to sit silent; idle they should never sit.

Supposing the *Commonwealth* established, and Democracy rampant, as in America, or in France by fits for 70 odd years past,—it is a favourable fact that our Aristocracy, in their essential height of position, and capability (or possibility) of doing good, are not at once likely to be interfered with; that they will be continued farther on their trial, and only the question somewhat more stringently put to them, "What *are* you good for, then? Shew us, shew us, or else disappear!" I regard this as potentially a great benefit;—springing from what seems a mad enough phenomenon, the fervid zeal in *behalf* of this "new Reform Bill" and all kindred objects, which is manifested by the better kind of our young Lords and Honourables; a thing very curious to me. Somewhat resembling that bet of the impetuous Irish carpenter, astride of his plank firmly stuck out of window in the sixth story, "Two to one, I *can* saw this plank in so many minutes;" and sawing accordingly, fiercely impetuous,—with success! But from the maddest thing, as we said, there usually may come some particle of good withal (if any poor particle of *good* did lie in it, waiting to be disen-

gaged!)—and this is a signal instance of that kind. Our Aristocracy are not hated or disliked by any Class of the People, but on the contrary are looked up to,—with a certain vulgarly human admiration, and spontaneous recognition of their good qualities and good fortune, which is by no means wholly envious or wholly servile,—by all classes, lower and lowest class included. And indeed, in spite of lamentable exceptions too visible all round, my vote would still be, That, from Plebs to Princeps, there was still no Class among us intrinsically so valuable and recommendable.

What the possibilities of our Aristocracy might still be? this is a question I have often asked myself. Surely their possibilities might still be considerable; though I confess they lie in a most abstruse, and as yet quite uninvestigated condition. But a body of brave men, and of beautiful polite women, furnished *gratis* as they are,—some of them (as my Lord Derby, I am told, in a few years will be) with not far from two-thirds of a million sterling annually,—ought to be good for something, in a society mostly fallen vulgar and chaotic like ours! More than once, I have been affected with a deep sorrow and respect for noble souls among them, and their high stoicism, and silent resignation to a kind of life which they individually could not alter, and saw to be so empty and paltry: life of giving and receiving Hospitalities in a gracefully splendid manner. "This, then" (such mute soliloquy I have read on some noble brow), "this, and something of Village-schools, of Consulting with the Parson, care of Peasant Cottages and Economies, is to be all our task in the world? Well, well; let us at least *do* this, in our most perfect way!"

In past years, I have sometimes thought what a thing it would be, could the Queen 'in Council' (in Parliament or wherever it were) pick out some gallant-minded, stout, well-gifted Cadet,—younger son of a Duke, of an Earl, of a Queen herself; younger Son doomed now to go mainly to the Devil, for absolute want of a career;—and say to him, "Young fellow, if there do lie in you potentialities of governing, of gradually guiding, leading and coercing to a noble goal, how sad is it they should be all lost! They are the grandest gifts a mortal can have; and they are, of all, the most necessary to other mortals in this world. See, I have scores on scores of 'Colonies,' all ungoverned, and nine-tenths of them full of jungles, boa-constrictors, rattlesnakes, Parliamentary Eloquences, and Emancipated Niggers, ripening towards nothing but destruction: one of these *you* shall have, you as Vice-King; on rational conditions, and *ad vitam aut culpam* it shall be yours (and perhaps your posterity's if worthy): go you and buckle with it, in the name of Heaven; and let us see what you will build it to!" To something how much better than the Parliamentary Eloquences are doing,—thinks the

reader? Good Heavens, these West-India Islands, some of them, appear to be the richest and most favoured spots on the Planet Earth. Jamaica is an angry subject, and I am shy to speak of it. Poor Dominica itself is described to me in a way to kindle a heroic young heart; look at Dominica for an instant:

Hemispherical, they say, or in the shape of an Inverted Washbowl; rim of it, first twenty miles of it all round, starting from the sea, is flat alluvium, the fruitfullest in Nature, fit for any noblest spice or product, but unwholesome except for Niggers held steadily to their work: ground then gradually rises, umbrageously rich throughout, becomes fit for coffee; still rises, now bears oak woods, cereals, Indian corn, English wheat, and in this upper portion is salubrious and delightful for the European,—who might there spread and grow, according to the wisdom given him; say only to a population of 100,000 adult men; well fit to defend their Island against all comers, and beneficently keep steady to their work, a million of Niggers on the lower ranges. What a kingdom my poor Friedrich Wilhelm, followed by his Friedrich, would have made of this Inverted Washbowl; clasped round, and lovingly kissed and laved, by the beautifullest seas in the world, and beshone by the grandest sun and sky!

"Forever impossible," say you; "contrary to all our notions, regulations, and ways of proceeding or of thinking?" Well, I dare say. And the state your regulations have it in, at present, is: Population of 100 white men (by no means of select type); unknown cipher of rattlesnakes, profligate Niggers, and Mulattoes; governed by a Piebald Parliament of Eleven (head Demosthenes there a Nigger Tinman),—and so exquisite a care of Being and of Well-being that the old Fortifications have become jungle quarries (Tinman "at liberty to tax himself"), vigorous roots penetrating the old ashlar, dislocating it everywhere, with tropical effect; old cannon going quietly to honeycomb and oxide of iron in the vigorous embrace of jungle: military force nil, police force next to nil: an Island capable of being taken by the crew of a man-of-war's boat. And indeed it was nearly lost, the other year, by an accidental collision of two Niggers on the street, and a concourse of other idle Niggers to see,—who would not go away again, but idly re-assembled with increased numbers on the morrow, and with ditto the next day; assemblage pointing *ad infinitum* seemingly,—had not some charitable small French Governor, from his bit of Island within reach, sent over a Lieutenant and twenty soldiers, to extinguish the devouring absurdity, and order it home straightway to its bed; which instantly saved this valuable Possession of ours, and left our Demosthenic Tinman and his Ten, with their liberty to tax themselves as heretofore. Is not "Self-government" a sublime thing, in Colonial Islands and some others? But to leave all this.

V.

I almost think, when once we have made the Niagara leap, the better kind of our Nobility, perhaps after experimenting, will more and more withdraw themselves from the Parliamentary, Oratorical or Political element; leaving that to such Cleon the Tanner and Company as it rightfully belongs to; and be far more chary of their speech than now. Speech, issuing in no deed, is hateful and contemptible:—how can a man have any nobleness who knows not that? In God's name let us find out what of noble and profitable we can *do;* if it be nothing, let us at least keep silence, and bear gracefully our strange lot!——

The English Nobleman has still left in him, after such sorrowful erosions, something considerable of chivalry and magnanimity: polite he is, in the finest form; politeness, modest, simple, veritable, ineradicable, dwells in him to the bone; I incline to call him the politest kind of nobleman or man (especially his wife the politest and gracefullest kind of woman) you will find in any country. An immense endowment this, if you consider it well! A very great and indispensable help to whatever other faculties of *kingship* a man may have. Indeed it springs from them all (its sources, every kingly faculty lying in you); and is as the beautiful natural skin, and visible sanction, index, and outcome of them all. No king can rule without it; none but potential kings can really have it. In the crude, what we call unbred or *Orson* form, all 'men of genius' have it; but see what it avails some of them,—your Samuel Johnson, for instance,—in that crude form, who was so rich in it, too, in the crude way!

Withal it is perhaps a fortunate circumstance, that the population has no wild notions, no political enthusiasms of a "New Era" or the like. This, though in itself a dreary and ignoble item, in respect of the revolutionary Many, may nevertheless be for good, if the Few *shall* be really high and brave, as things roll on.

Certain it is, there is nothing but vulgarity in our People's expectations, resolutions or desires, in this Epoch. It is all a peaceable mouldering or tumbling down from mere rottenness and decay; whether slowly mouldering or rapidly tumbling, there will be nothing found of real or true in the rubbish-heap, but a most true desire of making money easily, and of eating it pleasantly. A poor ideal for "reformers," sure enough. But it is the fruit of long antecedents, too; and from of old our habits in regard to "reformation," or repairing what went wrong (as something is always doing), have been strangely didactic!

And to such length have we at last brought it, by our wilful, conscious and now long-continued method of using *varnish*, instead of actual repair by honest *carpentry*, of what we all knew and saw to have gone undeniably wrong in our procedures and affairs! Method deliberately, steadily, and even solemnly continued, with much admiration of it from ourselves and others, as the best and only good one, for above two hundred years. Ever since that *annus mirabilis* of 1660, when Oliver Cromwell's dead clay was hung on the gibbet, and a much easier "reign of Christ" under the divine gentleman called Charles II. was thought the fit thing, this has been our steady method: varnish, varnish; if a thing have grown so rotten that it yawns palpable, and is so inexpressibly ugly that the eyes of the very populace discern it and detest it,—bring out a new pot of varnish, with the requisite supply of putty; and lay it on handsomely. Don't spare varnish; how well it will all look in a few days, if laid on well! Varnish alone is cheap and is safe; avoid carpentering, chiselling, sawing and hammering on the old quiet House;—dry-rot is in it, who knows how deep; don't disturb the old beams and junctures: varnish, varnish, if you will be blessed by gods and men! This is called the Constitutional System, Conservative System, and other fine names; and this at last has its fruits,—such as we see. Mendacity hanging in the very air we breathe; all men become, unconsciously or half or wholly-consciously,—*liars* to their own souls and to other men's; grimacing, finessing, periphrasing, in continual hypocrisy of *word*, by way of varnish to continual past, present, future misperformance of *thing:*—clearly sincere about nothing whatever, except in silence, about the appetites of their own huge belly, and the readiest method of assuaging these. From a Population of that sunk kind, ardent only in pursuits that are low and in industries that are sensuous and *beaverish*, there is little peril of *human* enthusiasms, or revolutionary transports, such as occurred in 1789, for instance. A low-minded *pecus* all that; essentially torpid and *ignavum*, on all that is high or nobly human in revolutions.

It is true there is in such a population, of itself, no *help* at all towards reconstruction of the wreck of your Niagara plunge; of themselves they, with whatever cry of "liberty" in their mouths, are inexorably marked by Destiny as *slaves;* and not even the immortal gods could make them free,—except by making them anew and on a different pattern. No help in them at all, to your model Aristocrat, or to any noble man or thing. But then likewise there is no hindrance, or a minimum of it! Nothing there in *bar* of the noble Few, who we always trust will be born to us, generation after generation; and on whom and whose living of a noble and valiantly cosmic life amid the worst impediments and hugest anarchies, the whole of our hope depends. Yes, on them only! If amid the thick-

est welter of surrounding gluttony and baseness, and what must be reckoned bottomless anarchy from shore to shore, there be found no man, no small but invincible minority of men, capable of keeping themselves free from all that, and of living a heroically human life, while the millions round them are noisily living a mere beaverish or doglike one, then truly all hope is gone. But we always struggle to believe Not. Aristocracy by title, by fortune, and position, who can doubt but there are still precious possibilities among the chosen of that class? And if that fail us, there is still, we hope, the unclassed Aristocracy by nature, not inconsiderable in numbers, and supreme in faculty, in wisdom, human talent, nobleness and courage, 'who derive their patent of nobility direct from Almighty God.' If indeed these also fail us, and are trodden out under the unanimous torrent of brutish hoofs and hobnails, and cannot vindicate themselves into clearness here and there, but at length cease even to try it,—then indeed it is all ended: national death, scandalous 'Copper-Captaincy' as of France, stern Russian Abolition and Erasure as of Poland; in one form or another, well deserved annihilation, and dismissal from God's universe, that and nothing else lies ahead for our once heroic England too.

How many of our Titular Aristocracy will prove real gold when thrown into the crucible? That is always a highly interesting question to me; and my answer or guess has still something considerable of hope lurking in it. But the question as to our Aristocracy by Patent from God the Maker, is infinitely interesting. How many of these, amid the ever-increasing bewilderments, and welter of impediments, will be able to develop themselves into something of Heroic Well-doing by act and by word? How many of them will be drawn, pushed and seduced, their very docility and lovingness assisting, into the universal vulgar whirlpool of Parliamenteering, Newspapering, Novel-writing, Comte-Philosophy-ing, immortal Verse-writing, &c. &c. (if of *vocal* turn, as they mostly will be, for some time yet)? How many, by their too desperate resistance to the unanimous vulgar of a Public round them, will become spasmodic instead of strong; and will be overset, and trodden out, under the hoofs and hobnails above-said? Will there, in short, prove to be a recognisable small nucleus of Invincible Ἄριστοι fighting for the Good Cause, in their various wisest ways, and never ceasing or slackening till they die? This is the question of questions, on which all turns; in the answer to this, could we give it clearly, as no man can, lies the oracle-response, "Life for you," "Death for you"! Looking into this, there are fearful dubitations, many. But considering what of Piety, the devoutest and the bravest yet known,

there once was in England, and how extensively, in stupid, maundering and degraded forms, it still lingers, one is inclined timidly to hope the best!

The *best:* for if this small Aristocratic nucleus can hold out and work, it is in the sure case to increase and increase; to become (as Oliver once termed them) "a company of poor men, who will spend all their blood rather." An openly belligerent company, capable at last of taking the biggest slave Nation by the beard, and saying to it, "Enough, ye slaves, and servants of the mud-gods; all this must cease! Our heart abhors all this; our soul is sick under it; God's curse is on us while this lasts. Behold we will all die rather than that this last. Rather all die, we say;—what is your view of the corresponding alternative on your own part?" I see well it must at length come to battle; actual fighting, bloody wrestling, and a great deal of it: but were it unit against thousand, or against thousand-thousand, on the above terms, I know the issue, and have no fear about it. That also is an issue which has been often tried in Human History; and, 'while God lives'—(I hope the phrase is not yet obsolete, for the fact is eternal, though so many have forgotten it!)—said issue can or will fall only one way.

VI.

What we can expect this Aristocracy of Nature to do for us? They are of two kinds: the Speculative, speaking or vocal; and the Practical or industrial, whose function is silent. These are of brother quality; but they go very different roads: 'men of *genius*' they all emphatically are, the 'inspired Gift of God' lodged in each of them. They do infinitely concern the world and us; especially that first or speaking class,—provided God *have* 'touched their lips with his hallowed fire'! Supreme is the importance of these. They are our inspired speakers and seers, the light of the world; who are to deliver the world from its swarmeries, its superstitions (*political* or other);—priceless and indispensable to us that first Class!

Nevertheless it is not of these I mean to speak at present; the topic is far too wide, nor is the call to it so immediately pressing. These Sons of Wisdom, gifted to speak as with hallowed lips a real God's-message to us,—I don't much expect they will be numerous, for a long while yet, nor even perhaps appear at all in this time of swarmeries, or be disposed to speak their message to such audience as there is. And if they did, I know well it is not from my advice, or any mortal's, that they could learn their feasible way of doing it. For a great while yet, most of them will fly off into "Literature," into what they call Art, Poetry and the like; and will mainly waste themselves in that inane region,—fallen so inane in

our mad era. Alas, though born Sons of Wisdom, they are not exempt from all our 'Swarmeries,' but only from the grosser kinds of them. This of "Art," "Poetry" and so forth, is a refined Swarmery; the most refined now going; and comes to us, in venerable form, from a distance of above a thousand years. And is still undoubtingly sanctioned, canonised and marked sacred, by the unanimous vote of cultivated persons to this hour. How stir such questions in the present limits? Or in fact, what chance is there that a guess of mine, in regard to what these born Sons of Wisdom in a yet unborn section of Time will say, or to how they will say it, should avail in the least my own contemporaries, much less them or theirs? Merely on a point or two I will hint what my poor wish is; and know well enough that it is the drawing a bow, not at a venture indeed, but into the almost utterly dark.

First, then, with regard to Art, Poetry and the like, which at present is esteemed the supreme of aims for vocal genius, I hope my literary *Aristos* will pause, and seriously make question before embarking on that; and perhaps will end, in spite of the Swarmeries abroad, by devoting his divine faculty to something far higher, far more vital to us. Poetry? It is not pleasant singing that we want, but wise and earnest speaking:—'Art,' 'High Art' &c. are very fine and ornamental, but only to persons sitting at their ease: to persons still wrestling with deadly chaos, and still fighting for dubious existence, they are a mockery rather. Our Aristos, well meditating, will perhaps discover that the genuine 'Art' in all times is a higher synonym for God Almighty's Facts,—which come to us direct from Heaven, but in so abstruse a condition, and cannot be read at all, till the better intellect interpret them. That is the real function of our Aristos and of his divine gift. Let him think well of this! He will find that all real 'Art' is definable as Fact, or say as the disimprisoned 'Soul of Fact;' that any other kind of Art, Poetry or High Art is quite idle in comparison.

The *Bible* itself has, in all changes of theory about it, this as its highest distinction, that it is the *truest* of all Books;—Book springing, every word of it, from the intensest convictions, from the very heart's core, of those who penned it. And has not that been a "successful" Book? Did all the Paternoster-Rows of the world ever hear of one so "successful"! Homer's *Iliad*, too, that great Bundle of old Greek Ballads, is nothing of a *Fiction;* it is the *truest* a Patriotic Balladsinger, rapt into paroxysm and enthusiasm for the honour of his native Country and native Parish, could manage to sing. To 'sing,' you will observe; always sings,—pipe often rusty, at a loss for metre (flinging-in his γε, μὲν, δὲ); a rough, laborious, wallet-bearing man; but with his heart rightly on fire, when the audience goes with him, and 'hangs on him with greed' (as he says they often

do). Homer's *Iliad* I almost reckon next to the *Bible;* so stubbornly sincere is it too, though in a far different element, and a far shallower.

"Fiction,"—my friend, you will be surprised to discover at last what alarming cousinship *it* has to *Lying:* don't go into "Fiction," you *Aristos*, nor concern yourself with "Fine Literature," or Coarse ditto, or the unspeakable glories and rewards of pleasing your generation; which you are not sent hither to *please*, first of all! In general, leave "Literature," the thing called "Literature" at present, to run through its rapid fermentations (how more and more rapid they are in these years!), and to fluff itself off into Nothing, in its own way,—like a poor bottle of soda-water with the cork sprung;—it won't be long. In our time it has become all the rage; highest noblemen and dignitaries courting a new still higher glory there; innumerable men, women and children rushing towards it, yearly ever more. It sat painfully in Grub Street, in hungry garrets, so long; some few heroic martyrs always serving in it, among such a miscellany of semi-fatuous worthless ditto, courting the bubble reputation in *worse* than the cannon's mouth; in general, a very flimsy, foolish set. But that little company of martyrs has at last lifted Literature furiously or foamingly high in the world. Goes like the Iceland geysers in our time,—like uncorked soda-water;—and will, as I said, soon have done. Only wait: in fifty years, I should guess, all really serious souls will have quitted that mad province, left it to the roaring populaces; and for any *Noble*-man or useful person it will be a credit rather to declare, "I never tried Literature; believe me, I have not written anything;"—and we of "Literature" by trade, we shall sink again, I perceive, to the rank of street-fiddling; no higher rank, though with endless increase of sixpences flung into the hat. Of "Literature" keep well to windward, my serious friend!—

"But is not Shakspeare the highest genius?" Yes, of all the Intellects of Mankind that have taken the speaking shape, I incline to think him the most divinely gifted; clear, all-piercing like the sunlight, lovingly melodious; probably the noblest human Intellect in that kind. And yet of Shakspeare too, it is not the Fiction that I admire, but the Fact; to say truth, what I most of all admire are the traces he shows of a talent that could have turned the *History of England* into a kind of *Iliad*, almost perhaps into a kind of *Bible*. Manifest traces that way; something of *epic* in the cycle of hasty Fragments he has yielded us (slaving for his bread in the Bankside Theatre);—and what a work wouldn't that have been! Marlborough said, He knew no English History but what he had got from Shakspeare;—and truly that is still essentially the serious and sad fact for most of us; Fact thrice and four times lamentable, though Marlborough meant it

lightly. Innumerable grave Books there are; but for none of us any real *History* of England, intelligible, profitable, or even conceivable in almost any section of it!

To write the History of England as a kind of BIBLE (or in parts and snatches, to *sing* it if you could), this were work for the highest Aristos or series of Aristoi in Sacred Literature (really a sacred kind, this); and to be candid, I discover hitherto no incipiences of this; and greatly desire that there were some! Some I do expect (too fondly perhaps, but they seem to me a *sine quâ non*) from the Writing and Teaching Heroes that will yet be born to us. For England too (equally with any Judah whatsoever) has a History that is Divine; an Eternal Providence presiding over every step of it, now in sunshine and soft tones, now in thunder and storm, audible to millions of awe-struck valiant hearts in the ages that are gone; guiding England forward to *its* goal and work, which too has been highly considerable in the world! The "interpretation" of all which, in the present ages, has (what is the root of all our woes) fallen into such a set of hands! Interpretation scandalously ape-like, I must say; impious, blasphemous;—totally incredible withal. Which Interpretation will have to become pious and human again, or else—or else vanish into the Bottomless Pit, and carry us and our England along with it! This, some incipiences of this, I gradually expect from the Heroes that are coming. And in fact *this*, taken in full compass, is the one thing needed from them; and all other things are but branches of this.

For example, I expect, as almost the first thing, new definitions of LIBERTY from them; gradual extinction, slow but steady, of the stupid '*swarmeries*' of mankind on this matter, and at length a complete change of their notions on it. 'Superstition and idolatry,' sins real and grievous, sins ultimately ruinous, wherever found,—this is now our English, our Modern European form of them; Political, not Theological now! England, Modern Europe, will have to quit them or die. They are sins of a fatal slow-poisonous nature; not permitted in this Universe. The poison of them is not intellectual dimness chiefly, but torpid unveracity of heart: not mistake of road, but want of pious earnestness in seeking your road. Insincerity, unfaithfulness, impiety:—careless tumbling and buzzing about, in blind, noisy, pleasantly companionable 'swarms,' instead of solitary questioning of yourself and of the Silent Oracles, which is a sad, sore and painful duty, though a much incumbent one upon a man. The meaning of LIBERTY, what it veritably signifies in the speech of men and gods, will gradually begin to appear again? Were that once got, the eye of England were *couched;* poor honest England would again *see*,—I will fancy with what horror and amazement,—the thing she had grown to in this interim of *swarmeries*. To show this poor well-meaning England, Whom it were desirable to furnish

with a "suffrage," and Whom with a *dog-muzzle* (and plenty of fresh water on the streets), against rabidity in the hot weather:—what a work for our Hero speakers that are coming!—

I hope also they will attack earnestly, and at length extinguish and eradicate, this idle habit of "accounting for the Moral Sense," as they phrase it. A most singular problem:—instead of bending every thought to *have* more and ever more of "Moral Sense," and therewith to irradiate your own poor soul, and all its work, into something of divineness, as the one thing needful to you in this world! A very futile problem that other, my friends; futile, idle, and far worse; leading to what Moral *Ruin*, you little dream of! The Moral Sense, thank God, is a thing you never will "account for;" that, if you could think of it, is the perennial Miracle of Man; in all times, visibly connecting poor transitory Man here on this bewildered Earth with his Maker who is Eternal in the Heavens. By no Greatest Happiness Principle, Greatest Nobleness Principle, or any Principle whatever, will you make that in the least clearer than it already is;—forbear, I say; or you may *darken* it away from you altogether! 'Two things,' says the memorable Kant, deepest and most logical of Metaphysical Thinkers, 'Two things strike me dumb: the infinite Starry Heaven; and the Sense of Right and Wrong in Man.'* *Visible* Infinites, both; *say* nothing of them; don't try to "account for them;" for you can say nothing wise.

On the whole, I hope our Hero will, by heroic word, and heroic thought and *act*, make manifest to mankind that 'Reverence for God and for Man' is not yet extinct, but only fallen into disastrous comatose sleep, and hideously dreaming; that the 'Christian Religion itself is not dead,' that the soul of it is alive forevermore,—and only the dead and rotting *body* of it is now getting burial. The noblest of modern Intellects, by far the noblest we have had since Shakspeare left us, has said of this Religion; 'It is a Height to which the HUMAN SPECIES were fitted and destined to attain; and from which, having once attained it, they can never retrograde.' Permanently, never. Never, *they;*—though individual Nations of them fatally *can;* of which I hope poor England is not one? Though, here as elsewhere, the *burial*-process does offer ghastly enough phenomena: Ritualisms, Puseyisms, Arches-Court Lawsuits, Cardinals of Westminster, &c.

*'Zwei Dinge erfüllen das Gemüth mit immer neuer und zunehmender Bewunderung und Ehrfurcht, je öfter und anhaltender sich das Nachdenken damit beschäftigt: *der bestirnte Himmel über mir*, und *das moralische Gesetz in mir*,' . . . *u. s. w.* Kant's *Sämmtliche Werke* (Rosenkranz and Schubert's edition, Leipzig, 1838), viii. 312.

&c.;—making night hideous! For a time and times and half a time, as the old Prophets used to say.

One of my hoping friends, yet more sanguine than I fully dare to be, has these zealous or enthusiast words: 'A very great "work," surely, is going on in these days,—has been *begun*, and is silently proceeding, and cannot easily *stop*, under all the flying dungheaps of this new "Battle of the Giants" flinging their *Dung*-Pelion on their Dung-Ossa, in these ballot-boxing, Nigger-emancipating, empty, dirt-eclipsed days:—no less a "work" than that of restoring God and whatever was Godlike in the traditions and recorded doings of Mankind; dolefully forgotten, or sham-remembered, as it has been, for long degraded and degrading hundreds of years, latterly! Actually this, if you understand it well. The essential, still awful and ever-blessed Fact of all that was meant by "God and the Godlike" to men's souls is again struggling to become clearly revealed; will extricate itself from what some of us, too irreverently in our impatience, call "Hebrew old-clothes;" and will again bless the Nations; and heal them from their basenesses, and unendurable woes, and wanderings in the company of madness! This Fact lodges, not exclusively or specially in Hebrew Garnitures, Old or New; but in the Heart of Nature and of Man forevermore. And is not less certain, here at this hour, than it ever was at any Sinai whatsoever. Kant's "Two things that strike me *dumb;*"—these are perceptible at Königsberg in Prussia, or at Charing-cross in London. And all eyes shall yet see them *better;* and the heroic Few, who are the salt of the earth, shall at length see them *well*. With results for everybody. A great "work" indeed; the greatness of which beggars all others!'

VII.

Of the second, or silent Industrial Hero, I may now say something, as more within my limits and the reader's.

This Industrial hero, here and there recognisable, and known to me, as developing himself, and as an opulent and dignified kind of man, is already almost an Aristocrat by class. And if his chivalry is still somewhat in the *Orson* form, he is already by intermarriage and otherwise coming into contact with the Aristocracy by title; and by degrees, will acquire the fit *Valentinism*, and other more important advantages there. He cannot do better than unite with this naturally noble kind of Aristocrat by title; the Industrial noble and this one are brothers born; called and impelled to co-operate and go together. Their united result is what we want from both. And the Noble of the Future,—if there be

any such, as I well discern there must,—will have grown out of both. A new "Valentine;" and perhaps a considerably improved,—by such *re*contact with his wild Orson kinsman, and with the earnest veracities this latter has learned in the Woods and the Dens of Bears.

The Practical 'man of genius' will probably *not* be altogether absent from the Reformed Parliament:—his *Make-believe*, the vulgar millionaire (truly a "bloated" specimen, this!) is sure to be frequent there; and along with the multitude of *brass* guineas, it will be very salutary to have a *gold* one or two!—In or out of Parliament, our Practical hero will find no end of work ready for him. It is he that has to recivilize, out of its now utter savagery, the world of Industry;—think what a set of items: to change *nomadic* contract into *permanent;* to annihilate the soot and dirt and squalid horror now defacing this England, once so clean and comely while it was poor; matters sanitary (and that not to the *body* only) for his people; matters governmental for them; matters, &c. &c.;—no want of work for this Hero, through a great many generations yet!

And indeed Reformed Parliament itself, with or without his presence, will you would suppose have to start at once upon the Industrial question and go quite deep into it. That of Trades Union, in quest of its "4 eights,"* with assassin pistol in its hand will at once urge itself on Reformed Parliament: and Reformed Parliament will give us Blue Books upon it if nothing farther. Nay, almost still more urgent, and what I could reckon,—as touching on our Ark of the Covenant, on sacred "Free Trade" itself,—to be the preliminary of all, there is the immense and universal question of *Cheap and Nasty*. Let me explain it a little.

"Cheap and nasty;" there is a pregnancy in that poor vulgar proverb, which I wish we better saw and valued! It is the rude indignant protest of human nature against a mischief which in all times and places haunts it or lies near it, and which never in any time or place was so like utterly overwhelming it as here and now. Understand, if you will consider it, that no good man did, or ever should, encourage "cheapness" at the ruinous expense of *unfitness*, which is always infidelity, and is dishonourable to a man. If I want an article, let it be genuine, at whatever price; if the price is too high for me, I will go without it, unequipped with it for the present,—I shall not have equipped myself with a hypocrisy, at any rate! This, if you will reflect, is primarily the rule of all purchasing and all producing men. They are not permitted to encourage, patronize, or in any form countenance the working, wearing, or acting of Hypocrisies in this world. On

* "Eight hours to work, eight hours to play,
Eight hours to sleep, and eight shillings a day."
(*Reformed Workman's Pisgah Song*).

the contrary, they are to hate all such with a perfect hatred; to do their best in extinguishing them as the poison of mankind. This is the temper for purchasers of work: how much more for that of doers and producers of it! Work, every one of you, like the Demiurgus or Eternal World-builder; work, none of you, like the Diabolus or Denier and Destroyer,—under penalties!

And now, if this is the fact, that you are not to purchase, to make or to vend any ware or product of the "cheap and nasty" genus, and cannot in any case do it without sin, and even treason against the Maker of you,—consider what a *quantity* of sin, of treason petty and high, must be accumulating in poor England every day! It is certain as the National Debt; and what are all National money Debts in comparison! Do you know the shop, sale-shop, workshop, industrial establishment temporal or spiritual, in broad England, where genuine work is to be had? I confess I hardly do; the more is my sorrow! For a whole Pandora's Box of evils lies in that one fact, my friend; that one is enough for us, and may be taken as the sad summary of all. Universal *shoddy* and Devil's-dust cunningly varnished over; that is what you will find presented you in all places, as ware invitingly cheap, if your experience is like mine. Yes; if Free Trade is the new religion, and if Free Trade do mean, Free racing with unlimited velocity in the career of *Cheap and Nasty*,—our Practical hero will be not a little anxious to deal with that question. Infinitely anxious to see how "Free Trade," with such a devil in the belly of it, is to be got *tied* again a little, and forbidden to make a very brute of itself at this rate!

Take one small example only. London bricks are reduced to dry clay again in the course of sixty years, or sooner. *Bricks*, burn them rightly, build them faithfully, with mortar faithfully tempered, they will stand, I believe, barring earthquakes and cannon, for 6,000 years if you like! Etruscan Pottery (*baked clay*, but rightly baked) is some 3,000 years of age, and still fresh as an infant. Nothing I know of is more lasting than a well-made brick,—we have them here, at the head of this Garden (wall once of a Manor Park), which are in their third or fourth century (Henry Eighth's time, I was told), and still perfect in every particular.

Truly the state of London houses and London house-building, at this time, who shall express how detestable it is, how frightful! "Not a house this of mine," said one indignant gentleman, who had searched the London Environs all around for any bit of Villa, "Alpha"-cottage or Omega, which were less inhuman, but found none: "Not a built house, but a congeries of plastered bandboxes; shambling askew in all joints and corners of it; creaking, quaking under every step;—filling you with disgust and despair!" For there lies in it not the Physical mischief only, but the Moral too, which is far more. I have often sadly thought

of this. That a fresh human soul should be born in such a place; born in the midst of a concrete mendacity; taught at every moment not to abhor a lie, but to think a lie all proper, the fixed custom and general law of man, and to twine its young affections round that sort of object!

England needs to be *rebuilt* once every seventy years. Build it once *rightly*, the expense will be, say fifty per cent. more; but it will stand till the Day of Judgment. Every seventy years we shall save the expense of building all England over again! Say nine-tenths of the expense, say three-fourths of it (allowing for the changes necessary or permissible in the change of things); and in rigorous arithmetic, such is the saving possible to you; lying under your nose there; soliciting you to pick it up,—by the mere act of behaving like sons of Adam, and not like scandalous esurient Phantasms and sons of Bel and the Dragon.

Here is a thrift of money, if you want money! The money-saving would (you can compute in what short length of time) pay your National Debt for you, bridge the ocean for you; wipe away your smoky nuisances, your muddy ditto, your miscellaneous ditto, and make the face of England clean again;—and all this I reckon as mere zero in comparison with the accompanying improvement to your poor souls,—now dead in trespasses and sins, drowned in beer-butts, wine-butts, in gluttonies, slaveries, quackeries, but recalled *then* to blessed life again, and the sight of Heaven and Earth instead of Payday, and Meux and Co.'s Entire. Oh, my bewildered Brothers, what foul infernal Circe has come over you, and changed you from men once really rather noble of their kind, into beavers, into hogs and asses, and beasts of the field or the slum! I declare I had rather die. . . .

One hears sometimes of religious controversies running very high, about faith, works, grace, prevenient grace, the Arches Court and *Essays and Reviews;*—into none of which do I enter, or concern myself with your entering. One thing I will remind you of, That the essence and outcome of all religions, creeds, and liturgies whatsoever is, To do one's work in a faithful manner. Unhappy caitiff, what to you is the use of orthodoxy, if with every stroke of your hammer you are breaking all the Ten Commandments,—operating upon Devil's-dust, and with constant invocation of the Devil, endeavouring to reap where you have not sown?—

Truly, I think our Practical Aristos will address himself to this sad question, almost as the primary one of all. It is impossible that an Industry, national or personal, carried on under 'constant invocation of the Devil,' can be a blessed or happy one in any fibre or detail of it! Steadily, in every fibre of it, from heart

to skin, that is and remains an Industry accursed; nothing but bewilderment, contention, misery, mutual rage, and continually advancing ruin, *can* dwell there. *Cheap and Nasty* is not found on shop-counters alone; but goes down to the centre,—or indeed springs from it. Overend-Gurney Bankruptcies, Chatham-and-Dover Railway Financierings,—Railway "Promoters" generally (and no oakum or beating of hemp to give them, instead of that nefarious and pernicious industry);—Sheffield Sawgrinders and Assassination Company; "Four eights," and workman's Pisgah Song: all these are diabolic short-cuts towards wages; clutchings at money without just work done; all these are *Cheap and Nasty* in another form. The glory of a workman, still more of a master-workman, That he does his work well, ought to be his most precious possession; like "the honour of a soldier," dearer to him than life. That is the ideal of the matter:—lying, alas, how far away from us at present! But if you yourself *demoralise* your soldier, and teach him continually to invoke the Evil Genius and to *dis*-honour himself,—what do you expect your big Army will grow to?—

"The *prestige* of England on the Continent," I am told, is much decayed of late; which is a lamentable thing to various Editors; to me not. '*Prestige, præstigium*, magical illusion,'—I never understood that poor England had in her good days, or cared to have, any "*prestige* on the Continent" or elsewhere; England was wont to follow her own affairs in a diligent heavy-laden frame of mind, and had an almost perfect stoicism as to what the Continent, and its extraneous ill-informed populations might be thinking of her. Nor is it yet of the least real importance what '*prestiges*, magical illusions,' as to England, foolish neighbours may take up; important only one thing, What England *is*. The account of that in Heaven's Chancery, I doubt, is very bad: but as to "*prestige*," I hope the heart of the poor Country would still say,—"Away with your *prestige;* that won't help me or hinder me! The word was Napoleonic, expressive enough of a Grand-Napoleonic fact: better leave it on its own side of the Channel; not wanted here!"

Nevertheless, unexpectedly, I have myself something to tell you about English *prestige*. "In my young time," said lately to me one of the wisest and faithfullest German Friends I ever had, a correct observer, and much a lover both of his own country and of mine, "In my boyhood" (that is, some fifty years ago, in Würzburg country, and Central Germany), "when you were going to a shop to purchase, wise people would advise you: 'If you can find an English article of the sort wanted, buy that; it will be a few pence dearer; but it will prove itself a well-made, faithful and skilful thing; a comfortable servant and friend to you for a long time; better buy that.' And now," continued he, "directly the reverse

is the advice given: 'If you find an English article, don't buy that; that will be a few pence cheaper, but it will prove only a more cunningly devised mendacity than any of the others; avoid that above all.' Both were good advices; the former fifty years ago was a good advice; the latter is now." Would to Heaven this were a *præstigium* or magical illusion only!—

But to return to our Aristocracy by title.

VIII.

Orsonism is not what will hinder our Aristocracy from still reigning, still, or much farther than now,—to the very utmost limit of their capabilities and opportunities, in the new times that come. What are these *opportunities*,—granting the capability to be (as I believe) very considerable if seriously exerted?—This is a question of the highest interest just now.

In their own Domains and land territories, it is evident each of them can still, for certain years and decades, be a complete king; and may, if he strenuously try, mould and manage everything, till both his people and his dominion correspond gradually to the ideal he has formed. Refractory subjects he has the means of *banishing;* the relations between all classes from the biggest farmer to the poorest orphan ploughboy, are under his control; nothing ugly or unjust or improper, but he could by degrees undertake steady war against, and manfully subdue or extirpate. Till all his Domain were, through every field and homestead of it, and were maintained in continuing and being, manlike, decorous, fit; comely to the eye and to the soul of whoever wisely looked on it, or honestly lived in it. This is a beautiful ideal; which might be carried out on all sides to indefinite lengths,—not in management of land only, but in thousandfold countenancing, protecting and encouraging of human worth, and *dis*-countenancing and sternly repressing the want of ditto, wherever met with among surrounding mankind. Till the whole surroundings of a nobleman were made noble like himself: and all men should recognise that here verily was a bit of kinghood ruling "by the Grace of God," in difficult circumstances, but *not* in vain.

This were a way, if this were commonly adopted, of by degrees reinstating Aristocracy in all the privileges, authorities, reverences and honours it ever had, in its palmiest times, under any Kaiser Barbarossa, Henry Fowler (*Heinrich der Vogeler*), Henry Fine-Scholar (*Beau-clerc*), or Wilhelmus Bastardus the Acquirer: this would be divine; blessed is every individual that shall manfully, all his life, solitary or in fellowship, address himself to this! But, alas, this is an ideal, and I have practically little faith in it. Discerning well how *few* would seriously adopt

this as a trade in life, I can only say, "Blessed is every one that does!"—Readers can observe that only zealous aspirants to *be* 'noble' and worthy of their title (who are not a numerous class) could adopt this trade; and that of these few, only the fewest, or the actually *noble*, could to much effect do it when adopted. 'Management of one's land on this principle,' yes, in some degree this might be possible: but as to 'fostering merit' or human worth, the question would arise (as it did with a late Noble Lord still in wide enough esteem),* "What is merit? The opinion one man entertains of another!" (*Hear, hear!*) By *this* plan of diligence in promoting human worth, you would do little to redress our griefs; this plan would be a quenching of the fire by oil: a dreadful plan! In fact, this is what you may see everywhere going on just now; this is what has reduced us to the pass we are at!—To recognise merit you must first yourself have it; to recognise false merit, and crown it as true, because a long tail runs after it, is the saddest operation under the sun; and it is one you have only to open your eyes and see every day. Alas, no: Ideals won't carry many people far. To have an Ideal generally done, it must be compelled by the vulgar appetite there is to do it, by indisputable advantage seen in doing it.

And yet, in such an independent position; acknowledged king of one's own territories, well withdrawn from the raging inanities of "politics," leaving the loud rabble and their spokesmen to consummate all that in their own sweet way, and make Anarchy again horrible, and Government or real Kingship the thing desirable,—one fancies there might be actual scope for a kingly soul to aim at unfolding itself, at imprinting itself in all manner of beneficent arrangements and improvements of things around it.

Schools, for example, schooling and training of *its* young subjects in the way that they should go, and in the things that they should do: what a boundless outlook that of schools, and of improvement in school methods, and school purposes, which in these ages lie hitherto all superannuated and to a frightful degree inapplicable! Our schools go all upon the *vocal* hitherto; no clear aim in them but to teach the young creature how he is to *speak*, to utter himself by tongue and pen;—which, supposing him even to *have something to utter*, as he so very rarely has, is by no means the thing he specially wants in our times. How he is to work, to behave and do; that is the question for him, which he seeks the answer of in schools;—in schools, having now so little chance of it elsewhere. In other times, many or most of his neighbours round him, his superiors over him, if he looked well and could take example, and learn by what he saw, were in use to yield him very much of answer to this vitallest of questions: but now

* Lord Palmerston, in debate on Civil Service Examination Proposal.

they do not, or do it fatally the reverse way! Talent of speaking grows daily commoner among one's neighbours; amounts already to a weariness and a nuisance, so barren is it of great benefit, and liable to be of great hurt: but the talent of right conduct, of wise and useful behaviour seems to grow rarer every day, and is nowhere taught in the streets and thoroughfares any more. Right schools were never more desirable than now. Nor ever more unattainable, by public clamouring and jargoning, than now. Only the wise Ruler (acknowledged king in his own territories), taking counsel with the wise, and earnestly pushing and endeavouring all his days, might do something in it. It is true, I suppose him to be capable of recognising and searching out 'the *wise*,' who are apt *not* to be found on the high roads at present, or only to be transiently passing there, with closed lips, swift step, and possibly a grimmish aspect of countenance, among the crowd of loquacious *sham*-wise. To be capable of actually recognising and discerning these; and that is no small postulate (how great a one I know well):—in fact, unless our Noble by rank be a Noble by nature, little or no success is possible to us by him.

But granting this great postulate, what a field in the *Non-vocal* School department, such as was not dreamt of before! *Non-vocal;* presided over by whatever of Pious Wisdom this King could eliminate from all corners of the impious world; and could consecrate with means and appliances for making the new generation, by degrees, less impious. Tragical to think of: Every new generation is born to us direct out of Heaven; white as purest writing paper, white as snow;—everything we please can be written on it;—and our pleasure and our negligence is, To begin blotching it, scrawling, smutching and smearing it, from the first day it sees the sun: towards such a consummation of ugliness, dirt, and blackness of darkness, as is too often visible. Woe on us; there is no woe like this,—if we were not sunk in stupefaction, and had still eyes to discern or souls to feel it!—Goethe has shadowed out a glorious far-glancing specimen of that Non-vocal, or very partially-vocal kind of School. I myself remember to have seen an extremely small, but highly useful and practicable little corner of one, actually on work at Glasnevin in Ireland about fifteen years ago; and have often thought of it since.

IX.

I always fancy there might much be done in the way of military Drill withal. Beyond all other schooling, and as supplement or even as succedaneum for all other, one often wishes the entire Population could be thoroughly drilled;

into co-operative movement, into individual behaviour, correct, precise, and at once habitual and orderly as mathematics, in all or in very many points,—and ultimately in the point of actual *Military Service*, should such be required of it!

That of commanding and obeying, were there nothing more, is it not the basis of all human culture; ought not all to have it; and how many ever do? I often say, The one Official Person, royal, sacerdotal, scholastic, governmental, of our times, who is still thoroughly a truth and a reality, and *not* in great part a hypothesis, and worn-out humbug, proposing and attempting a duty which he fails to do,—is the Drill-Sergeant who is master of his work, and who will perform it. By Drill-Sergeant understand, not the man in three stripes alone; understand him as meaning all such men, up to the Turenne, to the Friedrich of Prussia: *he* does his function, he is genuine; and from the highest to the lowest no one else does. Ask your poor King's Majesty, Captain-General of England, Defender of the Faith, and so much else; ask your poor Bishop, sacred Overseer of souls; your poor Lawyer, sacred Dispenser of justice; your poor Doctor, ditto of health: they will all answer, "Alas, no, worthy sir, we are all of us unfortunately fallen not a little, some of us altogether, into the imaginary or quasi-humbug condition, and cannot help ourselves; he alone of the three stripes, or of the gorget and baton, *does* what he pretends to!" That is the melancholy fact; well worth considering at present.—Nay I often consider farther, If, in any Country, the Drill-Sergeant himself fall into the partly imaginary or humbug condition (as is my frightful apprehension of him here in England, on survey of him in his marvellous Crimean expeditions, marvellous Court-martial revelations, Newspaper controversies, and the like), what is to become of that Country and its thrice miserable Drill-Sergeant? Drill-Sergeant? Reformed Parliament, I hear, has decided on a "thorough Army reform," as one of the first things. So that we shall at length have a perfect Army, field-worthy and correct in all points, thinks Reformed Parliament? Alas, yes;—and if the sky fall, we shall catch larks, too!—

But now, what is to hinder the acknowledged king in all corners of his territory, to introduce wisely a universal system of Drill, not military only but human in all kinds; so that no child or man born in *his* territory might miss the benefit of it,—which would be immense to man, woman and child? I would begin with it, in mild, soft forms, so soon almost as my children were able to stand on their legs; and I would never wholly remit it till they had done with the world and me. Poor Wilderspin knew something of this; the great Goethe evidently knew a great deal! This of outwardly combined and plainly consociated Discipline, in simultaneous movement and action, which may be practical, symbolical, artistic,

mechanical in all degrees and modes,—is one of the noblest capabilities of man (most sadly undervalued hitherto); and one he takes the greatest pleasure in exercising and unfolding, not to mention at all the invaluable benefit it would afford him if unfolded. From correct marching in line, to rhythmic dancing in cotillon or minuet,—and to infinitely higher degrees (that of symbolling in concert your "first reverence," for instance, supposing reverence and symbol of it to be both sincere!)—there is a natural charm in it; the fulfilment of a deep-seated, universal desire, to all rhythmic social creatures! In man's heaven-born Docility, or power of being Educated, it is estimable as perhaps the deepest and richest element; or the next to that of music, of Sensibility to Song, to Harmony and Number, which some have reckoned the deepest of all. A richer mine than any in California for poor human creatures; richer by what a multiple; and hitherto as good as never opened,—worked only for the Fighting purpose. Assuredly I would not neglect the Fighting purpose; no, from sixteen to sixty, not a son of mine but should know the Soldier's function too, and be able to defend his native soil and self, in best perfection, when need came. But I should not begin with this; I should carefully end with this, after careful travel in innumerable fruitful fields by the way leading to this.

It is strange to me, stupid creatures of routine as we mostly are, how in all education of mankind, this of simultaneous Drilling into combined rhythmic action, for almost all good purposes, has been overlooked and left neglected by the elaborate and many-sounding Pedagogues and Professorial Persons we have had for the long centuries past! It really should be set on foot a little; and developed gradually into the multiform opulent results it holds for us. As might well be done, by an acknowledged king in his own territory, if he were wise. To all children of men it is such an entertainment, when you set them to it. I believe the vulgarest Cockney crowd, flung out millionfold on a Whit-Monday, with nothing but beer and dull folly to depend on for amusement, would at once kindle into something human, if you set them to do almost any regulated act in common. And would dismiss their beer and dull foolery, in the silent charm of rhythmic human companionship, in the practical feeling, probably new, that all of us are made on one pattern, and are, in an unfathomable way, brothers to one another.

Soldier-Drill, for fighting purposes, as I have said, would be the last or finishing touch of all these sorts of Drilling; and certainly the acknowledged king would reckon it not the least important to him, but even perhaps the most so, in these peculiar times. Anarchic Parliaments and Penny Newspapers

might perhaps grow jealous of him; in any case, he would have to be cautious, punctilious, severely correct, and obey to the letter whatever laws and regulations they emitted on the subject. But that done, how could the most anarchic Parliament, or Penny Editor, think of forbidding any fellow-citizen such a manifest improvement on all the human creatures round him? Our wise Hero Aristocrat, or acknowledged king in his own territory, would by no means think of employing his superlative private Field-regiment in levy of war against the most anarchic Parliament; but, on the contrary, might and would loyally help said Parliament in warring down much anarchy worse than its own, and so gain steadily new favour from it. From it, and from all men and gods! And would have silently the consciousness, too, that with every new Disciplined Man, he was widening the arena of *Anti*-Anarchy, of God-appointed *Order* in this world and Nation,—and was looking forward to a day, very distant probably, but certain as Fate.

For I suppose it would in no moment be doubtful to him That, between Anarchy and Anti-ditto, it would have to come to sheer fight at last; and that nothing short of duel to the death could ever void that great quarrel. And he would have his hopes, his assurances, as to how the victory would lie. For everywhere in this Universe, and in every Nation that is not *divorced* from it and in the act of perishing forever, Anti-Anarchy is silently on the increase, at all moments: Anarchy not, but contrariwise; having the whole Universe forever set against it; pushing *it* slowly at all moments towards suicide and annihilation. To Anarchy, however million-headed, there is no victory possible. Patience, silence, diligence, ye chosen of the world! Slowly or fast in the course of time you will grow to a minority that can actually step forth (sword not yet drawn, but sword ready to be drawn), and say: "Here are we, Sirs; we also are now minded to *vote*,—to all lengths, as you may perceive. A company of poor men (as friend Oliver termed us) who will spend all our blood, if needful!" What are Beales and his 50,000 roughs against such; what are the noisiest anarchic Parliaments, in majority of a million to one, against such? Stubble against fire. Fear not, my friend; the issue is very certain when it comes so far as this!

X.

These are a kind of enterprises, hypothetical as yet, but possible evidently more or less, and, in all degrees of them, tending towards noble benefit to oneself and to all one's fellow-creatures; which a man born noble by title and by nature, with ample territories and revenues, and a life to dispose of as he pleased, might

go into, and win honour by, even in the England that now is. To my fancy, they are bright little potential breaks, and *up*-turnings, of that disastrous cloud which now overshadows his best capabilities and him;—as every blackest cloud in this world has withal a 'silver lining;' and is, full surely, beshone by the Heavenly lights, if we *can* get to that other side of it! More of such fine possibilities I might add: that of "Sanitary regulation," for example; To see the divinely-appointed laws and conditions of Health, at last, *humanly* appointed as well; year after year, more exactly ascertained, rendered valid, habitually practised, in one's own Dominion; and the old adjective 'Healthy' once more becoming synonymous with 'Holy,'—what a conquest there! But I forbear; feeling well enough how visionary these things look; and how aerial, high and spiritual they *are;* little capable of seriously tempting, even for moments, any but the highest kinds of men. Few Noble Lords, I may believe, will think of taking this course; indeed not many, as Noble Lords now are, could do much good in it. Dilettantism will avail nothing in any of these enterprises; the law of them is, grim labour, earnest and continual; certainty of many contradictions, disappointments; a life, not of ease and pleasure, but of noble and sorrowful toil; the reward of it far off,—fit only for heroes!

Much the readiest likelihood for our Aristocrat by title would be that of coalescing nobly with his two Brothers, the Aristocrats by nature, spoken of above. Both greatly need him; especially the Vocal or Teaching one, wandering now desolate enough, heard only as a *Vox Clamantis e Deserto;*—though I suppose, it will be with the Silent or Industrial one, as with the easier of the two, that our Titular first comes into clear coöperation. This Practical hero, Aristocrat by nature, and standing face to face and hand to hand, all his days, in life-battle with practical Chaos (with dirt, disorder, nomadism, disobedience, folly and confusion), slowly coercing it into Cosmos, will surely be the natural ally for any titular Aristocrat who is bent on being a real one as the business of his life. No other field of activity is half so promising as the united field which those two might occupy. By nature and position they are visibly a kind of Kings, actual British 'Peers' (or Vice-Kings, in absence and abeyance of any visible King); and might take manifold counsel together, hold manifold 'Parliament' together (*Vox e Deserto* sitting there as 'Bench of Bishops,' possibly!)—and might mature and adjust innumerable things. Were there but three Aristocrats of each sort in the whole of Britain, what beneficent unreported '*Parliamenta*,'—actual human consultations and earnest deliberations, responsible to no '*Buncombe*,' disturbed by no Penny Editor,—on what the whole Nine were earnest to see done! By

degrees, there would some beginnings of success and Cosmos be achieved upon this our unspeakable Chaos; by degrees something of light, of prophetic twilight, would be shot across its unfathomable dark of horrors,—prophetic of victory, sure though far away.

Penny-Newspaper Parliaments cannot legislate on anything; they know the real properties and qualities of no *thing*, and don't even try or want to know them,—know only what '*Buncombe*' in its darkness thinks of them. No law upon a *thing* can be made, on such terms; nothing but a mock-law, which Nature silently abrogates, the instant your third reading is done. But men in contact with the fact, and earnestly questioning it, can at length ascertain what *is* the law of it,—what it will behove any Parliament (of the Penny-Newspaper sort or other) to enact upon it. Whole crops and harvests of authentic "Laws," now pressingly needed and not obtainable, upon our new British Industries, Interests and Social Relations, I could fancy to be got into a state of forwardness, by small virtual 'Parliaments' of this unreported kind,—into a real state of preparation for enactment by what actual Parliament there was, itself so incompetent for "legislating" otherwise. These are fond dreams? Well, let us hope not altogether. Most certain it is, an immense Body of Laws upon these new Industrial, Commercial, Railway &c. Phenomena of ours are pressingly wanted; and none of mortals knows where to get them. For example, the Rivers and running Streams of England; primordial elements of this our poor Birth-land, face-features of it, created by Heaven itself: Is Industry free to tumble out whatever horror of refuse it may have arrived at into the nearest crystal brook? Regardless of gods and men and little fishes. Is Free Industry free to convert all our rivers into Acherontic sewers; England generally into a roaring sooty smith's forge? Are we all doomed to eat dust, as the Old Serpent was, and to breathe solutions of soot? Can a Railway Company with "Promoters" manage, by *feeing* certain men in bombazeen, to burst through your bedroom in the night-watches, and miraculously set all your crockery jingling? Is an Englishman's house still his castle; and in what sense?—Examples plenty!

The Aristocracy, as a class, has as yet no thought of giving up the game, or ceasing to be what in the language of flattery is called "Governing Class;" nor should, till it have seen farther. In the better heads among them are doubtless grave misgivings; serious enough reflections rising,—perhaps not sorrowful altogether; for there must be questions withal, "Was it so very blessed a function, then, that of 'Governing' on the terms given?" But beyond doubt the vulgar Noble Lord intends fully to continue the game,—with doubly severe study of

the new rules issued on it;—and will still, for a good while yet, go as heretofore into Electioneering, Parliamentary Engineering; and hope against hope to keep weltering atop by some method or other, and to make a fit existence for himself in that miserable old way. An existence filled with labour and anxiety, with disappointments and disgraces and futilities I can promise him, but with little or nothing else. Let us hope he will be wise to discern, and not continue the experiment too long!

He has lost his place in that element; nothing but services of a sordid and dishonourable nature, betrayal of his own Order, and of the noble interests of England, can gain him even momentary favour there. He cannot bridle the wild horse of a Plebs any longer:—for a generation past, he has not even tried to bridle it; but has run panting and trotting meanly by the side of it, patting its stupid neck; slavishly plunging with it into any "Crimean" or other slough of black platitudes it might reel towards,—anxious he, only not to be kicked away, not just yet; oh, not yet for a little while! Is this an existence for a man of any honour; for a man ambitious of more honour? I should say, not. And he still thinks to hang by the bridle, now when his Plebs is getting into the gallop? Hanging by its bridle, through what steep brambly places (scratching out the very *eyes* of him, as is often enough observable), through what malodorous quagmires, and ignominious pools, will the wild horse drag him,—till he quit hold! Let him quit, in Heaven's name. Better he should go yachting to Algeria, and shoot lions for an occupied existence:—or stay at home, and hunt rats? Why not? Is not, in strict truth, the Rat-catcher our one *real* British Nimrod now!—Game-preserving, Highland deer-stalking and the like, will soon all have ceased in this over-crowded Country; and I can see no other business for the vulgar Noble Lord, if he will continue vulgar!—

LATTER STAGE OF THE FRENCH-GERMAN WAR, 1870-71.

To the Editor of the Times.

Chelsea, 11 Nov. 1870.

Sir,—It is probably an amiable trait of human nature, this cheap pity and newspaper lamentation over fallen and afflicted France; but it seems to me a very idle, dangerous, and misguided feeling, as applied to the cession of Alsace and Lorraine by France to her German conquerors, and argues, on the part of England, a most profound ignorance as to the mutual history of France and Germany, and the conduct of France towards that Country, for long centuries back. The question for the Germans, in this crisis, is not one of 'magnanimity,' of 'heroic pity and forgiveness to a fallen foe,' but of solid prudence and practical consideration what the fallen foe will, in all likelihood, do when once on his feet again. Written on her memory, in a dismally instructive manner, Germany has an experience of 400 years on this point; of which on the English memory, if it ever was recorded there, there is now little or no trace visible.

Does any of us know, for instance, with the least precision, or in fact know at all, the reciprocal procedures, the mutual history, as we call it, of Louis XI. and Kaiser Max? Max in his old age put down, in chivalrous, allegorical, or emblematic style, a wonderful record of these things, the *Weisse König* ("White King," as he called himself; "Red King," or perhaps "Black," being Louis's adumbrative title), adding many fine engravings by the best artist of his time: for the sake of these prints, here and there an English collector may possess a copy of the book; but I doubt if any Englishman has ever read it, or could, for want of other reading on the subject, understand any part of it. Old Louis's quarrel with the Chief

of Germany at that time was not unlike this last one of a younger Louis: "You accursed Head of Germany, you have been prospering in the world lately, and I not; have at you, then, with fire and sword!" But it ended more successfully for old Louis and his French than I hope the present quarrel will. The end, at that time, was that opulent, noble Burgundy did not get re-united to her old Teutonic mother, but to France, her grasping step-mother, and remains French to this day.

Max's grandson and successor, Charles V., was hardly luckier than Max in his road-companion and contemporary French King. Francis I., not content with France for a kingdom, began by trying to be elected German Kaiser as well, and never could completely digest his disappointment in that fine enterprise. He smoothed his young face, however, swore eternal friendship with the young Charles who had beaten him; and, a few months after, had egged on the poor little Duke of Bouillon, the Reich's and Charles's vassal, to refuse homage in that quarter, and was in hot war with Charles. The rest of his earthly existence was a perpetual haggle of broken treaties, and ever-recurring war and injury with Charles V.—a series, withal, of intrusive interferences with Germany, and every German trouble that arose, to the worsening and widening of them all, not to the closing or healing of any one. A terrible journey these Two had together, and a terrible time they made out for Germany between them, and for France too, though not by any means in a like degree. The exact deserts of his Most Christian Majesty Francis I. in covenanting with Sultan Soliman,—that is to say, in letting loose the then quasi-infernal roaring-lion of a Turk (*then* in the height of his sanguinary fury and fanaticism, not sunk to *caput mortuum* and a torpid nuisance as now) upon Christendom and the German Empire, I do not pretend to state. It seems to me, no modern imagination can conceive this atrocity of the most Christian King, or how it harassed and haunted with incessant terror the Christian nations for the two centuries ensuing.

Richelieu's trade again was twofold: first, what everybody must acknowledge was a great and legitimate one, that of coercing and drilling into obedience to their own Sovereign the vassals of the Crown of France; and secondly, that of plundering, weakening, thwarting, and in all ways tormenting the German Empire. "He protected Protestantism there?" Yes, and steadily persecuted his own Huguenots, bombarded his own Rochelle, and in Germany kept up a Thirty-Years War, cherishing diligently the last embers of it till Germany were burnt to utter ruin; no nation ever nearer absolute ruin than unhappy Germany then was. An unblessed Richelieu for Germany; nor a blessed for France either, if we look to the ulterior issues, and distinguish the solid from the specious in the fortune of Nations. No French ruler, not even Napoleon I., was a feller or

crueller enemy to Germany, or half so pernicious to it (to its very *soul* as well as to its body); and Germany had done him no injury that I know of, except that of existing beside him.

Of Louis XIV.'s four grand plunderings and incendiarisms of Europe,—for no real reason but his own ambition and desire to snatch his neighbour's goods,—of all this we of this age have now, if any, an altogether faint and placid remembrance, and our feelings on it differ greatly from those that animated our poor forefathers in the time of William III. and Queen Anne. Of Belleisle and Louis XV.'s fine scheme to cut Germany into four little kingdoms, and have them dance and fence to the piping of Versailles, I do not speak; for to France herself this latter fine scheme brought its own reward: loss of America, loss of India, disgrace and discomfiture in all quarters of the world,—Advent, in fine, of the French Revolution, embarcation on the shoreless chaos on which ill-fated France still drifts and tumbles.

The Revolution and Napoleon I., and their treatment of Germany, are still in the memory of men and newspapers; but that was not by any means, as idle men and newspapers seem to think, the first of Germany's sufferings from France; it was the last of a very long series of such,—*the last but one*, let us rather say; and hope that *this* now going on as "Siege of Paris," as wide-spread empire of bloodshed, anarchy, delirium, and mendacity, the fruit of France's latest "*marche à Berlin*" may be the last! No nation ever had so bad a neighbour as Germany has had in France for the last 400 years; bad in all manner of ways; insolent, rapacious, insatiable, unappeasable, continually aggressive.

And now, furthermore, in all History there is no insolent, unjust neighbour that ever got so complete, instantaneous, and ignominious a smashing down as France has now got from Germany. Germany, after 400 years of ill-usage, and generally of ill-fortune, from that neighbour, has had at last the great happiness to see its enemy fairly down in this manner:—and Germany, I do clearly believe, would be a foolish nation not to think of raising up some secure boundary-fence between herself and such a neighbour now that she has the chance.

There is no law of Nature that I know of, no Heaven's Act of Parliament, whereby France, alone of terrestrial beings, shall not restore any portion of her plundered goods when the owners they were wrenched from have an opportunity upon them. To nobody, except to France herself for the moment, can it be credible that there is such a law of Nature. Alsace and Lorraine were not got, either of them, in so divine a manner as to render that a probability. The cunning of Richelieu, the grandiose long-sword of Louis XIV., these are the only

titles of France to those German countries. Richelieu screwed them loose (and, by happy accident, there was a Turenne, as General, got screwed along with them;—Turenne, I think, was mainly German by blood and temper, had not Francis I. egged on his ancestor, the little Duke of Bouillon, in the way we saw, and gradually *made* him French); Louis le Grand, with his Turenne as supreme of modern Generals, managed the rest of the operation,—except indeed, I should say, the burning of the Palatinate, from Heidelberg Palace steadily downwards, into black ruin; which Turenne would not do sufficiently, and which Louis had to get done by another. There was also a good deal of extortionate law-practice, what we may fairly call violently sharp Attorneyism, put in use. The great Louis's "*Chambres de Réunion*," Metz Chamber, Brissac Chamber, were once of high infamy, and much complained of, here in England, and everywhere else beyond the Rhine. The Grand Louis, except by sublime gesture, ironically polite, made no answer. He styled himself on his very coins (*écu* of 1687, say the Medallists), Excelsus super omnes gentes Dominus, but it is certain attorneyism of the worst sort was one of his instruments in this conquest of Alsace. Nay, as to Strasburg, it was not even attorneyism, much less a long-sword, that did the feat; it was a housebreaker's *jemmy* on the part of the *Grand Monarque*. Strasburg was got in time of profound peace by bribing of the magistrates to do treason, on his part, and admit his garrison one night.

Nor as to Metz la Pucelle, nor any of these Three Bishoprics, was it force of war that brought them over to France; rather it was force of fraudulent pawnbroking. King Henri II. (year 1552) got these places,—Protestants applying to him in their extreme need,—as we may say, in the way of pledge. Henri entered there with banners spread and drums beating, "solely in defence of German liberty, as God shall witness;" did nothing for Protestantism or German liberty (German liberty managing rapidly to help itself in this instance); and then, like a brazen-faced, unjust pawnbroker, refused to give the places back,—"had ancient rights over them," extremely indubitable to him, and could not give them back. And never yet, by any pressure or persuasion, would. The great Charles V., Protestantism itself now supporting, endeavoured, with his utmost energy and to the very cracking of his heart, to compel him, but could not. The present Hohenzollern King, a modest and pacific man in comparison, could and has. I believe it to be perfectly just, rational, and wise that Germany should take these countries home with her from her unexampled campaign, and, by well fortifying her own old *Wasgau* ("Vosges"), Hundsrück (*Dog's-back*), Three Bishoprics, and other military strengths, secure herself in time coming against French visits.

The French complain dreadfully of threatened "loss of honour;" and lamentable bystanders plead earnestly, "Don't dishonour France; leave poor France's honour bright." But will it save the *honour* of France to refuse paying for the glass she has voluntarily broken in her neighbour's windows? The attack upon the windows was her dishonour. Signally disgraceful to any nation was her late assault on Germany; equally signal has been the ignominy of its execution on the part of France. The honour of France can be saved only by the deep repentance of France, and by the serious determination never to do so again,—to do the reverse of so forever henceforth. In that way may the honour of France again gradually brighten to the height of its old splendour,—far beyond the *First* Napoleonic, much more the *Third*, or any recent sort,—and offer again to our voluntary love and grateful estimation all the fine and graceful qualities Nature has implanted in the French.

For the present, I must say, France looks more and more delirious, miserable, blamable, pitiable, and even contemptible. She refuses to see the facts that are lying palpable before her face, and the penalties she has brought upon herself. A France scattered into anarchic ruin, without recognizable head; *head*, or chief, indistinguishable from *feet*, or rabble; Ministers flying up in balloons ballasted with nothing but outrageous public lies, proclamations of victories that were creatures of the fancy; a Government subsisting altogether on mendacity, willing that horrid bloodshed should continue and increase rather than that *they*, beautiful Republican creatures, should cease to have the guidance of it: I know not when or where there was seen a nation so covering itself with *dis*honour. If, among this multitude of sympathetic bystanders, France have any true friend, his advice to France would be,—To abandon all that, and never to resume it more. France really ought to know that 'refuges of lies' were long ago discovered to lead down only to the Gates of Death Eternal, and to be forbidden to all creatures!—that the one hope for France is to recognize the facts which have come to her, and that they came withal by invitation of her own: how she,—a mass of gilded, proudly varnished anarchy,—has wilfully insulted and defied to mortal duel a neighbour not anarchic, but still in a quietly human, sober, and governed state, and has prospered accordingly. Prospered as an array of sanguinary mountebanks *versus* a Macedonian phalanx must needs do;—and now lies smitten down into hideous wreck and impotence, testifying to gods and men what extent of rottenness, anarchy, and hidden vileness lay in her. That the inexorable fact is, she has left herself without resource or power of resisting the victorious Germans; and that her wisdom will be to take that fact into her astonished mind; to know that, howsoever hateful, said fact is inexorable, and

will have to be complied with,—the *sooner* at the cheaper rate. It is a hard lesson to vainglorious France; but France, we hope, has still in it veracity and probity enough to accept fact as an evidently adamantine entity, which will not brook resistance without penalty, and is unalterable by the very gods.

But indeed the quantity of conscious mendacity that France, official and other, has perpetrated latterly, especially since July last, is something wonderful and fearful. And, alas, perhaps even that is small compared to the self-delusion and '*un*conscious mendacity' long prevalent among the French; which is of still feller and more poisonous quality, though unrecognized for poison. To me, at times, the mournfullest symptom in France is the figure its "men of genius," its highest literary speakers, who should be prophets and seers to it, make at present, and, indeed, for a generation back have been making. It is evidently their belief that new celestial wisdom is radiating out of France upon all the other overshadowed nations; that France is the new Mount Zion of the Universe; and that all this sad, sordid, semi-delirious, and, in good part, *infernal* stuff which French Literature has been preaching to us for the last 50 years is a veritable new Gospel out of Heaven, pregnant with blessedness for all the sons of men. Alas, one does understand that France made her Great Revolution; uttered her tremendous doom's voice against a world of human shams, proclaiming, as with the great Last Trumpet, that shams should be no more. I often call that a celestial-infernal phenomenon,—the most memorable in our world for a thousand years; on the whole, a transcendant revolt against the Devil and his works (since shams are *all* and sundry of the Devil, and poisonous and unendurable to man). For that we all infinitely love and honour France. And truly all nations are now busy enough copying France in regard to that! From side to side of the civilized world there is, in a manner, nothing noticeable but the whole world in deep and dismally chaotic Insurrection against Shams, determination to have done with shams *coûte qu'il coûte*. Indispensable that battle, however ugly. Well done, we may say to all that; for it is the preliminary to everything:—but, alas, all that is not yet victory; it is but half the battle, and the much easier half. The infinitely harder half, which is the equally or the still more indispensable, is that of achieving, instead of the abolished shams which were of the Devil, the practicable realities which should be veritable and of God. That *first* half of the battle, I rejoice to see, is now safe, can now never cease except in victory; but the farther stage of it, I also see, must be under better presidency than that of France, or *it* will forever prove impossible. The German race, not the Gaelic, are now to be protagonist in that immense world-drama; and from them I expect better issues. Worse we cannot well have. France, with a dead-lift effort, now of

81 years, has accomplished under this head, for herself or for the world, Nothing, or even less,—in strict arithmetic, *zero* with *minus* quantities. Her prophets prophesy a vain thing; her people rove in darkness, and have wandered far astray.

Such prophets and such a people;—who in the way of deception and self-deception have carried it far! 'Given up to strong delusion,' as the Scripture says; till, at last, the lie seems to them the very truth. And now, in their strangling crisis and extreme need, they appear to have no resource but self-deception still, and quasi-heroic gasconade. They do believe it to be heroic. They believe that they are the "Christ of Nations;" an innocent godlike people, suffering for the sins of all nations, with an eye to redeem us all:—let us hope that this of the "Christ of Nations" is the *non plus ultra* of the thing. I wish they would inquire whether there might not be a *Cartouche* of Nations, fully as likely as a Christ of Nations in our time! Cartouche had many gallant qualities, was much admired, and much pitied in his sufferings, and had many fine ladies begging locks of his hair while the inexorable, indispensable gibbet was preparing. But in the end there was no salvation for Cartouche. Better he should obey the heavy-handed Teutsch police-officer, who has him by the windpipe in such frightful manner; give up part of his stolen goods; altogether cease to be a Cartouche, and try to become again a Chevalier Bayard under improved conditions, and a blessing and beautiful benefit to all his neighbours,—instead of too much the reverse, as now! Clear it is, at any rate, singular as it may seem to France, all Europe does *not* come to the rescue, in gratitude for the heavenly "illumination" it is getting from France: nor could all Europe, if it did, at this moment prevent that awful Chancellor from having his own way. Metz and the boundary-fence, I reckon, will be dreadfully hard to get out of that Chancellor's hands again.

A hundred years ago there was in England the liveliest desire, and at one time an actual effort and hope, to recover Alsace and Lorraine from the French. Lord Carteret, called afterwards Lord Granville (no ancestor, in any sense, of his now honourable synonym), thought by some to be, with the one exception of Lord Chatham, the wisest Foreign Secretary we ever had, and especially the 'one Secretary that ever spoke German or understood German matters at all,' had set his heart on this very object, and had fair prospects of achieving it,—had not our poor dear Duke of Newcastle suddenly peddled him out of it, and even out of office altogether, into sullen disgust (and too much of *wine* withal, says Walpole), and into total oblivion by his Nation, which, except Chatham, has none such to remember. That Bismarck, and Germany along with him, should now at this propitious juncture make a like demand is no surprise to me. After

such provocation, and after such a victory, the resolution does seem rational, just, and even modest. And considering all that has occurred since that memorable cataclysm at Sedan, I could reckon it creditable to the sense and moderation of Count Bismarck that he stands steadily by this; demanding nothing more, resolute to take nothing less, and advancing with a slow calmness towards it by the eligiblest roads. The "Siege of Paris," which looks like the hugest and most hideous farce-tragedy ever played under this sun, Bismarck evidently hopes will never need to come to uttermost bombardment, to million-fold death by hunger, or the kindling of Paris and its carpentries and asphalt streets by shells and red-hot balls into a sea of fire. Diligent, day by day, seem those Prussians, never resting nor too much hasting; well knowing the proverb, 'Slow fire makes sweet malt.' I believe Bismarck will get his Alsace and what he wants of Lorraine; and likewise that it will do him, and us, and all the world, and even France itself by and by, a great deal of good. Anarchic France gets her first stern lesson there,—a terribly drastic dose of physic to sick France!—and well will it be for her if she can learn her lesson honestly. If she cannot, she will get another, and ever another; learnt the lesson must be.

Considerable misconception as to Herr von Bismarck is still prevalent in England. The English newspapers, nearly all of them, seem to me to be only getting towards a true knowledge of Bismarck, but not yet got to it. The standing likeness, circulating everywhere ten years ago, of demented Bismarck and his ditto King to Strafford and Charles I. *versus* our Long Parliament (*as* like as Macedon to Monmouth, and not liker) has now vanished from the earth, no whisper of it ever to be heard more. That pathetic Niobe of Denmark, reft violently of her children (which were stolen children, and were dreadfully ill-nursed by Niobe Denmark), is also nearly gone, and will go altogether so soon as knowledge of the matter is had. Bismarck, as I read him, is not a person of "Napoleonic" ideas, but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic; shows no invincible "lust of territory," nor is tormented with "vulgar ambition," &c.; but has aims very far beyond that sphere; and in fact seems to me to be striving with strong faculty, by patient, grand, and successful steps, towards an object beneficial to Germans and to all other men. That noble, patient, deep, pious, and solid Germany should be at length welded into a Nation and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vapouring, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome, restless, and over-sensitive France, seems to me the hopefullest public fact that has occurred in my time.

I remain, Sir, yours truly,

T. Carlyle.

THE PORTRAITS OF JOHN KNOX.

I.

Theodore Beza, in the beginning of the year 1580, published at Geneva a well-printed, clearly expressed, and on the whole considerate and honest little Volume, in the Latin tongue, purporting to be '*Icones*, that is to say, true Portraits, of men illustrious in the Reformation of Religion and Restoration of Learning':* Volume of perhaps 250 pages, but in fact not numerically paged at all, which is sometimes described as 4to, but is in reality 8vo rather, though expanded by the ample margin into something of a square form. It is dedicated to King James VI. of Scotland; then a small rather watery boy hardly yet fourteen, but the chief Protestant King then extant; the first Icon of all being that of James himself. The Dedication has nothing the least of fulsome or even panegyrical; and is in fact not so much a Dedication as a longish preface, explanatory of Beza's impulse towards publishing such a book, namely, the delight he himself has in contemplating the face of any heroic friend of Letters and of true Religion; and defending himself withal, to us superfluously enough, against any imputation of idolatry or image-worship, which scrupulous critics might cast upon him, since surely painting and engraving are permissible to mankind; and that, for

* *Icones, id est Veræ Imagines, Virorum doctrinâ simul et pietate illustrium, quorum præcipue ministerio partim bonarum Literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera Religio in variis Orbis Christiani regionibus, nostrâ patrumque memoriâ fuit instaurata: additis eorundem vitæ & operæ descriptionibus, quibus adiectæ sunt nonnullæ picturæ quas Emblemata vocant. Theodoro Beza Auctore.—Genevæ. Apud Joannem Laonium. M.D.LXXX.*

the rest, these Icons are by no means to be introduced into God's House, but kept as private furniture in your own. The only praise he bestows on James is the indisputable one that he is head of a most Protestant nation; that he is known to have fine and most promising faculties; which may God bring to perfection, to the benefit of his own and many nations, of which there is the better hope, as he is in the meanwhile under the tuition of two superlative men, Dominus Georgius Buchananus, the *facile princeps* in various literary respects, and Dominus Petrus Junius (or Jonck, as it is elsewhere called, meaning 'Young'), also a man of distinguished merits.

The Royal Icon, which stands on the outside, and precedes the Dedication, is naturally the first of all: fit ornament to the vestibule of the whole work—a half ridiculous half pathetic protecting genius, of whom this (opposite) is the exact figure.

Some Four Score other personages follow; of personages four score, but of Icons only Thirty-eight; Beza, who clearly had a proper wish to secure true portraits, not having at his command any further supply; so that in forty-three cases there is a mere frame of a wood-cut with nothing but the name of the individual who should have filled it, given.

A certain French translator of the Book, who made his appearance next year, Simon Goulart, a French friend, fellow preacher, and distinguished co-presbyter of Beza's, of whom there will be much farther mention soon, seems to have been better supplied than Beza with engravings. He has added from his own resources Eleven new Icons; many of them better than the average of Beza's, and of special importance some of them; for example that of Wickliffe, the deep-lying tap-root of the whole tree; to want whose Portrait and have nothing but a name to offer was surely a want indeed. Goulart's Wickliffe gratifies one not a little; and to the open-minded reader who has any turn for physiognomic enquiries is very interesting; a most substantial and effective looking man; easily conceivable as Wickliffe, though, as in my own case, one never saw a portrait of him before; a solid, broad-browed, massive-headed man; strong nose, slightly aquiline, beard of practical length and opulent growth; evidently a thoughtful, cheerful, faithful and resolute man; to whom indeed a very great work was appointed in this world; that of inaugurating the new Reformation and new epoch in Europe, with results that have been immense, not yet completed but expanding in our own day with an astonishing, almost alarming swiftness of development. This is among the shortest of all the Icon articles or written commentaries in Beza's Work. We translate it entire, as a specimen of Beza's well meant, but too often vague, and mostly inane performance in these enterprises; which to the most

zealous reader of his own time could leave so little of distinct information, and to most readers of our own, none at all; the result little more than interjectional,

a pious emotion towards Heaven and the individual mentioned; result very vague indeed.

Wickliffe.—'Let this, England, be thy greatest honour forever that thou didst produce John Wickliffe (albeit thou hast since somewhat stained that honour); the first after so many years that dared to declare war against the Roman Harlot, who audaciously mocked the Kings of Europe, intoxicated with her strong drink. This effort was so successful that ever since that Wicked One has been mortally wounded by the blow which Wickliffe by the sword of the Word of God dealt to her. And although for a time the wound appeared to be closed, since then it has always burst open again; and finally, by the grace of God, remains incurable. Nothing was wanting to thee, excellent champion, except the martyr's crown; which not being able to obtain in thy life, thou didst receive forty years after thy death, when thy bones were burnt to powder by Antichrist; who by that single act of wickedness has forever branded himself with the stamp of cruelty and has acquired for thee a glory so much the more splendid.

John Wickliffe flourished in the year 1372. He died after diverse combats, in the year 1387. His bones were burnt at Oxford in the year 1410.'

No not at Oxford, but at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, as old Fuller memorably tells us: 'Such the spleen of the Council of Constance,' says he, 'they not only cursed his memory, as dying an obstinate heretic, but ordered that his bones (with this charitable caution, "if it," the body, "may be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people,") be taken out of the ground and thrown far off from any Christian burial. In obedience hereunto, Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, Diocesan of Lutterworth, sent his officers (vultures with a quick-sight scent at a dead carcase) to ungrave him accordingly. To Lutterworth they come, Sumner, Commissary, Official, Chancellor, Proctors, Doctors, and the servants (so that the remnant of the body would not hold out a bone against so many hands), take what was left out of the grave and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow Seas, and they into the main Ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.'*

Beza's selection of subjects to figure in this book of Icons is by no means of fanatically exclusive, or even straitlaced character. Erasmus, a tolerably good portrait, and a mild, laudatory, gentle and apologetic account of the man, is one of his figures. The Printers, Etienne, Froben, for their eximious services in the cause of good letters, *bonarum literarum;* nay King Francis I. is introduced in gallant beaver and plume, with his surely very considerable failings well veiled in

* Fuller's *Church History*, Section ii. Book iv.

shadow, and hardly anything but eulogy, on the score of his beneficences to the Paris University,—and probably withal of the primitive fact that he was Beza's King. 'Sham Bishops, *pseudo-episcopi*,' 'cruel murderers of God's messengers,' 'servants of Satan,' and the like hard terms are indeed never wanting; but on the whole a gentle and quiet frame of mind is traceable in Beza throughout;—and one almost has the suspicion that, especially as his stock both of Icons and of facts is so poor, one considerable subsidiary motive to the publication may have been the Forty Emblems, '*picturæ quas Emblemata vocant*,' pretty little engravings, and sprightly Latin verse, which follow on these poor prose Icons; and testify to all the intelligent world that Beza's fine poetic vein is still flowing, and without the much censured erotic, or other impure elements, which caused so much scandal in his younger days.

About the middle of the Book turns up a brief, vague eulogy of the Reformation in Scotland, with only two characters introduced; Patrick Hamilton, the Scottish proto-martyr, as second in the list; and, in frank disregard of the chronology, as first and leading figure, 'Johannes Cnoxus Giffordiensis Scotus'; and to the surprise of every reader acquainted with the character of Knox, as written indelibly, and in detail, in his words and actions legible to this day, the following strange Icon; very difficult indeed to accept as a bodily physiognomy of the man you have elsewhere got an image of for yourself, by industrious study of these same.

Surely quite a surprising individual to have kindled all Scotland, within few years, almost within few months into perhaps the noblest flame of sacred human zeal, and brave determination to believe only what it found completely believable, and to defy the whole world and the devil at its back, in unsubduable defence of the same. Here is a gentleman seemingly of a quite eupeptic, not to say stolid and thoughtless frame of mind; much at his ease in Zion, and content to take things as they come, if only they will let him digest his victuals, and sleep in a whole skin. Knox, you can well perceive, in all his writings and in all his way of life, was emphatically of Scottish build; eminently a national specimen; in fact what we might denominate the most Scottish of Scots, and to this day typical of all the qualities which belong nationally to the very choicest Scotsmen we have known, or had clear record of: utmost sharpness of discernment and discrimination, courage enough, and, what is still better, no particular consciousness of courage, but a readiness in all simplicity to do and dare whatsoever is commanded by the inward voice of native manhood; on the whole a beautiful and simple but complete incompatibility with whatever is false in word or conduct; inexorable contempt and detestation of what in modern speech is called *humbug*.

Nothing hypocritical, foolish or untrue can find harbour in this man; a pure, and mainly silent, tenderness of affection is in him, touches of genial humour are not wanting under his severe austerity; an occasional growl of sarcastic indignation against malfeasance, falsity and stupidity; indeed secretly an extensive fund of

that disposition, kept mainly silent, though inwardly in daily exercise; a most clear-cut, hardy, distinct and effective man; fearing God and without any other fear. Of all this you in vain search for the smallest trace in this poor Icon of Beza's.

No feature of a Scottish man traceable there, nor indeed, you would say, of any man at all; an entirely insipid, expressionless individuality, more like the wooden Figure-head of a ship than a living and working man; highly unacceptable to every physiognomic reader and knower of *Johannes Cnoxus Giffordiensis Scotus*.

Under these circumstances it is not a surprise, and is almost a consolation, to find that Beza has as little knowledge of Knox's biography as of his natural face. Nothing here, or hardly anything but a blotch of ignorant confusion. The year of Knox's birth is unknown to Beza, the place very indistinctly known. Beza reports him to have studied with great distinction under John Major at St. Andrews; the fact being that he was one winter under Major at Glasgow, but never under Major at St. Andrews, nor ever a university student elsewhere at all; that his admired neological prelections at St. Andrews are a creature of the fancy; and in short that Beza's account of that early period is mere haze and ignorant hallucination. Having received the order of priesthood, thinks Beza, he set to lecturing in a so valiantly neological tone in Edinburgh and elsewhere that Cardinal Beaton could no longer stand it; but truculently summoned him to appear in Edinburgh on a given day, and give account of himself; whereupon Knox, evading the claws of this man-eater, secretly took himself away 'to Hameston,'—a town or city unknown to geographers, ancient or modern, but which, according to Beza, was then and there the one refuge of the pious, *unicum tunc piorum asylum*. Towards this refuge Cardinal Beaton thereupon sent assassins (entirely imaginary), who would for certain have cut-off Knox in his early spring, had not God's providence commended him to the care of 'Langudrius, a principal nobleman in Scotland,' by whom his precious life was preserved. This town of 'Hamestonum, sole refuge of the pious,' and this protective 'Langudrius, a principal nobleman,' are extremely wonderful to the reader; and only after a little study do you discover that 'Langudrius, a principal nobleman' is simply the Laird of *Langniddry*, and that 'Hamestonum' the city of refuge is Cockburn the Laird of *Ormiston's;* both of whom had Sons in want of education; three in all, two of Langniddry's and one of Ormiston's, who, especially the first, had been lucky enough to secure John Knox's services as tutor! The rest of the narrative is almost equally absurd, or only saved from being so by its emptiness and vagueness; and the one certain fact we come upon is that of Knox's taking leave of his congregation, and shortly afterwards ordaining in their presence his successor, chosen by them and him, followed by his death in fifteen days, dates all accurately given; on which latter point, what is curious to consider, Beza must have had exact information, not mere rumour.

From all this we might infer that Beza had never personally had the least acquaintance with Knox, never in all likelihood seen him with eyes; which latter on strict examination of the many accurate particulars to be found in the Lives of Beza, and especially in Bayle's multifarious details about him, comes to seem your legitimate conclusion. Knox's journeys to Geneva, and his two several residences, as preacher to the Church of the English Exiles there, do not coincide with Beza's contemporary likelihoods; nor does Beza seem to have been a person whom Knox would have cared to seek out. Beza was at Lausanne, teaching Greek, and not known otherwise than as a much-censured, fashionable young Frenchman and too erotic Poet; nothing of theological had yet come from him,—except, while Knox was far off, the questionable Apology for Calvin's burning of Servetus, which cannot have had much charm for Knox, a man by no means fond of public burning as an argument in matters of human belief, rather the reverse by all symptoms we can trace in him. During Knox's last and most important ministration in Geneva, Beza, still officially Professor of Greek at Lausanne, was on an intricate mission from the French Huguenots to the Protestant Princes of Germany, and did not come to settle in Geneva till Spring 1559, several months after Knox had permanently left it.

Directly after finishing his Book, Beza naturally forwarded a copy to Edinburgh, to the little patron Sovereign there; probably with no writing in it; there being such a comfortable Dedication and Frontispiece to the Book, but along with it a short letter to Buchanan, the little King's Head-tutor, of which happily there is a copy still preserved to us, and ready translated, as follows:

'Behold, my dear Buchanan, a notable instance of double extravagance in a single act; affording an illustration of the characteristic phrensy of poets,—provided you admit me to a participation of that title. I have been guilty of trifling with a serious subject, and have dedicated my trifles to a king. If with your usual politeness, and in consideration of our ancient friendship, you should undertake to excuse both these circumstances to the King, I trust the matter will have a fortunate issue: but if you refuse, I shall be disappointed in my expectations. The scope of this little work, such as it is, you will learn from the preface; namely that the King, when he shall be aware of the high expectations which he has excited in all the Churches, may at the same time, delighted with those various and excellent examples, become more and more familiar with his duty. Of this Work I likewise send a copy to you, that is, owls to Athens; and request you to accept it as a token of my regard. My late Paraphrase of the Psalms, if it has reached your country, will I hope inspire you with the design of reprinting your own, to the great advantage of the Church: and, believe me, it is not so

much myself as the whole Church that entreats you to accelerate this scheme. Farewell, excellent man. May the Lord Jesus bless your hoary hairs more and more, and long preserve you for our sake.—Geneva, March the sixteenth, 1580.'*

What Buchanan or the King thought of this Book, especially of the two Icons, Johannes Cnoxus and the little silver Pepper-box of a King, we have not anywhere the slightest intimation. But one little fact, due to the indefatigable scrutiny and great knowledge of Mr. David Laing, seems worthy of notice. This is an excerpt from the Scottish Royal Treasurer's accounts, of date, Junij 1581 (one of the volumes not yet printed):

'*Itim*, To Adrianc Vaensoun, Fleming painter, for twa picturis painted be him, and send' (*sent*) 'to Theodorus Besa, conforme to ane precept as the samin producit upon compt beris 8*l* 10*s*' (14*s*. 2*d*. sterling).

The It*i*m and Adrian*c* indicate a clerk of great ignorance. In Painters' Dictionaries there is no such name as Vaensoun; but there is a famous enough Vansomer, or even family or clan of Vansomers, natives of Antwerp; one of whom, Paulus Vansomer, is well known to have painted with great acceptance at King James's Court in England (from 1606 to 1620). He died here in 1621; and is buried in St.-Martin's-in-the-Fields. *Eximius pictor*. It is barely possible this 'Fleming painter' may have been some individual of these Vansomers; but of course the fact can never be ascertained. Much more interesting would it be to know what Theodorus Beza made of the 'twa picturis' when they reached him at Geneva; and where, if at all in *rerum naturâ*, they now are! All we can guess, if there be any possibility of conjecturing so much in the vague is, That these *twa picturis* might be portraits of His Majesty and Johannes Cnoxus by an artist of some real ability, intended as a silent protest against the Beza Pepper-box and Figure-head, in case the *Icones* ever came to a second edition; which it never did.

Unknown to his Scottish Majesty, and before the 'Adrianc Vaensoun' pictures got under way, or at least before they were paid for, Monsieur Simon Goulart had got out his French translation of Beza's Book; and with sufficient emphasis contradicted one of the above two Icons, that of 'Jean Cnoxe de Gifford en Ecosse,' the alone important of the two. Goulart had come to Geneva some eight or nine years before; was at this time Beza's esteemed colleague and co-presbyter, ultimately Beza's successor in the chief clerical position at Geneva; a man already distinguished in the world; 'wrote twenty-one books,' then of lively acceptance in the theological or literary world, though now fallen dim enough to mankind. Goulart's Book had the same publisher as Beza's last year,—*Apud*

* *Buchanani Epistolæ*, p. 28. Translated by Dr. Irving, *Life and Writings of George Buchanan* (Edinburgh, 1807), p. 184.

Joannem Laonium; and contains a kind of preface or rather *postscript*, for it is introduced at the end of the Icons, and before his translation of the Emblems, which latter, as will be seen, he takes no notice of; nor in regard to the Icons is there a word said of the eleven new woodcuts, for most part of superior quality, which Goulart had furnished to his illustrious friend; but only some apology for the straggle of French verses, which he has been at the pains to introduce in his own zealous person at the end of many of the Icons. As the piece is short, and may slightly illustrate the relations of Author and Translator, we give it here entire:

'*Au Lecteur*.

Du consentement de M. Theodore de Besze, j'ay traduit ce livre, le plus fidèlement qu'il m'a esté possible. Au reste, après la description des personnes illustres j'ai adjousté quelques vers français à chacun, exprimant comme j'ai peu les épigrammes Latins de l'auteur là où ils se sont rencontrez, et fournissant les autres vers de ma rude invention: ce que j'ay voulu vous faire entendre, afin qu'on n'imputast à l'auteur choses qu'il eust peu agencer trop mieux sans comparaison, si le temps lui eust permis ce faire, et si son esprit eust encliné à y mettre la main.'

Goulart's treatment of his, Beza's, original is of the most conscientious exactitude; the translation everywhere correct to a comma; true everywhere to Beza's meaning, and wherever possible, giving a touch of new lucidity; he uses the same woodcuts that Beza did, *plus* only his own eleven, of which, as already said, there is no mention or hint. In one instance, and not in any other, has an evident misfortune befallen him, in the person of his printer; the printer had two woodcuts to introduce; one of Jean Diaze,—a tragic Spanish Protestant, fratricidally murdered at Neuburg in the Oberpfalz, 1546,—the other of Melchior Wolmar, an early German friend and loved intimate of Beza's, from whom Beza, at Orleans, had learned Greek: the two Icons in outline have a certain vague similarity, which had deceived the too hasty printer of Goulart, who, after inserting Beza's Icon of Diaze, again inserts *it*, instead of Wolmar. This is the one mistake or palpable oversight discoverable in Goulart's accurately conscientious labour, which everywhere else reproduces Beza as in a clear mirror. But there is one other variation, not, as seems to us, by mere oversight of printer or pressman, but by clear intention on the part of Goulart, which is of the highest interest to our readers: the notable fact, namely, that Goulart has, of his own head, silently altogether withdrawn the Johannes Cnoxus of Beza, and substituted for it this now adjoined Icon, one of his own eleven, which has no relation or resemblance

whatever to the Beza likeness, or to any other ever known of Knox. A portrait recognisably not of Knox at all; but of William Tyndale translator of the Bible,

a fellow exile of Knox's at Geneva; which is found repeated in all manner of collections, and is now everywhere accepted as Tyndale's likeness!

This surely is a wonderful transaction on the part of conscientious, hero-worshipping Goulart towards his hero Beza; and indeed will seem to most persons to be explicable only on the vague hypothesis that some old or middle-aged inhabitant of Geneva, who had there sometimes transiently seen Knox, twenty-one years ago (Knox had left Geneva in January 1559, and, preaching to a group of poor English exiles, probably was never very conspicuous there), had testified to Beza or to Goulart that the Beza Figure-head was by no means a likeness of Knox; which fatal information, on enquiry, had been confirmed into clear proof in the negative, and that Beza and Goulart had thereupon become convinced, and Goulart, with Beza, taking a fresh, and again unfortunate departure, had agreed that here was the real Dromio, and had silently inserted William Tyndale accordingly. This is only a vague hypothesis, for why did not the old or middle-aged inhabitant of Geneva testify with equal certainty that the Tyndale woodcut was just as little a likeness of Knox, and check Goulart and Beza in their new unfortunate adventure? But to us the conclusion, which is not hypothetical at all, must surely be that neither Beza nor Goulart had any knowledge whatever of the real physiognomy or figure of Johannes Cnoxus, and in all subsequent researches on that subject are to be considered mutually annihilative; and any testimony they could give mere zero, and of no account at all.

This, however, was by no means the result which actually followed. Twenty-two years after this of Beza (1602), a Dutch Theologian, one Verheiden, whose knowledge of theological Icons was probably much more distinct than Beza's, published at the Hague a folio entitled *Præstantium aliquot Theologorum &c. Effigies*, in which Knox figures in the following new form; done, as the signature bears, by Hondius, an Engraver of known merit, but cognizant seemingly of Beza's Book only, and quite ignorant of Goulart's translation and its Tyndale Knox, who presents us, to our surprise, on this occasion, with the following portrait; considerably more alive and credible as a human being than Beza's Figure-head; and bearing on it the monogram of Hondius; so that at least its authorship is indisputable.

This, as the reader sees, represents to us a much more effective-looking man in matters of reformation or vigorous action; in fact it has a kind of browbeating or almost bullying aspect; a decidedly self-sufficient man, but with no trace of feature in him that physiognomically can remind us of Knox. The river of beard flowing from it is grander than that in the Figure-head, and the Book there, with its right-hand reminding you of a tied-up bundle of carrots supporting a kind of loose little volume, are both charitably withdrawn. This woodcut, it appears, pleased the late Sir David Wilkie best of all the Portraits he had seen, and was

copied or imitated by him in that notable Picture of his, 'Knox preaching before Queen Mary,'—one of the most impossible pictures ever painted by a man of

such indubitable genius, including therein, piety, enthusiasm, and veracity,—in brief the probably intolerablest figure that exists of Knox; and from one of the

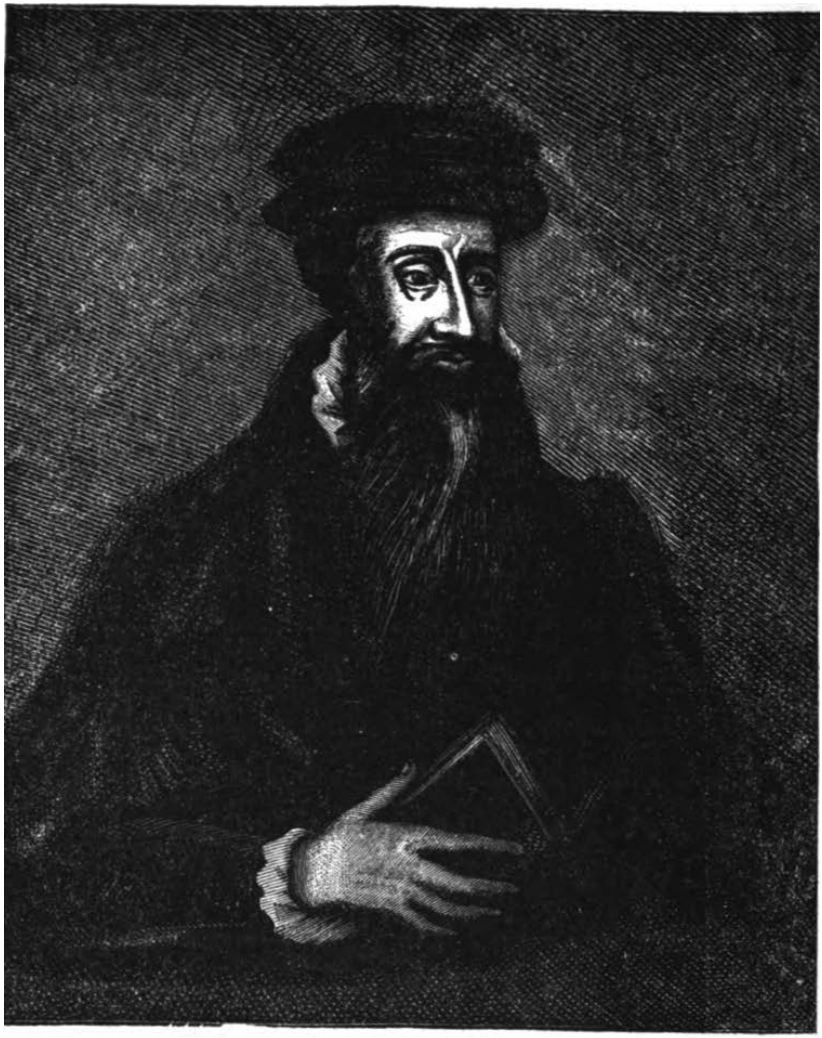
noblest of Scottish painters the least expected. Such by accident was the honour done to Hondius's impossible Knox; not to our advantage, but the contrary. All artists agree at once that this of Hondius is nothing other than an improved reproduction of the old Beza Figure-head; the face is turned to the other side, but the features are preserved, so far as adding some air at least of animal life would permit; the costume, carefully including the little patch of ruffles under the jaw, is reproduced; and in brief the conclusion is that Hondius or Verheiden had no doubt but the Beza portrait, though very dead and boiled-looking, had been essentially like; and needed only a little kindling up from its boiled condition to be satisfactory to the reader. Goulart's French Translation of Beza, and the substitution of the Tyndale figure there, as we have said, seems to be unknown to Verheiden and his Hondius; indeed Verheiden's library, once furnished with a Beza, having no use for a poor Interpretation. In fact we should rather guess the success of Goulart in foreign parts, remote from Geneva and its reading population, to have been inconsiderable; at least in Scotland and England, where no mention of it or allusion to it is made, and where the Book at this day is fallen extremely scarce in comparison with Beza's; no copy to be found in the British Museum, and dealers in old books testifying that it is of extreme rarity; and would now bring, said one experienced-looking old man, perhaps twenty guineas. Beza's boiled Figure-head appears to have been regarded as the one canonical Knox, and the legitimate function of every limner of Knox to be that of Hondius, the reproduction of the Beza Figure-head, with such improvements and invigorations as his own best judgment or happiest fancy might suggest. Of the Goulart substitution of Tyndale for Knox, there seems to have been no notice or remembrance anywhere, or if any, then only a private censure and suppression of the Goulart and his Tyndale. Meanwhile, such is the wild chaos of the history of bad prints, the whirligig of time did bring about its revenge upon poor Beza. In *Les Portraits des Hommes Illustres qui ont le plus contribué au Rétablissement des belles lettres et de la vraye Religion* (*À Genève*, 1673), the woodcut of Knox is contentedly given, as Goulart gave it in his French Translation; and for that of Beza himself the boiled Figure-head, which Beza denominated Knox! The little silver Pepper-box is likewise given again there as portrait of Jacobus VI.,—Jacobus who had, in the meantime, grown to full stature, and died some fifty years ago. For not in nature, but only in some chaos thrice confounded, with Egyptian darkness superadded, is there to be found any history comparable to that of old bad prints. For example, of that disastrous old Figure-head, produced to view by Beza, who or what did draw it, when or from what authority, if any, except that evidently some human being did, and

presumably from some original or other, must remain forever a mystery. In a large *Granger*, fifty or sixty big folios, and their thousands of prints, I have seen a summary collection, of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, of some fourteen or fifteen Heroes of the Reformation, Knox among them; all flung down in the form of big circular blotch, like the opened eggs for an omelet, and among these fourteen or fifteen egg-yolks hardly two of which you could determine even what they wished to resemble.

For the last century or so, by far the most famed and trusted of Scottish Knox Portraits has been that in the possession of the Torphichen family, at Calder House, some twelve or more miles from Edinburgh. This Picture was public here in the Portrait Exhibition in 1869, and a photograph or attempt at photograph was taken of it, but with little success, the colours having mostly grown so black. By the great kindness of the now Lord Torphichen, the Picture was, with prompt and conspicuous courtesy, which I shall not soon forget, sent up again for inspection here, and examination by artistic judges; and was accordingly so examined and inspected by several persons of eminence in that department; all of whom were, almost at first sight, unanimous in pronouncing it to be a picture of no artistic merit;—impossible to ascribe it to any nameable painter, having no style or worth in it, as a painting; guessable to be perhaps under a century old, and very clearly an improved copy from the Beza Figure-head. Of course no photographing was attempted on our part; but along with it there had been most obligingly sent a copy of the late Mr. Penny of Calder's engraving; a most meritorious and exact performance, of which no copy was discoverable in the London shops, though, at Mr. Graves's and elsewhere, were found one or two others of much inferior exactitude to Mr. Penny's engraving:—of this a photograph was taken, which, in the form of woodcut, is on the next page subjoined.

This Torphichen Picture is essentially like the Beza woodcut, though there has been a strenuous attempt on the part of the hopelessly incompetent Painter to improve upon it, successful chiefly in the matter of the bunch of carrots, which is rendered almost like a human hand; for the rest its original at once declares itself, were it only by the loose book held in said hand; by the form of the nose and the twirl of ruffles under the left cheek; clearly a bad picture, done in oil, some generations ago, for which the Beza Figure-head served as model, accidentally raised to pictorial sovereignty by the *vox populi* of Scotland. On the back of the canvas, in clear, strong hand, by all appearance less than a century old, are written these words: 'Rev. Mr. John Knox. The first sacrament of the Supper given in Scotland after the Reformation, was dispensed by him in this hall.' A

statement, it appears, which is clearly erroneous, if that were of much moment. The Picture as a guide to the real likeness of Knox was judged by us to offer no



THE TORPHICHEN PORTRAIT.

help whatever; but does surely testify the Protestant zeal of some departed Lord Torphichen; and indeed it is not improbable that the conspicuous fidelity of

that noble house in all its branches to Knox and his Reformation, from first to last, through all his and its perils and struggles, has been the chief cause of its singular currency in Scotland, in the later generation or two. Certain the picture is a poor and altogether commonplace reproduction of the Beza Figure-head; and has nevertheless, as I am assured by judgments better than my own, been the progenitor of all, or nearly all the incredible Knoxes, the name of which is now legion. Nearly all, I said, not quite all, for one or two set up to be originals, not said by whom, and seem to partake more of the Hondius type; having a sullen or sulky expression superadded to the self-sufficiency and copious river of beard, bestowed by Hondius.

The so-called original Knox, still in Glasgow University, is thus described to me by a friendly Scottish artist, Mr. Robert Tait, Queen Anne Street, of good faculties and opportunities in such things, as of doubtful derivation from the Beza Icon, though engraved and recommended as such by Pinkerton, and as being an 'altogether weak and foolish head.' From the same artist I also learn that the bronze figure in the monument at Glasgow is a visible derivative from Beza, through Torphichen. And in brief this poor Figure-head has produced, and is still producing, through various venters, a quite Protean *pecus* of incredible portraits of Knox;—the latest of note, generally known, is M'Crie's frontispiece to the *Life of Knox*, and probably the most widely spread in our generation that given in Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary*. A current portrait, I suppose, of the last century, although there is no date on it, 'in the possession of Miss Knox of Edinburgh, painted by De Vos,' has some air of generic difference, but is evidently of filiality to Hondius or Torphichen, withal; and as to its being painted by De Vos there is no trace of that left visible, nor of Miss Knox, the once proprietress; not to add, that there is a whole clan of Dutch De Voses, and no Christian name for the Miss Knox one. Another picture not without impressiveness has still its original in Holyrood House; and is thought to be of some merit and of a different clan from the Torphichen; but with a pair of compasses in the hand of it, instead of a Bible; and indeed has been discovered by Mr. Laing to be the portrait of an architect or master-builder, and to be connected merely with the ædilities, not with the theologies of Holyrood House. A much stranger 'original Picture of Knox' is still to be found in Hamilton Palace, but it represents unfortunately, not the Prophet of the Reformation, but to all appearance the professional Merry Andrew of that family.—Another artist friend of great distinction, Mr. J. E. Boehm, sculptor, sums up his first set of experiences, which have since been carried to such lengths and depths, in these words, dated January 28, 1874:

'I called to thank you for the loan of John Knox's portrait' (Engraving of the *Somerville*, of which there will be speech enough by-and-by), 'and to beg you to do me the favour of looking at the sketches which I have modelled, and to give me your valuable opinion about them.—I have just been to the British Museum, and have seen engravings after four pictures of John Knox. The only one which looks done from nature, and a really characteristic portrait is that of which you have a print. It is I find from a picture "in the possession of Lord Somerville." Two more, which are very like each other in quality, and in quantity of beard and garments, are, one in the possession of a Miss Knox of Edinburgh (painted by De Vos), the other at Calder House (Lord Torphichen's). The fourth, which is very bad, wherein he is represented laughing like a '*Hofnarr*,' is from a painting in Hamilton Palace; but cannot possibly have been *the* John Knox, as he has a turned-up nose and looks funny.'

But enough now, and more than enough of the soul-confusing spectacle of Proteus driving all his monstrous flock, product of chaos, to view the lofty mountains and the sane minds of men.

II.

Will the reader consent, at this stage of our little enterprise, to a few notices or excerpts direct from Knox himself; from his own writings and actions: perhaps it may be possible from these, even on the part of outsiders and strangers to Knox, to catch some glimpses of his inward physiognomy, though all credible traces of his outward or bodily lineaments appear hitherto to have fallen impossible. Here is a small touch of mirth on the part of Knox, from whom we are accustomed to expect very opposite things. It is the report of a Sermon by one Arth, a Black or Gray Friar of the St. Andrews neighbourhood, seemingly a jocular person, though not without serious ideas: Sermon, which was a discourse on 'Cursing' (Clerical Excommunication), a thing the priests were wonderfully given to at that time, had been preached first in Dundee, and had got for poor Arth from certain jackmen of the Bishop of Brechin, instead of applause, some hustling and even cuffing, followed by menaces and threatened tribulation from the Bishop himself; till Arth got permission to deliver his sermon again in the Kirk of St. Andrews to a distinguished audience; who voted the purport and substance of it to be essentially true and justifiable. Here, at second hand, is Knox's summary of the discourse, written many years after.

'The theme' (*text*) 'of his sermon was "Veritie is the strongest of all things." His discourse of Cursing was, That if it were rightly used, it was the most fear-

ful thing upon the face of the earth; for it was the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly and for every light cause, but only against open and incorrigible sinners. But now (said he) the avarice of priests and the ignorance of their office, has caused it altogether to be vilipended; for the priest (said he) whose duty and office is to pray for the people, stands up on Sunday and cries, "Ane has tynt a spurtil" (*lost a porridge stick*). "There is ane flail stolen from them beyond the burn." "The goodwife of the other side of the gate has tynt a horn spune" (*lost a horn spoon*). "God's maleson and mine I give to them that knows of this gear and restores it not." How the people mocked their cursing, he farther told a merry tale; how, after a sermon he had made at Dumfermling, he came to a house where gossips were drinking their Sunday's penny, and he, being dry, asked drink. "Yes, Father, (said one of the gossips) ye shall have drink; but ye maun first resolve ane doubt which is risen among us, to wit, what servant will serve a man best on least expenses." "The good Angel (said I), who is man's keeper, who makes greatest service without expenses." "Tush (said the gossip), we mean no so high matters: we mean, what honest man will do greatest service for least expenses?" And while I was musing (said the Friar) what that should mean, he said, "I see, Father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Know ye not how the Bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give to us a letter of Cursing for a plack," (*say, farthing English*), "to last for a year, to curse all that look ower our dyke? and that keeps our corn better nor the sleeping boy that will have three shillings of fee, a sark and a pair of shoon" (*shirt and pair of shoes*) "in the year. And therefore, if their cursing dow" (*avail*) "anything, we hold the Bishops best-cheap servants in that respect that are within the realm.""*

Knox never heard this discourse himself; far away he, from Arth and St. Andrews at that time. But he has contrived to make out of it and the circumstances surrounding, a little picture of old Scotch life, bright and real looking, as if by Teniers or Ostade.

Knox's first concern with anything of Public History in Scotland or elsewhere, and this as yet quite private and noted only by himself, is his faithful companionship of the noble martyr Wishart, in the final days of his sore pilgrimage and

* *The Works of John Knox*, collected and edited by David Laing (the first complete, and perfectly annotated Edition ever given: a highly meritorious, and, considering all the difficulties, intrinsic and accidental, even a heroic Performance; for which all Scotland, and in a sense all the world, is debtor to Mr. Laing); 6 vols. Edinburgh, 1846-'64: i. p. 37 *et seq.*

battle in this world. Wishart had been driven out of Scotland, while still quite young, for his heretical proceedings; and had sought refuge in England; had gained great love for his fine character and qualities, especially during his stay, of a year or more, in Cambridge University, as one of his most ardent friends and disciples there, Emery Tylney, still copiously testifies, in what is now the principal record and extant biography of Wishart,—still preserved in *Foxe's Martyrology*.

In consequence of the encouraging prospects that had risen in Scotland, Wishart returned thither in 1546, and began preaching, at last publicly, in the streets of Dundee, with great acceptance from the better part of the population there. Perils and loud menacings from official quarters were not wanting; finally Wishart had moved to other safer places of opportunity; thence back to Dundee, where pestilence was raging; and there, on impulse of his own conscience only, had 'planted himself between the living and the dead,' and been to many a terrestrial help and comfort,—not to speak of a celestial. The pest abating at Dundee, he went to East Lothian; and there, with Haddington for head-quarters, and some principal gentry, especially the Lairds of Langniddry and Ormiston, protecting and encouraging, and beyond all others with John Knox, tutor to these gentlemen's sons, attending him, with the liveliest appreciation and most admiring sympathy,—indeed acting, it would seem, as Captain of his Body-guard. For it is marked as a fact that the monstrous Cardinal Beaton had in this case appointed a specific assassin, a devil-serving Priest, to track Wishart diligently in these journeyings about of his, which were often nocturnal and opportune for such a thing, and, the sooner the better, do him to death; and on the one clear glimpse allowed us of Knox, it was he that carried the 'two-handed sword' provided for Wishart's safety against such chances. This assassin project against Wishart is probably the origin of Beza's notion about Beaton's intention to assassinate Knox; who was at this time far below the notice of such a high mightiness, and in all probability had never been heard of by him. Knox had been privately a most studious, thoughtful, and intelligent man for long years, but was hitherto, though now in his forty-first year, known only as tutor to the three sons of Langniddry and Ormiston ('*Langudrius* and *Hamestonum*'); and did evidently carry the two-handed sword, on the last occasion on which it could have availed in poor Wishart's case.

Knox's account of Wishart, written down hastily twenty years after, in his *History of the Reformation*, is full of a noble, heartfelt, we might call it holy sympathy,—pious and pure in a high degree. The noble and zealous Wishart, 'at the end of the Holy dayis of Yule,' 1546, came to Haddington, full of hope that

the great tidings he was preaching would find a fervour of acceptance from the people there; but Wishart's disappointment, during the three days and nights that this visit lasted, was mournfully great. The first day the audience was considerable (what Knox calls 'reasonable'), but nothing like what had been expected, and formerly usual to Wishart in that kirk on such occasions. The second day it was worse, and the third 'so sclender, that many wondered.' The fact was that the Earl of Bothwell, the afterwards so famous and infamous, at this time High Sheriff of the County of Haddington, and already a stirring questionable gentleman of ambidexterous ways, had been busy, privately intimating from his great Cardinal, that it might be dangerous to hear Wishart and his preachings; and that prudent people would do well to stay away. The second night Wishart had lodged at Lethington, with Maitland, father of the afterwards notable Secretary Lethington (a pleasant little twinkle of interest to secular readers); and the elder Lethington, though not himself a declared Protestant, had been hospitably good and gracious to Wishart.

The third day he was again appointed to preach; but, says Knox, 'before his passing to the sermon there came to him a boy with ane letter from the West land,'—Ayr and the other zealous shires in that quarter, in which he had already been preaching,—'saying that the gentlemen there could not keep diet with him at Edinburgh, as they had formerly agreed' (Hope that there might have been some Bond or engagement for mutual protection on the part of these Western Gentlemen suddenly falling vain for poor Wishart). Wishart's spirits were naturally in deep depression at this news, and at such a silence of the old zeal all round him;—all the world seeming to forsake him, and only the Cardinal's assassin tracking him with continual menace of death. He called for Knox, 'who had awaited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian; with whom he began to enter in purpose' (*to enter on discourse*), 'that he wearied of the world; for he perceived that men began to weary of God.' Knox, 'wondering that he desired to keep any purpose before Sermon (for that was never his accustomed use before), said, "Sir, the time of Sermon approaches: I will leave you for the present to your meditation"; and so took the letter foresaid, and left him. The said Maister George spaced up and down behind the high altar more than half an hour: his very countenance and visage declared the grief and alteration of his mind. At last he passed to the pulpit, but the auditure was small. He should have begun to have entreated the Second Table of the Law; but thereof in that sermon, he spake very little, but began on this manner: "O Lord how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation. I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been at

ane vain Clerk Play" (*Mystery Play*) "two or three thousand people; and now to hear the messenger of the Eternal God, of all thy town or parish, can not be numbered a hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plagues be that shall ensue this thy contempt: with fire and sword thou shalt be plagued; yea, thou Haddington, in special, strangers shall possess thee, and you the present inhabitants shall either in bondage serve your enemies or else ye shall be chased from your own habitation, and that because ye have not known, nor will not know, the time of God's merciful visitation." In such vehemency, and threatenings continued that servant of God near an hour and a half, in the which he declared all the plagues that ensued, as plainly as after' (*afterwards*) 'our eyes saw them performed. In the end he said, "I have forgotten myself and the matter that I should have entreated; but let these my last words as concerning public preaching, remain in your minds, till that God send you new comfort." Thereafter he made a short paraphrase upon the Second Table of the Law, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto the works of mercy; and so put end, as it were making his last testament.'*

The same night on Wishart's departing from Haddington, 'he took his good night, as it were forever of all his acquaintance,' says Knox, 'especially from Hew Douglas of Langniddry. John Knox pressing to have gone with him, he said, "Nay, return to your bairnes" (*pupils*); "and God bless you. One is sufficient for one sacrifice." And so he caused a twa-handed sword (which commonly was carried with the said Maister George) be taken from the said John Knox, who, albeit unwillingly, obeyed, and returned with Hew Douglas to Langniddry,'—never to see his face more. 'Maister George, having to accompany him, the Laird of Ormeston, John Sandilands of Caldar younger' (*Ancestor of the now Lords Torphichen*) 'the Laird of Brounstoun and others, with their servants, passed upon foot (for it was a vehement frost) to Ormeston.'

In a couple of hours after, Bothwell, with an armed party, surrounded Ormiston; got Wishart delivered to him, upon solemn pledge of his oath and of his honour that no harm should be done him; and that if the Cardinal should threaten any harm against Wishart, he, Bothwell, would with his whole strength, and of his own power, redeliver him safe in this place. Whereupon, without battle or struggle, he was permitted to depart with Wishart; delivered him straightway to the Cardinal,—who was expressly waiting in the neighbourhood, and at once rolled off with him to Edinburgh Castle, soon after to the Castle of St. Andrews (to the grim old *oubliette à la* Louis XI., still visible there); and, in a month more, to death by the gallows and by fire. This was one of the first

* *Works of Knox*, i. p. 137-8.

still conspicuous foul deeds of Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, in this world, who in his time did so many. The memory of all this had naturally in Knox's mind a high and mournful beauty, all the rest of his life. Wishart came to St. Andrews in the end of January 1546, and was mercilessly put to death there on the first of March following.

Connected unexpectedly with the tragic end of Wishart, and in singular contrast to it, here is another excerpt, illustrating another side of Knox's mind. It describes a fight between the Crozier-bearers of Dunbar Archbishop of Glasgow and of Cardinal Beaton.

'The Cardinal was known proud; and Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, was known a glorious fool; and yet because sometimes he was called the King's Maister' (*had been tutor to James V.*), 'he was chancellor of Scotland. The Cardinal comes even this same year, in the end of harvest, to Glasgow; upon what purpose we omit. But while they remain together, the one in the town, and the other in the Castle, question rises for bearing of their croces' (*croziers*). 'The Cardinal alledged, by reason of his Cardinalship, and that he was *Legatus Natus* and Primate within Scotland in the Kingdom of Antichrist, that he should have the pre-eminence, and that his croce should not only go before, but that also, it should only be borne wheresoever he was. Good Gukstoun Glaikstour' (*Gowkston Madster*) 'the foresaid Archbishop, lacked no reasons, as he thought, for maintenance of his glorie: He was ane Archbishop in his own diocese, and in his awn Cathedral seat and Church, and therefore aught to give place to no man: the power of the Cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertained but to his own person, and not to his bishoprick; for it might be that his successor should not be Cardinal. But *his* dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertain to all that ever should be Bishops of Glasgow. Howsoever these doubts were resolved by the doctors of divinity of both the Prelates, yet the decision was as ye shall hear. Coming forth (or going in, all is one), at the queir-door' (*choir-door*) 'of Glasgow Kirk begins a striving for state betwixt the two croce-bearers, so that from glooming they come to shouldering; from shouldering they go to buffets, and from dry blaws by neffis and neffelling,' (*fists and fisticuffing*); 'and then for charity's sake, they cry *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus;* and assay which of the croces was finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which bearer could best defend his maister's pre-eminence, and that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground goes both the croces. And then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for rockets' (*rochets*) 'were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped' (*cracked*), 'and side' (*long*) 'gowns micht have been seen wantonly wag from the one wall to the other.—Many of them lacked beards and that was

the more pity; and therefore could not buckle other' (*each other*) 'by the byrse' (*bristles,—hair or beard*), 'as bold men would have done. But fy on the jackmen that did not their duty; for had the one part of them rencountered the other, then had all gone richt. But the sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many. How merilie soever this be written, it was bitter bourding' (*mirth*) 'to the Cardinal and his court. It was more than irregularity; yea it micht weel have been judged lease-majesty to the son of perdition, the Pape's awn person; and yet the other in his folly, as proud as a pacock, would let the Cardinal know that he was Bishop when the other was but Beaton before he gat Abirbrothok' (*Abbacy of Arbroath in* 1523, *twenty-two years ago from his uncle,—uncle retaining half of the revenues*).*

This happened on the 4th June 1545; and seemed to have planted perpetual enmity between these two Church dignitaries; and yet, before the end of February following,—Pope's Legate Beaton being in immediate need of Right Revd. Gowkston's signature for the burning of martyr Wishart at St. Andrews,—these two servants of His Infernal Majesty were brought to a cordial reconcilement, and brotherhood in doing their father's will; no less a miracle, says Knox, than 'took place at the accusation and death of Jesus Christ, when Pilate and Herod, who before were enemies, were made friends by consenting of them both to Christ's condemnation; sole distinction being that Pilate and Herod were brethren in the estate called Temporal, and these two, of whom we now speak, were brethren (sons of the same father, the Devil) in the Estate Ecclesiastical.'

It was on the 1st March 1546 that the noble and gentle Wishart met his death; in the last days of February that Archbishop Gowkston reconciled himself to co-operate with Pilate Beaton *Legatus Natus:*—three months hence that the said Pilate Beaton, amazing Hinge of the Church, was stolen in upon in his now wellnigh impregnable castle of St. Andrews, and met his stern *quietus*. "I am a priest, I am a priest: fy, fy: all is gone!" were the last words he spoke. Knox's narrative of all this is of a most perfect historical perspicuity and business-like brevity; and omitting no particular, neither that of buxom 'Marion Ogilvy' and *her* peculiar services, nor that of Melvin, the final swordsman, who 'stroke him twyse or thrise through with a stogsweard,' after his notable rebuke to Lesley and him for their unseemly choler.† He carefully abstains from any hint of criticism pro or contra on the grim transaction; though one sees evidently that the inward feeling was that of deliverance from a hideous nightmare, pressing on the soul of Knox and the eternal interests of Scotland.

* *Works of Knox*, i. pp. 145-7.

† *Works of Knox*, i. pp. 174-7.

Knox individually had not the least concern with this affair of Beaton, nor for eight or ten months more did he personally come in contact with it at all. But ever since the capture of Wishart, the position of Knox at Langniddry had become insecure; and on rumour after rumour of peril approaching, he had been forced to wander about from one covert to another, with his three pupils; till at length their two fathers had agreed that he should go with them to the castle of St. Andrews, literally at that time the one sure refuge; siege of it by poor Arran, or the Duke of Chatelherault, as he afterwards became, evidently languishing away into utter futility; and the place itself being, what the late Cardinal fancied he had made it, impregnable to any Scottish force. He arrived there with his pupils 10 April 1547; and was before long, against his will or expectation, drawn into a height of notability in public affairs, from which he never rested more while his life lasted,—two and twenty years of such labours and perils as no other Scottish man went through in that epoch, till death set him free.

Beaton's body was already for the last nine or ten months lying salted in the sea-tower *oubliette*, waiting some kind of Christian burial. The 'Siege' had dwindled into plain impotency of loose blockade, and even to pretence of treaty on the Regent's part. Knox and his pupils were in safety in castle and town; and Knox tells us that 'he began to exercise them' (his pupils) 'after his accustomed manner. Besides grammar, and other humane authors, he read unto them a catechism, account whereof he caused them give publicly in the parish Kirk of St. Andrews. He read moreover unto them the Evangel of John, proceeding where he left at his departing from Langniddry, where before his residence was; and that Lecture he read in the chapel, within the castle at a certain hour. They of the place, but especially Maister Henry Balnaves and John Rough, preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to travail with him, that he would take the preaching place upon him. But he utterly refused, alleging "That he would not ryne where God had not called him;" meaning that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation.

'Whereupon they privily among themselves advising, having with them in council Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, they concluded that they would give a charge to the said John, and that publicly by the mouth of their preacher.' Which accordingly with all solemnity was done by the said Rough, after an express sermon on the Election of Ministers, and what power lay in the call of the congregation, how small soever, upon any man discerned by them to have in him the gifts of God. John Rough, 'directed his words to the said John, charging him to refuse not the holy vocation of preaching, even as he hoped to avoid God's heavy displeasure; and turning to the congregation, asked them "Was not

this your charge to me? and do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered "It was; and we approve it." Whereat the said John abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber. His countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many days together.'

In its rude simplicity this surely is a notable passage in the history of such a man, and has a high and noble meaning in it.

About two months after Knox's being called to the ministry in this manner, a French fleet 'with an army the like whereof was never seen in that firth before, came within sight of St. Andrews,'—likely to make short work of the Castle there! To the, no doubt, great relief of Arran and the Queen Dowager, who all this while, had been much troubled by cries and complaints from the Priests and Bishops. After some days of siege,—'the pest within the castle,' says Knox, 'alarming some more than the French force without,' and none of the expected help from England arriving, the besieged, on the 31st July 1547, surrendered St. Andrews Castle: prisoners to France, high and low, but with shining promises of freedom and good treatment there, which promises, however, were not kept by the French; for on reaching Rouen, 'the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom, were dispersed and put in sundry prisons. The rest' (Knox among them) 'were left in the gallies, and there miserable entreated.'

There are two luminous little incidents connected with this grim time, memorable to all. Knox describes, and, also, it is not doubted, is the hero of the scene which follows:

'These that were in the gallies were threatened with torments, if they would not give reverence to the Mass (for at certain times the Mass was said in the galley, or else heard upon the shore, in presence of the forsaris' (*forçats*); 'but they could never make the poorest of that company to give reverence to that idol. Yea, when upon the Saturday at night, they sang their *Salve Regina*, the whole Scottishmen put on their caps, their hoods or such thing as they had to cover their heads; and when, that others were compelled to kiss a paynted brod' (*board, bit of wood*) 'which they call Nostre Dame they were not pressed after once; for this was the chance. Soon after the arrival at Nances' (*Nantes*) 'their great *Salve* was sung, and a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kissed, and among others, was presented to one of the Scottishmen then chained. He gently said, "Trouble me not, such ane idole is accursed; and therefore I will not

touch it." The Patron and the Arguesyn' (*Argousin, Serjeant who commands the forçats*) 'with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, "Thou shalt handle it"; and so they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands; who seeing the extremity, took the idol and advisedly looking about, cast it in the river, and said, "Let our Lady now saif herself; she is licht aneuch; let her learn to swim." After that was no Scottish man urged with that idolatry."*

Within year and day the French galleys,—Knox still chained in them,—reappeared in St. Andrews Bay, part of a mighty French fleet with 6,000 hardy, experienced French soldiers, and their necessary stores and furnitures,—come with full purpose to repair the damages Protector Somerset had done by Pinky Battle, and to pack the English well home; and, indeed, privately, to secure Scotland for themselves and their Guises, and keep it as an open French road into England thenceforth. They first tried Broughty Castle with a few shots, where the English had left a garrison, which gave them due return; but without farther result there. Knox's galley seems to have been lying not far from Broughty; Knox himself, with a notable 'Maister James Balfour' close by him; utterly foredone in body, and thought by his comrades to be dying, when the following small, but noteworthy passage occurred:

'The said Maister James and John Knox being intil one galley and being wondrous familiar with him' (*Knox*) 'would often times ask his judgment, "If he thought that ever they should be delivered?" Whose answer was ever, fra the day that they entered in the gallayis, "That God wald deliver them from that bondage, to his glorie, even in this lyef." And lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews, the second time that the gallayis returned to Scotland, the said John being so extremely seak' (*sick*) 'that few hoped his life, the said Maister James willed him to look to the land, and asked if he knew it? Who answered, "Yes: I knaw it weel; for I see the stepill" (*steeple*) "of that place, where God first in public opened my mouth to his glorie, and I am fully persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, that I shall not depart this lyeff, till that my tongue shall glorifie his godlie name in the same place." This reported the said Maister James, in presence of many famous witness, many years before that ever the said John set futt in Scotland, this last time to preache.'

Knox sat nineteen months, chained, as a galley slave in this manner; or else, as at last for some months, locked up in the prison of Rouen; and of all his woes, dispiritments and intolerabilities, says no word except the above 'miserable entreated.' But it seems hope shone in him in the thickest darkness, refusing

* *Works of Knox*, i. p. 227.

to go out at all. The remembrance of which private fact was naturally precious and priceless all the rest of his life.

The actual successes of these 6,000 veteran French were small compared with their expectations; the weary Siege of Haddington, where Somerset had left a garrison, not very wisely thought military critics, they had endless difficulties with, and, but for the pest among the townsfolk and garrison, were never like to have succeeded in. The fleet however stood gloriously out to sea; and carried home a prize, they themselves might reckon next to inestimable,—the royal little Mary, age six, crowned five years ago Queen of Scots, and now covenanted to wed the Dauphin of France, and be brought up in that country, with immense advantage to the same. They steered northward by the Pentland Firth, then round by the Hebrides and West coast of Ireland, prosperously through the summer seas; and by about the end of July 1548, their jewel of a child was safe in St. Germain-en-Laye: the brightest and bonniest little Maid in all the world,—setting out, alas, towards the blackest destiny!—

Most of this winter Knox sat in the prison of Rouen, busy commentating, prefacing and trimming out a Book on Protestant Theology, by his friend Balnaves; and anxiously expecting his release from this French slavery, which hope, by help of English Ambassadors, and otherwise, did at length, after manifold difficulties, find fulfilment.

In the spring of the next year, Knox, Balnaves of Hallhill, Kirkcaldy of Grange, and the other exiles of St. Andrews, found themselves safe in England, under the gracious protection of King Edward VI.; Knox especially under that of Archbishop Cranmer, who naturally at once discerned in him a valuable missionary of the new Evangelical Doctrine; and immediately employed him to that end.

Knox remained in England some five years; he was first appointed, doubtless at Cranmer's instigation, by the English Council, Preacher in Berwick and neighbourhood; thence, about a year after, in Newcastle. In 1551 he was made one of the Six Chaplains to Edward, who were appointed to go about all over England spreading abroad the reformed faith, which the people were then so eager to hear news of. His preaching was, by the serious part of the community, received with thankful approbation; and he had made warm friends among that class; and naturally, also, given offence to the lukewarm or half-and-half Protestants; especially to Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, for his too great detestation of the Mass. To the Council, on the other hand, it is clear that he rose in value; giving always to them, when summoned on such complaints, so clear and candid an account of himself. In the third year of his abode in England, 1552,

he was offered by them the Bishopric of Rochester; but declined it, and, soon after, the living of Allhallows, Bread Street, London, which also he declined. On each of these occasions he was again summoned by the King's Council to give his reasons; and again gave them,—Church in England not yet sufficiently reformed; too much of *vestments* and of other Popish fooleries remaining; bishops or pastors without the due power to correct their flock which every pastor ought to have;—was again dismissed by the Council, without censure, to continue in his former employment, where, he said, his persuasion was that he could be more useful than preaching in London or presiding at Rochester.

Knox many times lovingly celebrates the young Protestant King, and almost venerates him, as one clearly sent of God for the benefit of these realms, and of all good men there; regarding his early death as a heavy punishment for the sins of the people. It was on the 6th July 1553 that Edward died; and in the course of that same year Knox with many other Protestants, clergy and laity, had to leave England, to avoid the too evident intentions of Bloody Mary, so soon culminating in her fires of Smithfield and marriage with Philip II. Knox seems to have lingered to the very last; his friends, he says, had to beseech him with tears, almost to force him away. He was leaving many that were dear to him, and to whom he was dear; amongst others Marjory Bowes, who (by the earnest resolution of her mother) was now betrothed to him; and his ulterior course was as dark and desolate as it could well be. From Dieppe, where he first landed on crossing the Channel, he writes much of his heartfelt grief at the dismal condition of affairs in England, truly more afflicting than that of native Scotland itself; and adds on one occasion, with a kind of sparkle of disdain, in reference to his own poor wants and troubles:

'I will not mak you privy how rich I am, but off' (*from*) 'London I departit with less money than ten groats; but God has since provided, and will provide, I doubt not, hereafter abundantly for this life. Either the Queen's Majesty' (*of England*) 'or some Treasurer will be XL pounds richer by me, for so meikle lack I of duty of my patents' (*year's salary as Royal Chaplain*). 'But that little troubles me.'

From Dieppe, in about a month, poor Knox wandered forth, to look into the churches of Switzerland,—French Huguenots, Good Samaritans, it is like, lodging and furthering him through France. He was, for about five months, Preacher at Frankfort-on-Mayn, to a Church of English Exiles there; from which, by the violence of certain intrusive High-Church parties, as we may style them, met by a great and unexpected patience on the part of Knox, he felt constrained to depart,—followed by the less ritual portion of his auditory. He reached Geneva (April 1555); and, by aid of Calvin and the general willing

mind of the city magistrates, there was a spacious (quondam Papist) Church conceded him; where for about three years, not continuous, but twice or oftener interrupted by journeys to Dieppe, and, almost one whole year, by a visit to Scotland, he, loyally aided by one Goodman, an English colleague or assistant, preached and administered to his pious and otherwise forlorn Exiles, greatly to their comfort, as is still evident. In Scotland (November 1555—July 1556) he laboured incessantly, kindling the general Protestant mind into new zeal and new clearness of resolve for action, when the time should come. He had many private conferences in Edinburgh; much preaching, publicly in various towns, oftener privately, in well-affected mansions of the aristocracy; and saw plainly the incipient filaments of what by and by became so famous and so all important, as the National 'Covenant' and its 'Lords of the Congregation.' His Marjory Bowes, in the meanwhile, he had wedded. Marjory's pious mother and self were to be with him henceforth,—over seas at Geneva, first of all. For summons, in an earnest and even solemn tone, coming to him from his congregation there, he at once prepared to return; quitted Scotland, he and his; leaving promise with his future Lords of the Congregation, that on the instant of signal from them he would reappear there.

In 1557, the Scotch Protestant Lords did give sign; upon which Knox, with sorrowing but hopeful heart, took leave of his congregation at Geneva; but was met, at Dieppe, by contrary message from Scotland, to his sore grief and disappointment. As Mr. Laing calculates, he occupied his forced leisure there by writing his widely offensive *First Blast against the monstrous Regiment of Women*,—of which strange book a word farther presently. Having blown this wild First Blast, and still getting negatory answers out of Scotland, he returned to Geneva and his own poor church there; and did not till January 1559, on brighter Scotch tidings coming, quit that city,—straight for Scotland this time, the tug of war now actually come. For the quarrel only a few days after Knox's arrival blazed out into open conflagration at St. Johnstone's (*hodie* Perth), with the open fall of Dagon and his temples there; and no peace was possible henceforth till either Mary of Guise and her Papist soldieries left Scotland or Christ's Congregation and their cause did. In about two years or less, after manifold vicissitudes, it turned out that it was not Knox and his cause, but Queen Regent Mary and hers that had to go. After this Knox had at least no more wanderings and journeyings abroad 'in sore trouble of heart, whither God knoweth'; though for the twelve years that remained, there was at home abundant labour and trouble, till death in 1572 delivered him.

With regard to his *First Blast against the monstrous Regiment of Women* (to which there never was any Second, though that and even a Third were confidently purposed by its author), it may certainly be called the least 'successful' of all Knox's writings. Offence, and that only, was what it gave to his silent friends, much more to his loudly condemnatory enemies, on its first appearance; and often enough afterwards it re-emerged upon him as a serious obstacle in his affairs,—witness Queen Elizabeth, mainstay of the Scottish Reformation itself, who never could forgive him for that *Blast*. And now, beyond all other writings of Knox, it is fallen obsolete both in manner and in purport, to every modern mind. Unfortunately, too, for any literary reputation Knox may have in this end of the Island, it is written not in the Scottish, but in the common English dialect; completely intelligible therefore to everybody: read by many in that time; and still likeliest to be the book any English critic of Knox will have looked into, as his chief original document about the man. It is written with very great vehemency; the excuse for which, so far as it may really need excuse, is to be found in the fact that it was written while the fires of Smithfield were still blazing, on hest of Bloody Mary, and not long after Mary of Guise had been raised to the Regency of Scotland: maleficent Crowned Women these two, covering poor England and poor Scotland with mere ruin and horror, in Knox's judgment,—and may we not still say to a considerable extent in that of all candid persons since? The Book is by no means without merit; has in it various little traits, unconsciously autobiographic and other, which are illuminative and interesting. One ought to add withal that Knox was no despiser of women; far the reverse in fact; his behaviour to good and pious women is full of respect, and his tenderness, his patient helpfulness in their sufferings and infirmities (see the Letters to his Mother-in-law and others) are beautifully conspicuous. For the rest his poor Book testifies to many high intellectual qualities in Knox, and especially to far more of learning than has ever been ascribed to him, or is anywhere traceable in his other writings. He proves his doctrine by extensive and various reference,—to Aristotle, Justin, the Pandects, the Digest, Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustin, Chrysostom, Basil: there, and nowhere else in his books, have we direct proof how studiously and profitably his early years, up to the age of forty, must have been spent. A man of much varied, diligent and solid reading and enquiry, as we find him here; a man of serious and continual meditation we might already have known him to be. By his sterling veracity, not of word only, but of mind and of character, by his sharpness of intellectual discernment, his power of expression, and above all by his depth of conviction and honest burning

zeal, one first clearly judges what a preacher to the then earnest populations in Scotland and England, thirsting for right knowledge, this Knox must have been.

It may surprise many a reader, if we designate John Knox as a 'Man of Genius': and truly it was not with what we call 'Literature,' and its harmonies and symmetries, addressed to man's Imagination, that Knox was ever for an hour concerned; but with practical truths alone, addressed to man's inmost Belief, with immutable Facts, accepted by him, if he is of loyal heart, as the daily voices of the Eternal,—even such in all degrees of them. It is, therefore, a still higher title than 'Man of Genius' that will belong to Knox; that of a heaven-inspired seer and heroic leader of men. But by whatever name we call it, Knox's spiritual endowment is of the most distinguished class; intrinsically capable of whatever is noblest in literature and in far higher things. His Books, especially his *History of the Reformation*, if well read, which unfortunately is not possible for everyone, and has grave preliminary difficulties for even a Scottish reader, still more for an English one, testify in parts of them to the finest qualities that belong to a human intellect; still more evidently to those of the moral, emotional or sympathetic sort, or that concern the religious side of man's soul. It is really a loss to English and even to universal literature that Knox's hasty and strangely interesting, impressive and peculiar Book, called the *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, has not been rendered far more extensively legible to serious mankind at large than is hitherto the case.

There is in it, when you do get mastery of the chaotic details and adherences, perpetually distracting your attention from the main current of the Work, and are able to read that, and leave the mountains of annotation victoriously cut off, a really singular degree of clearness, sharp just insight and perspicacity, now and then of picturesqueness and visuality, as if the thing were set before your eyes; and everywhere a feeling of the most perfect credibility and veracity: that is to say altogether, of Knox's high qualities as an observer and narrator. His account of every event he was present in is that of a well-discerning eye-witness. Things he did not himself see, but had reasonable cause and abundant means to enquire into,—battles even and sieges are described with something of a Homeric vigour and simplicity. This man, you can discern, has seized the essential elements of the phenomenon, and done a right portrait of it; a man with an actually seeing eye. The battle of Pinkie, for instance, nowhere do you gain, in few words or in many, a clearer view of it: the battle of Carberry Hill, not properly a fight, but a whole day's waiting under mutual menace to fight, which winds up the controversy of poor Mary with her Scottish subjects, and cuts off her ruffian

monster of a Bothwell, and all the monstrosities cleaving to him, forever from her eyes, is given with a like impressive perspicuity.

The affair of Cupar Muir, which also is not a battle, but a more or less unexpected meeting on the ground for mortal duel,—especially unexpected on the Queen Regent and her Frenchmen's part,—remains memorable, as a thing one had seen, to every reader of Knox. Not itself a fight, but the prologue or foreshadow of all the fighting that followed. The Queen Regent and her Frenchmen had marched in triumphant humour out of Falkland, with their artillery ahead, soon after midnight, trusting to find at St. Andrews the two chief Lords of the Congregation, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James (afterwards Regent Murray), with scarcely a hundred men about them,—found suddenly that the hundred men, by good industry over night, had risen to an army; and that the Congregation itself, under these two Lords, was here, as if by *tryst*, at mid-distance; skilfully posted, and ready for battle either in the way of cannon or of spear. Sudden halt of the triumphant Falklanders in consequence; and after that, a multifarious manœuvring, circling, and wheeling, now in clear light, now hidden in clouds of mist; Scots standing steadfast on their ground, and answering message-trumpets in an inflexible manner, till, after many hours, the thing had to end in an 'appointment,' truce, or offer of peace, and a retreat to Falkland of the Queen Regent and her Frenchmen, as from an enterprise unexpectedly impossible. All this is, with luminous distinctness and business-like simplicity and brevity, set forth by Knox; who hardly names himself at all; and whose personal conduct in the affair far excels in merit all possible merit of description of it; this being probably to Knox the most agitating and perilous of all the days of his life. The day was Monday, 11 June, 1559; yesterday, Sunday 10th, at St. Andrews, whither Knox had hastened on summons, he preached publicly in the Kirk there, mindful of his prophecy from the French galleys, fifteen years ago, and regardless of the truculent Hamilton, Archbishop and still official ruler of the place; who had informed him the night before that if he should presume to try such a thing, he (the truculent Archbishop) would have him saluted with 'twelve culverings, the most part of which would land upon his nose.' The fruit of which sermon had been the sudden flight to Falkland over night of Right Reverend Hamilton (who is here again, much astonished, on Cupar Muir this day), and the open declaration and arming of St. Andrews town in favour of Knox and his cause.

The Queen Regent, as was her wont, only half kept her pacific treaty. Herself and her Frenchmen did, indeed, retire wholly to the south side of the Forth; quitting Fife altogether; but of all other points there was a perfect neglect. Her

garrison refused to quit Perth, as per bargain, and needed a blast or two of siege-artillery, and danger of speedy death, before they would withdraw; and a shrewd suspicion had risen that she would seize Stirling again, and keep the way open to return. This last concern was of prime importance; and all the more pressing as the forces of the Congregation had nearly all returned home. On this Stirling affair there is a small anecdote, not yet entirely forgotten; which rudely symbolises the spirit of the population at that epoch; and is worth giving. *The Ribbands of St. Johnston* is or was its popular title. Knox makes no mention of it; but we quote from *The Muse's Threnodie*, or rather from the Annotations to that poor doggrel; which are by James Cant, and of known authenticity.

The Earl of Argyle and the Lord James, who had private intelligence on this matter, and were deeply interested in it, but without force of their own, contrived to engage three hundred staunch townsmen of Perth to march with them to Stirling on a given night; and do the affair by stroke of hand. The three hundred ranked themselves accordingly on the appointed night (one of the last of June 1559); and so fierce was their humour, they had each, instead of the scarf or ribband which soldiers then wore round their neck, tied an effective measure of rope, mutely intimating, "If I flinch or falter, let me straightway die the death of a dog." They were three hundred these staunch Townsmen when they marched out of Perth; but the country gathered to them from right and from left, all through the meek twilight of the summer night; and, on reaching Stirling they were five thousand strong. The gates of Stirling were flung wide open, then strictly barricaded; and the French marching thitherward out of Edinburgh, had to wheel right about, faster than they came; and in fact retreat swiftly to Dunbar; and there wait reinforcement from beyond seas. This of the three hundred Perth townsmen and their ropes was noised of with due plaudits; and, in calmer times, a rather heavy-footed joke arose upon it, and became current; and men would say of such and such a scoundrel worthy of the gallows, that he deserved a St. Johnston's ribband. About a hundred years ago, James Cant used to see, in the Town-clerk's office at Perth, an old Picture of the March of these three hundred with the ropes about their necks; whether there still I have no account; but rather guess the negative.*

The siege of Leith, which followed hereupon, in all its details,—especially the preface to it, that sudden invasion of the Queen Regent and her Frenchmen from Dunbar, forcing Knox and his Covenanted Lords to take refuge in the 'Quarrel Holes' (*quarry holes*), on the Eastern flank of the Calton Hill, with Salisbury

* *The Muse's Threnodie*, by Mr. H. Adamson (first printed in 1638), edited, with annotations, by James Cant (Perth, 1774), pp. 126-'7.

Crags overhanging it, what he elsewhere calls 'the Craigs of Edinburgh,' as their one defensible post against their French enemies: this scene, which lasted two nights and two days, till once the French struck into Leith, and began fortifying, dwells deeply impressed on Knox's memory and feelings.

Besides this perfect clearness, naïveté and almost unintentional picturesqueness, there are to be found in Knox's swift flowing History many other kinds of 'geniality,' and indeed of far higher excellencies than are wont to be included under that designation. The grand Italian Dante is not more in earnest about this inscrutable Immensity than Knox is. There is in Knox throughout the spirit of an old Hebrew Prophet, such as may have been in Moses in the Desert at sight of the Burning Bush; spirit almost altogether unique among modern men, and along with all this, in singular neighbourhood to it, a sympathy, a veiled tenderness of heart, veiled, but deep and of piercing vehemence, and withal even an inward gaiety of soul, alive to the ridicule that dwells in whatever is ridiculous, in fact a fine vein of humour, which is wanting in Dante.

The interviews of Knox with the Queen are what one would most like to produce to readers; but unfortunately they are of a tone which, explain as we might, not one reader in a thousand could be made to sympathise with or do justice to in behalf of Knox. The treatment which that young beautiful and high Chief Personage in Scotland receives from the rigorous Knox, would to most modern men, seem irreverent, cruel, almost barbarous. Here more than elsewhere Knox proves himself,—here more than anywhere bound to do it,—the Hebrew Prophet in complete perfection; refuses to soften any expression or to call anything by its milder name, or in short for one moment to forget that the Eternal God and His Word are great, and that all else is little, or is nothing; nay if it set itself against the Most High and His Word, is the one frightful thing that this world exhibits.

He is never in the least ill-tempered with Her Majesty; but she cannot move him from that fixed centre of all his thoughts and actions: Do the will of God, and tremble at nothing: do against the will of God, and know that, in the Immensity and the Eternity around you, there is nothing but matter of terror. Nothing can move Knox here or elsewhere from that standing-ground; no consideration of Queen's sceptres and armies and authorities of men is of any efficacy or dignity whatever in comparison; and becomes not beautiful but horrible, when it sets itself against the Most High.

One Mass in Scotland, he more than once intimates, is more terrible to him than all the military power of France, or, as he expresses it, the landing

of ten thousand armed men in any part of this realm, would be. The Mass is a daring and unspeakably frightful pretence to worship God by methods not of God's appointing; open idolatry it is, in Knox's judgment; a mere invitation and invocation to the wrath of God to fall upon and crush you. To a common, or even to the most gifted and tolerant reader, in these modern careless days, it is almost altogether impossible to sympathize with Knox's horror, terror and detestation of the poor old Hocuspocus (*Hoc est Corpus*) of a Mass; but to every candid reader it is evident that Knox was under no mistake about it, on his own ground, and that this is verily his authentic and continual feeling on the matter.

There are four or five dialogues of Knox with the Queen,—sometimes in her own Palace at her own request; sometimes by summons of her Council; but in all these she is sure to come off not with victory, but the reverse; and Knox to retire unmoved from any point of interest to him. She will not come to public sermon, under any Protestant (that is, for her, Heretical) Preacher. Knox, whom she invites once or oftener to come privately to where she is, and remonstrate with her, if he find her offend in anything, cannot consent to run into backstairs of Courts, cannot find that he is at liberty to pay visits in that direction, or to consort with Princes at all. Mary often enough bursts into tears, oftener than once into passionate long-continued fits of weeping,—Knox standing with mild and pitying visage, but without the least hairsbreadth of recanting or recoiling; waiting till the fit pass, and then with all softness, but with all inexorability, taking up his theme again. The high and graceful young Queen, we can well see, had not met, nor did meet, in this world with such a man.

The hardest-hearted reader cannot but be affected with some pity, or think with other than softened feelings of this illstarred, young, beautiful, graceful and highly gifted human creature, planted down into so unmanageable an environment. So beautiful a being, so full of youth, of native grace and gift; meaning of herself no harm to Scotland or to anybody; joyfully going her Progresses through her dominions; fond of hawking, hunting, music, literary study;* cheerfully accepting every gift that out-door life, even in Scotland, can offer to its right joyous-minded and ethereal young Queen. With irresistible sympathy one is tempted to pity this poor Sister-soul, involved in such a chaos of contradictions; and hurried down to tragical destruction by them. No Clytemnestra or Medea, when one thinks of that last scene in Fotheringay, is more essentially a theme of tragedy. The tendency of all is to ask, 'What peculiar harm did she ever

* 'The Queen readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr. George Bowhanan, somewhat of Livy.'—Randolph to Cecil, April 7, 1562 (cited in Irving's *Life of Buchanan*, p. 114).

mean to Scotland, or to any Scottish man not already her enemy?' The answer to which is, 'Alas, she meant no harm to Scotland; was perhaps loyally wishing the reverse; but was she not with her whole industry doing, or endeavouring to do, the sum-total of all harm whatsoever that was possible for Scotland, namely the covering it up in Papist darkness, as in an accursed winding-sheet of spiritual death eternal?'—That, alas, is the dismally true account of what she tended to, during her whole life in Scotland or in England; and there, with as deep a tragic feeling as belongs to Clytemnestra, Medea, or any other, we must leave her condemned.

The story of this great epoch is nowhere to be found so impressively narrated as in this Book of Knox's; a hasty loose production, but grounded on the completest knowledge, and with visible intention of setting down faithfully both the imperfections of poor fallible men, and the unspeakable mercies of God to this poor realm of Scotland. And truly the struggle in itself was great, nearly unique in that section of European History; and at this day stands much in need of being far better known than it has much chance of being to the present generation. I suppose there is not now in the whole world a nobility and population that would rise, for any imaginable reason, into such a simple nobleness of resolution to do battle for the highest cause against the powers that be, as those Scottish nobles and their followers at that time did. Robertson's account, in spite of its clearness, smooth regularity, and complete intelligibility down to the bottom of its own shallow depths, is totally dark as to the deeper and interior meaning of this great movement; cold as ice to all that is highest in the meaning of this phenomenon; which has proved the parent of endless blessing to Scotland and to all Scotsmen. Robertson's fine gifts have proved of no avail; his sympathy with his subject being almost *null*, and his aim mainly to be what is called impartial, that is, to give no pain to any prejudice, and to be intelligible on a first perusal.

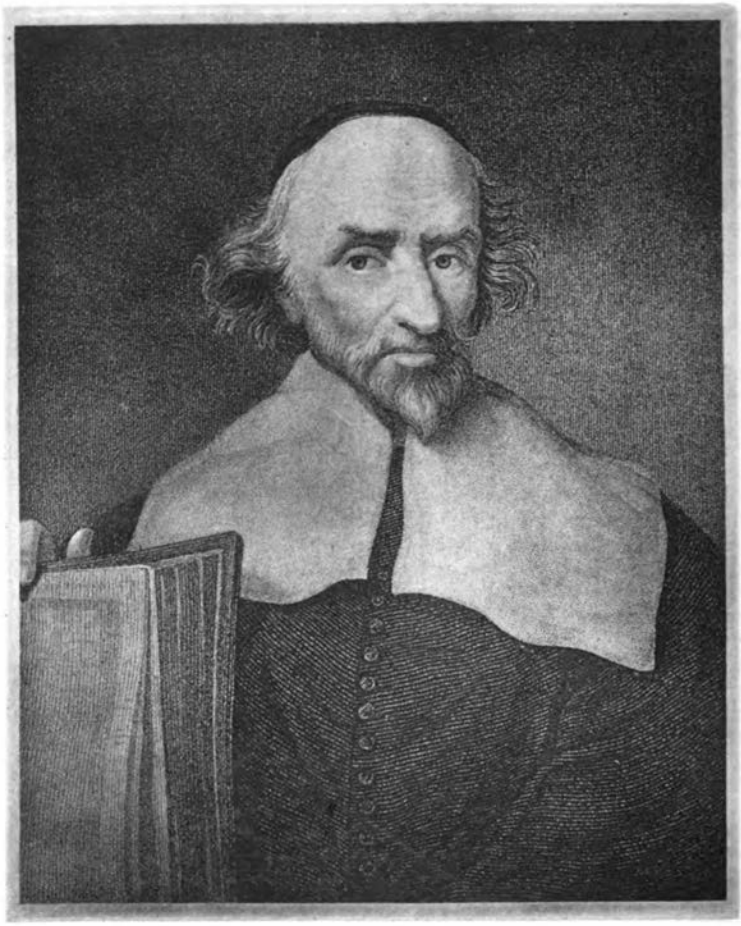
Scottish Puritanism, well considered, seems to me distinctly the noblest and completest form that the grand Sixteenth Century Reformation anywhere assumed. We may say also that it has been by far the most widely fruitful form; for in the next century it had produced English Cromwellian Puritanism, with open Bible in one hand, drawn Sword in the other, and victorious foot trampling on Romish Babylon, that is to say irrevocably refusing to believe what is not a Fact in God's Universe, but a mingled mass of self-delusions and mendacities in the region of Chimera. So that now we look for the effects of it not in Scotland only, or in our small British Islands only, but over wide seas, huge American

continents and growing British Nations in every zone of the earth. And, in brief, shall have to admit that John Knox, the authentic Prometheus of all that, has been a most distinguished Son of Adam, and had probably a physiognomy worth looking at. We have still one Portrait of him to produce, the *Somerville Portrait* so-named, widely different from the Beza Icon and its progeny; and will therewith close.

III.

In 1836 the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, or the late Charles Knight in the name of that, published an Engraving of a Portrait which had not before been heard of among the readers of Knox, and which gave a new and greatly more credible account of Knox's face and outward appearance. This is what has since been called the Somerville Portrait of Knox; of which Engraving a facsimile is here laid before the reader. In 1849 the same Engraving was a second time published, in Knight's Pictorial History of England. It was out of this latter that I first obtained sight of it; and as soon as possible, had another copy of the Engraving framed and hung up beside me; believing that Mr. Knight, or the Society he published for, had made the due enquiries from the Somerville family, and found the answers satisfactory; I myself nothing doubting to accept it as the veritable Portrait of Knox. Copies of this Engraving are often found in portfolios, but seldom hung upon the walls of a study; and I doubt if it has ever had much circulation, especially among the more serious readers of Knox. For my own share, I had unhesitatingly believed in it; and knew not that any body called it in question, till two or three years ago, in the immense uproar which arose in Scotland on the subject of a monument to Knox, and the utter collapse it ended in,—evidently enough not for want of money, to the unlimited amount of millions, but of any plan that could be agreed on with the slightest chance of feasibility. This raised an enquiry as to the outward appearance of Knox, and especially as to this Somerville Likeness, which I believed, and cannot but still believe, to be the only probable likeness of him, anywhere known to exist. Its history, what can be recovered of it, is as follows.

On the death of the last Baron Somerville, some three or four years ago, the Somerville Peerage, after four centuries of duration, became extinct; and this Picture then passed into the possession of one of the representatives of the family, the Hon. Mrs. Ralph Smyth of Gaybrook, near Mullingar, Ireland. This lady was a stranger to me; but on being applied to, kindly had a list of questions with reference to the Knox Portrait, which were drawn up by an artist friend, and sent



to her, minutely answered; and afterwards, with a courtesy and graceful kindness, ever since pleasant to think of, offered on her coming to London to bring the Picture itself hither. All which accordingly took effect; and in sum, the Picture was entrusted altogether to the keeping of these enquirers, and stood for above three months patent to every kind of examination,—until it was, by direction of its lady owner, removed to the Loan Gallery of the South Kensington Museum, where it still hangs. And in effect it was inspected, in some cases with the greatest minuteness, by the most distinguished Artists and judges of art that could be found in London. On certain points they were all agreed; as for instance, that it was a portrait in all probability like the man intended to be represented; that it was a roughly executed work; probably a copy; certainly not of earlier, most likely of later date, than Godfrey Kneller's time; that the head represented must have belonged to a person of distinguished talent, character and qualities. For the rest, several of these gentlemen objected to the costume as belonging to the Puritan rather than to Knox's time; concerning which preliminary objection more anon, and again more.

Mr. Robert Tait, a well-known Artist, of whom we have already spoken, and who has taken great pains in this matter, says:

'The Engraving from the Somerville Portrait is an unusually correct and successful representation of it, yet it conveys a higher impression than the picture itself does; the features, especially the eyes and nose, are finer in form, and more firmly defined in the engraving than in the picture, while the bricky colour in the face of the latter and a somewhat glistening appearance in the skin give rather a sensual character to the head. These defects or peculiarities in the colour and surface are, however, probably due to repainting; the Picture must have been a good deal retouched, when it was lined, some thirty or forty years ago; and signs are not wanting of even earlier manipulation. . . . Some persons have said that the dress, especially the falling band, belongs to a later age than that of Knox, and is sufficient to invalidate the Portrait; but such is not the case, for white collars or bands, of various shapes and sizes, were in use in Knox's time, and are found in the portraits and frequently referred to, in the literature of Elizabeth's reign.'

The remark of Mr. Tait in reference to the somewhat unpleasant 'surface' of the Somerville Picture is clearly illustrated by looking at an excellent copy of it, painted a few months ago by Mr. Samuel Laurence, in which, although the

likeness is accurately preserved, the head has on account of the less oily 'surface' of the picture a much more refined appearance.*

At the top of the folio Book, which Knox holds with his right-hand fingers, there are in the Picture, though omitted in the engraving, certain letters, two or three of them distinct, the others broken, scratchy and altogether illegible. Out of these, various attempts were made by several of us to decipher some precise inscription; but in all the languages we had, nothing could be done in that way, till at length, what might have happened earlier, the natural idea suggested itself that in all likelihood the folio volume was the Geneva Bible; and that the half obliterated letters were probably the heading of the page. Examination at the British Museum was at once made; of which, from a faithful inspector, this is the report: 'There are three folio editions, printed in Roman type of the Geneva Bible, 1560, '62, '70. The volume represented in the Picture, which also is in Roman, not in Black Letter, fairly resembles in a rough way the folio of 1562. Each page has two columns for the text, and a narrow stripe of commentary, or what is now called margin, in very small type along the edges, which is more copious and continuous than in the original, but otherwise sufficiently indicates itself. Headings at the top of the pages in larger type than that of the text. Each verse is separate, and the gaps at the ends of many of them are very like those seen in the Picture.'

I was informed by Mrs. Ralph Smyth that she knew nothing more of the Picture than that it had, as long as she could remember, always hung on the walls of the Somerville town-house in Hill Street, Mayfair,—but this Lady being still young in years, her recollection does not carry us far back. One other light point in her memory was, a tradition in the family that it was brought into their possession by James, the thirteenth Baron Somerville; but all the

* Since this was first printed, Mr. Laurence himself favours me with the following remarks, which seem too good to be lost: . . . 'I wish the reason for my copying the Somerville Picture had been given, viz., its being in a state of dilapidation and probable decay. Entirely agreeing with your own impressions as to its representing the individuality and character of the man, I undertook to make a copy that should, beside keeping the character, represent the condition of this Picture in its undamaged state. It is now not only "much cracked," but the *half-tints* are taken off, by some bad cleaner; the gradations between the highest lights and the deepest shades wanting: hence the unpleasant look. I think it more than a matter of "surface." The very ground, a "bricky" red one, exposed, here and there; the effect of which upon the colours may be likened to a tune played upon a piano-forte that has missing keys . . .—Samuel Laurence (6, Wells Street, Oxford Street, March 30, 1875).'

Papers connected with the family having been destroyed some years ago by fire, in a solicitor's office in London, there was no means either of verifying or contradicting that tradition.

Of this James, thirteenth Lord Somerville, there is the following pleasant and suggestive notice by Boswell, in his *Life of Johnson:*

'The late Lord Somerville, who saw much both of great and brilliant life, told me, that he had dined in company with Pope, and that after dinner the "little man," as he called him, drank his bottle of Burgundy, and was exceedingly gay and entertaining.'

And as a footnote Boswell adds:

'Let me here express my grateful remembrance of Lord Somerville's kindness to me, at a very early period. He was the first person of high rank that took particular notice of me in the way most flattering to a young man, fondly ambitious of being distinguished for his literary talents; and by the honour of his encouragement made me think well of myself, and aspire to deserve it better. He had a happy art of communicating his varied knowledge of the world, in short remarks and anecdotes, with a quiet pleasant gravity, that was exceedingly engaging. Never shall I forget the hours which I enjoyed with him at his apartments in the Royal Palace of Holyrood House, and at his seat near Edinburgh, which he himself had formed with an elegant taste.'*

The vague guess is that this James, thirteenth Baron Somerville, had somewhere fallen in with an excellent Portrait of Knox, seemingly by some distinguished Artist of Knox's time; and had had a copy of it painted,—presumably for his mansion of Drum, near Edinburgh, long years perhaps before it came to Mayfair.

Among scrutinizers here, it was early recollected that there hung in the Royal Society's rooms an excellent Portrait of Buchanan, undisputedly painted by Francis Porbus; that Knox and Buchanan were children of the same year (1505), and that both the Portrait of Buchanan and that of Knox indicated for the sitter an age of about sixty or more. So that one preliminary doubt, Was there in Scotland, about 1565, an artist capable of such a Portrait as this of Knox? was completely abolished; and the natural enquiry arose, can any traces of affinity between these two be discovered?

The eminent Sculptor, Mr. J. E. Boehm, whose judgment of painting and knowledge of the history, styles and epochs of it, seemed to my poor laic mind far beyond that of any other I had communed with, directly visited, along with me, the Royal Society's Collection; found in this Buchanan perceptible traces of

* Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Fitzgerald's edit. (London, 1874), ii. p. 434.

kinship with the Knox Portrait; and visited thereupon, and examined, with great minuteness, whatever Porbuses we could hear of in London, or neighbourhood. And always, as was evident to me, with growing clearness of conviction that this Portrait of Knox was a coarse and rapid, but effective, probably somewhat enlarged copy after Porbus, done to all appearance in the above-named Baron Somerville's time; that is, before 1766. Mr. Boehm, with every new Porbus, became more interested in this research; and regretted with me that so few Porbuses were attainable here, and of these, several not by our Buchanan Porbus, François Porbus, or Pourbus, called in our dictionaries, *le vieux*, but by his son and by his father. Last autumn Mr. Boehm was rusticating in the Netherlands. There he saw and examined many Porbuses, and the following is the account which he gives of his researches there:

'I will try, as best I can, to enumerate the reasons why I think that the Somerville Picture is a copy, and why a copy after Francis Porbus.

'That it is a copy done in the latter half of the last century can be easily seen by the manner of painting, and by the mediums used, which produced a certain circular cracking throughout the picture, peculiar only to the paintings of that period. Its being a *little* over the size of nature suggests that it was done after a smaller picture, as it is not probable that, had it been done from life, or from a life-sized head, the artist would have got into those proportions; and most of the portraits by Porbus (as also by Holbein, Albrecht Dürer, the contemporary and previous masters) are a little under life-size, as the sitter would appear to the painter at a certain distance.

'The Somerville Picture at first reminded me more of Porbus than of any other painter of that time, although I did not then know whether Porbus had ever been in England, as judging by the fact that he painted Knox's contemporary George Buchanan, we may now fairly suppose was the case. Last autumn at Brüges, Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp, I carefully examined no less than forty portraits by Francis Porbus, *le vieux*. There are two pictures at Brüges in each of which are sixteen portrait heads, carefully painted and well preserved, somewhat smaller than that of Buchanan; and I can most vividly figure to myself that the original after which the said copy was painted, must have been like that and not otherwise; indeed if I had found the original in a corner of one of the galleries, my astonishment would have been as small as my pleasure in apprising you of the find would have been great. In some of these forty portraits the costumes, including the large white collar, which has been objected to, are very similar to John Knox's; and in the whole of them there are traces in drawing, arrangement of light and shadow, conception of character, and all those qualities which can

never quite be drowned in a reproduction, and which are, it seems to me, clearly discerned in this copy, done by a free and swift hand, careful only to reproduce the likeness and general effect, and heedless of the delicate and refined touch of the great master.—J. E. Boehm.'

From the well-known and highly estimated Mr. Merritt of the National Gallery, who had not heard of the Picture at all, nor of these multifarious researches, but who on being applied to by a common friend (for I have never had the pleasure of personally knowing Mr. Merritt) kindly consented to go to the South Kensington Museum, and examine the Picture,—I receive, naturally with pleasure and surprise, the following report:

'54 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, W.
'9 *January* 1875.

'After a careful inspection of the Portrait, I am bound to say that the signs of age are absent from the surface, and I should therefore conjecture that it is a copy of a portrait of the time of Francis Pourbus, to whom we are indebted for the portrait of George Buchanan, which I believe is in the possession of the Royal Society.

'My opinion is in favour of the Somerville Portrait being of Knox. Strongly marked features like those were not likely to be confounded with any other man's. The world has a way of handing down the lineaments of great men. Records and tradition, as experience has shown me, do their work in this respect very effectively.—Henry Merritt.'

This is all the evidence we have to offer on the Somerville Portrait. The preliminary objection in respect to costume, as we have seen, is without validity, and may be classed, in House of Commons' language, as 'frivolous and vexatious.' The Picture is not an ideal, but that of an actual man, or still more precisely, an actual Scottish ecclesiastical man. In point of external evidence, unless the original turn up, which is not impossible, though much improbable, there can be none complete or final in regard to such a matter; but with internal evidence to some of us it is replete, and beams brightly with it through every pore. For my own share if it is not John Knox the Scottish hero and evangelist of the sixteenth century, I cannot conjecture who or what it is.

THE END.

3.title. **SIGNS OF THE TIMES.** An allusion to Matthew 16:3: "O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Carlyle had alluded to the passage in the preface to *German Romance* (1:5) and, perhaps with an eye toward this essay, in his recently completed "Voltaire" (*Essays on Literature* 129). While this essay reviews Edward Irving's *Last Days*, it probably takes its title from his pamphlet *Signs of the Times* (1829).

3.1. ***Anticipation; or, an Hundred Years Hence:*** Like others before us (Poston 382 and Harris 445), we have been unable to trace a book with this title. Poston suggests that it is "either a now-lost fugitive pamphlet or, not inconceivably, Carlyle's own invention" (382), possibly inspired, we would add, by the posthumously published memoirs of Lord Charles Moresby, which had appeared in 1828 under the title *A Hundred Years Hence*.

3.2. ***The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion in Great Britain*:** Anonymously published by William Alexander MacKinnon (1789-1870), a wealthy Tory M.P., who opposed reform proposals such as universal suffrage and election by ballot (184). On public opinion, see note to 19.23-24.

3.4-5. ***The Last Days; or, Discourses on These Our Times,* &c. &c. By the Rev. Edward Irving:** On Irving, and Carlyle's relationship with him, see note to 55.title. In the mid-1820s, Irving became increasingly obsessed with interpretation of the prophetic books of the Bible, and his *The Last Days: A Discourse on the Evil Character of These our Times: Proving Them to Be the "Perilous-Times" of the "Last Days"* is one among several examples of his millenarian sermonizing. The title is taken from 2 Timothy 3:1: "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come." Irving contends that manifestations of sin evoked in this passage can all be found in contemporary society, proof that the millennium (see note to 5.14) is imminent.

3.12-15. **Know'st thou *Yesterday*, its aim and reason; . . . soe'er it brings:** Carlyle's translation of Goethe's verses from *Zahme Xenien*:

> Liegt dir Gestern klar und offen,
> Wirkst du Heute kräftig frey;

Kannst auch auf ein Morgen hoffen
Das nicht minder glücklich sey. (*Werke* 4:321)

These verses appear beneath an engraved portrait of Goethe (based on Vogel's painting) owned by Carlyle and displayed in his house at Craigenputtoch during the time the essay was composed. Carlyle had referred to the portrait and the verse in a letter to Goethe dated September 25, 1828: "Herr Zelter's melodies are to be proved to-night on the Pianoforte; and *The Poet*, as Vogel has drawn him, will look down on us, while we listen, with a friendly monition that if Yesterday and To-day have been spent in wise activity, we 'may also hope for a Morrow which shall not be less happy'" (*Letters* 4:404-5).

3.17. **But man's 'large discourse of reason' *will* look 'before and after':** *Hamlet* 4.4.39-42: "Sure, he that made us with such large discourse, / Looking before and after, gave us not / That capability and godlike reason / To fust in us unused." A commonly quoted phrase, "looking before and after" also appears in Wordsworth Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* ("Emphatically may it be said that the Poet, as Shakespeare hath said of man, 'that he looks before and after'") and Shelley's "To a Sky-lark" ("We look before and after / And pine for what is not" [86-7]).

3.18. **'the ignorant present time':** A widely used stock phrase of the era.

3.19-20. **the evil of the day is sufficient for it:** An echo of Matthew 6:34: "Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

3.23-24. **fatidical fury spreads wider and wider, till at last even a Saul must join in it:** Carlyle is referring to the Old Testament Saul, king of Israel: "And when they came thither to the hill, behold, a company of prophets met him; and the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied among them. And it came to pass, when all that knew him beforetime saw that, behold, he prophesied among the prophets, then the people said one to another, What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Samuel 10:10-11). "Fatidical" means "gifted with the power of prophecy."

4.6. **Aaron's-rod:** Exodus 7:11-12: "Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers: now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in

like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods."

4.10. **French Revolution:** Carlyle refers specifically to the 1793-1794 Reign of Terror in France, during which thousands of people were executed under the authority of the Committee of Public Safety. For Carlyle, an understanding of the French Revolution was crucial to understanding the present era. In an 1833 letter to John Stuart Mill, he declared, "To me, it often seems, as if the right *History* (that impossible thing I mean by History) of the French Revolution were the grand Poem of our Time; as if the man who *could* write the *truth* of that, were worth all other writers and singers. If I were spared alive myself, and had means, why might not I too prepare the way for such a thing?" (*Letters* 6:446). Carlyle, of course, did write that history, his *French Revolution*, which would be published in 1837.

4.12. **The New England Puritan burns witches:** Nineteen suspected witches were hanged, not burned, as a result of the 1692 Salem witch trials.

4.13. **Satan's invisible world:** An allusion to George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685). Carlyle had previously referred to this work in "Goethe's Helena," in which he asserts that *Faust* is not to be read as "a new 'Satan's Invisible World Displayed'" (*Essays on German Literature* 147). He would allude to it again in *Sartor Resartus* (1.6.35) and *French Revolution* (1:2.7.57).

4.14. **the daily and hourly precursors of the Last Day:** In the Christian tradition, the Last Day is marked by the second coming of Christ and the last judgment of both the living and the dead. Various millenarian sects (see note to 5.14) attempted to predict the precise date of the Last Day based on various clues in the prophetic books of the Bible.

4.19. **Titus Oates:** Titus Oates (1649-1705) was notorious for fomenting anti-Catholic hysteria during the reign of Charles II by insisting he knew of a "Popish Plot" to assassinate the king. The persecution of Catholics in the wake of Oates's unfounded allegations resulted in the execution of more than twenty people between 1678 and 1681.

4.25-27. **How often have we heard, for the last fifty years, that the country was wrecked, and fast sinking:** The decades of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were marked by revolution, reaction, and reform

in Britain. The French Revolution prompted British radicals and reformers to promote political change, which in turn led to the suppression of civil liberties by the government. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, working-class agitation erupted in the form of machine-breaking riots, food riots, and labor strikes, actions that were often met with violent government suppression. By the late 1820s, various political reform measures were slowly making their way through Parliament, but these measures met with strong resistance from those who believed such reforms endangered the stability of the state (see next note).

4.27-29. **The 'State in Danger' . . . the Church, . . . has seldom been out of 'danger':** The "state in danger" and the "church in danger" were slogans circulating in the debates over the Catholic Emancipation Act (see next note). In his April 2, 1829 speech before Parliament, on the occasion of the second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, the Duke of Wellington called attention to the distinction between the two phrases: "In the first place, I beg your lordships to recollect that at the time those acts, . . . were enacted, it was not the church that was in danger—it was the state. It was the state that was in danger—and from what? It was not because the safety of the church was threatened. . . . and I must say, that if the church be in danger, it is better secured by this bill than by the 30th of Charles 2nd, which has continued in force up to the present moment; though the object for which that act was recognized at the period of the Revolution . . . has long ceased to exist" (Hansard 21:52-53).

4.31. **The repeal of the Test Acts, and then of the Catholic disabilities:** The Test Acts required holders of civil and military office to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England and thus excluded non-Anglicans from holding public office. A concerted effort on the part of Dissenters against the Test and Corporation Acts led to their repeal on May 9, 1828. However, the repeal legislation replaced the sacrament test with an oath of fidelity to the Protestant church, which meant Catholics were still excluded. After considerable debate, the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed on April 13, 1829 (two months prior to the publication of "Signs of the Times"). In *The Last Days*, Irving delivers a bitter diatribe against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts: "For such a state, I say, to open its offices to power and legislation to the upholders of the Pope, or to the deniers of Christ, or, which is the same thing, to those who will exhibit no confession of their faith in him nor profession of their allegiance to him, is, I say, treason high, the highest treason, against Christ's Royal prerogative, and the most willful

and fatal shipwreck of the most ancient institutions of the United Kingdoms" (309; see also 544-57).

4.35-38. **mistook the slumbering Leviathan for an island . . . they had anchored comfortably in his scaly rind:** An echo of *Paradise Lost*, in which Milton compares Satan to a "Leviathan . . . haply slumbring on the Norway foam," so huge that "The Pilot of some small night-founder'd Skiff, / Deeming some Island, oft, as Sea-men tell, / With fixed Anchor in his skaly rind / Moors by his side under the Lee" (1.201-7).

5.6-7. **the polestar and all our loadstars:** Both are names for the North star, hence a star by which you can steer or guide yourself. The presence or absence of the loadstar is often used by Carlyle to indicate the presence or absence of guiding principles. See, for example, *Sartor Resartus*: "My Loadstars were blotted out; in that canopy of grim fire shone no star" (2.6.118).

5.10. **The King has virtually abdicated:** George IV (1762-1830), who was initially aligned with the Whigs prior to his regency, managed to alienate himself from both the Whigs and the Tories, and by the end of his reign (he died one year after the publication of "Signs of the Times") his political influence was negligible.

5.10-11. **the Church is a widow, without jointure:** A "widow without jointure" is a woman whose husband did not provide for her financial security prior to his death. Lawrence Poston views this as a riposte to Edward Irving's explanation of the parable of the widow in *The Last Days*: "The poor evil-entreated widow, crying for vengeance against her adversary, represents [Christ's] Church now enduring widowhood, and to endure it until her Lord and husband shall come again" (393-94).

5.14. **Millennarians:** Millenarians believe in the imminence of Christ's one-thousand-year reign as prophesied in Revelation 20.1-5. Widespread in England during the English Civil War, millenarianism resurged in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Among the most prominent of the millenarians in the 1820s was Carlyle's friend Edward Irving (see notes to 3.4-5 and 55.title), who published a number of millenarian works in the latter part of the decade, including, in addition to *The Last Days* and *The Signs of the Times* (see note to 3.title), *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God: A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse Which Relate to These Latter Times, and until the Second Advent* (1826). In an 1830

letter to his brother John, who was staying at Irving's home in London, Carlyle lamented, "Would the Scotch Kirk but expel him, and his own better genius lead him far away from all Apocalypses and prophetic and theologic chimeras, utterly unworthy of such a head, to see the world as it here lies visible and is, that we might fight together, for God's *true* cause, even to the death!" (*Letters* 5:145).

5.15. **Millites:** Carlyle uses "Millites" as a synonym for "Utilitarians," in reference to followers of James Mill (1773-1836), the key proponent of Utilitarian philosophy as developed by his close friend Jeremy Bentham (see note to 5.16). The repetition of the syllable "Mill" in both "Millites" and "Millennarians" further reinforces Carlyle's point that these two groups are engaged in a similar kind of "prophesying" (albeit from differing perspectives) that is characteristic of a time when "all men are aware that the present is a crisis." The term also plays on the theme of "mechanism" that appears throughout this essay, suggesting that the Millites, or Utilitarians, reason mechanically, grinding ideas in a "logic-mill" (below 16); see also "arithmetical mills" (below 9). Two years later, Carlyle would befriend James Mill's son John Stuart, whose articles on the "Spirit of the Age" he read in the *Examiner*.

5.15-16. **Fifth-monarchy men prophesy from the Bible:** Active in England during the Interregnum (1649-1661), the Fifth Monarchists were a radical political and religious organization with a millenarian agenda. Their name is an allusion to Daniel 2:36-45, in which Daniel interprets King Nebuchadnezzar's dream as referring to the second, third, and fourth earthly kingdoms that will arise after Nebuchadnezzar's, to be followed by a fifth kingdom—God's—that will absorb the others and endure forever.

5.16. **Utilitarians:** Grounded in the ideas developed by Jeremy Bentham (see next note) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Utilitarians sought a scientific, quantifiable basis for morality and public policy (see note to 5.18). All laws and institutions were to be judged by their utility in promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people (see note to 5.18). Taken up by James Mill, his son John Stuart Mill, and a host of other economists, politicians, philosophers, and intellectuals, Utilitarianism was also associated in the early to mid-nineteenth century with laissez-faire economics and political reform. Carlyle was a vehement critic of Utilitarianism, insisting (as in this essay) that it reduced the human to the mechanical, the spirit to the body, hence his oft-stated

belief that the Utilitarians are those "for whom *Soul* is synonymous with *Stomach*" (*Letters* 5:280).

5.16. **Bentham:** Jeremy Bentham (1743-1832), chief philosopher of Utilitarianism (see preceding note). In an 1831 letter to Macvey Napier, Carlyle would entertain the idea of writing an essay that would be "a faithful, loving, and yet critical and in part condemnatory delineation of Jeremy Bentham and his place and working in this section of the world's History" (*Letters* 5:211). In the same letter, he offered the following critical estimate of Bentham: "Bentham is a Denyer, he denies with a loud and universally convincing voice: his fault is that he can *affirm* nothing, except that money is pleasant in the purse and food in the stomach, and that by this simplest of all Beliefs he can reorganize Society. He can shatter it to pieces; no thanks to him, for its old fastenings are quite rotten: but he cannot reorganize it; this is work for quite others than he" (*Letters* 5:211-12).

5.16-17. **the last of the seals is to be opened, positively, in the year 1860:** The opening of the seventh and last seal as described in Revelation 8, that is the millennium and the last judgment (see note to 5.14). Alan Shelston suggests that Carlyle may be referring to the Southcottians (*Selected Writings* 358n7). In a June 14, 1815, letter, Carlyle does indeed mention having read an article on Joanna Southcott in the *Edinburgh Review* (see 48 [1815]: 452-71); however, in her sealed prophecies opened in 1803, Joanna Southcott indicated that the seven vials were already being poured out, an event subsequent to the opening of the seventh seal in the book of Revelation (80-82). More likely, the allusion is a reference to Irving, who predicted that the millennium would begin in 1868 (see note to 57.21-22). Even so, Irving, like Southcott, believed that the seventh seal had already been opened (Irving thought the event occurred in late 1792 or early 1793), and thus the angels were now pouring out their vials (see Revelation 16), with only the seventh vial yet to be poured. Ultimately, Poston probably has it right, suggesting that the 1860 date is Carlyle's "playful dig at the spurious mathematics of Millenarian exegesis" rather than a reference to a specific millenarian prediction (393n10).

5.18. **'the greatest happiness principle':** A central tenet of Utilitarianism (see note to 5.16), the "greatest happiness principle" stipulated that moral choice and public policy should be oriented toward providing the greatest good for the greatest number of people. The principle is most closely associated with Jeremy Bentham, who asserted in his *Commonplace*

Book (1781-1785) that "the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation" (10:142). The principle and its phrasing, however, have their origin in the Scottish philosopher Francis Hutcheson's *Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725): "That action is best, which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers" (2.3.8).

5.21. **Delphic:** Delphi was the location of the most famous oracle in ancient Greece.

5.24-25. **conflux of two Eternities:** Early in 1829, a few months before writing this essay, Carlyle had written in his journal: "Every living man is a visible mystery: he walks between two Eternities and two Infinitudes (said already!)" (*Two Note Books* 136). This notion would recur in Carlyle's writing, including *Sartor Resartus*, where he asks, concerning man and his identity, "Stands he not thereby in the centre of Immensities, in the conflux of Eternities?" (1.1.50; see also "On History," *Historical Essays* 3). Beginning with Harrold's edition of *Sartor*, this phrase has been attributed to Richter's *Siebenkäs* (*Sämmtliche Werke* 13:202; *Flower, Fruit and Thorn Pieces* 429-31; see Harold 66n1); however, while Richter muses on the relation of the individual to time, using the figure of the river of life, there is no parallel to Carlyle's phrase.

6.6-7. **The shuttle drops from the fingers of the weaver, and falls into iron fingers that ply it faster:** Prior to the nineteenth century, weaving cloth was a domestic industry, conducted primarily at home and by hand. "Iron fingers" refers to a series of mechanical inventions—in particular John Kay's "flying shuttle" (1733), James Watt's steam engine (1765), and Edmund Cartwright's power loom (1785)—that led to the industrialization of textile production.

6.7-10. **The sailor furls his sail, and lays down his oar, . . . Men have crossed oceans by steam:** The first crossing of the Atlantic partially under steam was accomplished in 1819, on the American-built *Savannah*, but the first under steam alone was not until 1833 in the Canadian-built *Royal William.* There is a competing claim that the Dutch ship *Curacao* actually made the first steam crossing in 1826.

6.10. **the Birmingham Fire-king has visited the fabulous East:** Herbert Sussman suggests that the Birmingham Fire-king is a reference to the Scotland-born (but Birmingham-based) inventor James Watt, whose

improvements to the steam engine in the late eighteenth century revolutionized the production and transportation of goods (Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus & Selected Prose* 7n5). Alan Shelston offers the further possibility that Carlyle may have in mind a specific voyage, that of the *Enterprize*, a steamship that traveled from Falmouth to Calcutta in 1826, the first such trip under steam power to the "fabulous East" (*Selected Writings* 358n8).

6.10-12. **the genius of the Cape, were there any Camoens now to sing it, has again been alarmed, and with far stranger thunders than Gama's:** Vasco de Gama's discovery of the sea-route to India via the Cape of Good Hope in 1497-1498 is glorified in the epic poem *Os Lucíadas* (1572) by the Portuguese poet Luís Vaz De Camões (or Camoens) (1524?-1580).

6.13. fleet fire-horse: Steam power had been used as early as 1804 to pull freight along tramways in Wales. The first inter-urban railway was opened in 1825, mainly for carrying freight. In late 1829, a few months after the appearance of "Signs of the Times," George Stephenson's "Rocket" locomotive engine would win the Rainhill Trials to determine which engine would serve the Liverpool-to-Manchester passenger and freight line, which opened the following year.

6.14. **an artist that hatches chickens by steam:** As recorded in *The Art and Method of Hatching and Rearing All Kinds of Domestic Poultry and Game Birds by Steam* (1827), J. H. Barlow had developed a method of using steam on a large scale to rear chickens and other birds at his hatcheries in Drayton Green, Ealing.

6.16. **machines and mechanic furtherances; for mincing our cabbages:** See Tobias Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* (1751): "The next person that addressed himself to the chief, was a gentleman of a very mathematical turn, who valued himself upon the improvements he had made in several domestic machines, and now presented the plan of a new contrivance for cutting cabbages, in such a manner as would secure the stock against the rotting rain, and enable it to produce a plenteous after-crop of delicious sprouts" (chap. 95).

6.16-17. **casting us into magnetic sleep:** Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), a Viennese doctor, promoted the theory that an invisible fluid within the human body responded to the effects of magnetism and could be manipulated for the purposes of healing the sick. Followers of Mesmer noticed that his techniques (now better known as hypnotism) also

produced somnambulism or "magnetic sleep" in some patients, and this effect was soon embraced as part of the therapeutic process. In March of 1828, Carlyle had urged his brother John, a physician then traveling in Germany, to write an article on animal magnetism: "Suppose you try an Essay on *Animal Magnetism*, if the general state of Medicine be as yet, as I think it may, too heavy a concern for you. . . . Only be sceptical, quite sceptical; tell in clear language what the Magnetisers *say* they can do; and then *translate* scores of remarkable cases &c and things that they *have* done. Tell also how many A.M. Periodicals there are; by whom edited and of what character; that so people may see in what degree of estimation our Germans hold it" (*Letters* 4:336). John Carlyle reported working on the essay as of May 1828, and his article "Animal Magnetism" was published in the *Foreign Review* 5 (1830): 96-124.

6.35-36. **Lancastrian machines; Hamiltonian machines—Monitors, maps, and emblems:** Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), author of *Improvements in Education as It Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community* (1803), developed the "Lancastrian" or "Monitorial" system for the nonsectarian education of working-class children in which older children serve as "monitors" to teach younger, less experienced students under the supervision of an adult teacher. The technique proved popular in the early nineteenth century, and at one point Lancasterian schools enrolled some thirty thousand students. James Hamilton (1769-1831), author of *The History, Principles, Practice and Results of the Hamiltonian System* (1829), advocated a method of foreign language instruction that dispensed with the rules of grammar, concentrating instead on the study of word-for-word translations of texts. A popular method of language instruction in the first part of the nineteenth century in the United States, Canada, and Britain, the Hamiltonian system had been the subject of an 1826 article by Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*.

7.4-6. **the Bible Society, . . . fomenting of vanities, by puffing, intrigue, and chicane:** Established in 1804, the nonsectarian British and Foreign Bible Society distributed copies of the Bible throughout Britain and the rest of the world. In the mid-1820s however, the society came under increased scrutiny amid rumors of mismanagement. The lead article in the June 1827 *Quarterly Review* concluded that "it seems no longer deniable that the directors have studiously—from whatever motives—concealed from the great body of subscribers many of their pecuniary transactions—that they have been guilty of unjustifiable extravagance—that they have expended upon a host of secretaries, accountants, agents both stationary

and itinerant, &c. &c. an unreasonable proportion of the funds intrusted to their discretion" (Edwards 5). More disturbing to the *Quarterly Review*, though, was the fact that the society had been distributing Bibles that included the Apocrypha and that the Society's translations of the Bible were inaccurate and poorly edited. Carlyle refers to the pamphlet war over the "Apocrypha controversy" in a March 12, 1828, letter (see *Letters* 4:342-43). On puffing, see note to 7.32.

7.10-11. **call a public meeting, appoint committees, issue prospectuses, eat a public dinner:** Carlyle here lists activities common to middle-class voluntary societies (mostly charities), which were rapidly increasing in number and diversity in the first half of the nineteenth century. Calling a public meeting was the first step in organizing such a society; committees were then appointed, subscribers solicited, annual reports issued, and public breakfasts and dinners consumed (see Morris 167-98).

7.12-13. **colony of Hindoo weavers in the heart of Lancashire:** India has a long, rich history of textile production. Carlyle's analogy here turns on the disjunction between the traditional weaving techniques of India and the industrialized, machine-based techniques of Lancashire factories.

7.15-16. **Unitarians, Utilitarians, Anabaptists, Phrenologists, must have its Periodical, its monthly or quarterly magazine:** The principal Unitarian periodical was the *Monthly Repository* (1806-1838). Utilitarian philosophy (see note to 5.16) was disseminated through the *Westminster Review*, founded by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill in 1824. The Anabaptists rejected infant baptism on the grounds that the ritual lacked biblical authority, preferring instead adult baptism; in Britain, where Anabaptism did not take hold, the term was treated as synonymous with Baptist. Carlyle may have in mind publications such as *The Baptist Magazine* (1809-1904) or *The General Baptist Repository and Missionary Observer* (1822-1853). Phrenologists interpreted the contours and bumps of the skull as indicative of an individual's intellect and character, a practice known as "cranioscopy." In 1817, Carlyle had declared Spurzheim's phrenological "doctrine of skulls" "to be a mass of crude hypotheses with a vile shew of induction about it—calculated only to impose upon the lazy & the wonder-loving" (*Letters* 1:93). In 1823, when the British cranioscopists' periodical, *The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* (1823-1837), first appeared, Carlyle noted, "There is a phrenological Journal—a journal of Spurzheim's scull doctrine: Error and stupidity are infinite in their varieties, eternal in duration" (*Letters* 2:490).

7.17. ***populariS aura*:** The "popular breeze." In other words, the periodicals Carlyle refers to turn like windmills in the breeze of public opinion.

7.21-22. **'to live, signifies to unite with a party, or to make one':** Not identified.

7.23-24. **No Newton, by silent meditation, now discovers the system of the world from the falling of an apple:** Isaac Newton (1642-1727), English mathematician, physicist, and author of the landmark *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687), is said to have discovered the law of universal gravitation by observing an apple fall from a tree.

7.24-27. **some quite other than Newton stands in his Museum, his Scientific Institution, and behind whole batteries of retorts, digesters, and galvanic piles, imperatively 'interrogates Nature':** Carlyle's quotation marks suggest that the phrase had become a commonplace; thus, in "Dr. Francia," where he again quoted the phrase, he adds "as they say" (152). The phrase had been used by the celebrated British chemist Humphry Davy (1778-1829), who in 1802 claimed that science has given to human beings "powers which may be almost called creative; which have enabled him . . . by his experiments to interrogate nature with power, not simply as a scholar, passive and seeking only to understand her operations, but rather as a master, active with his own instruments" (2:319). Much of Davy's work focused on electrochemistry, and his lectures made use of the latest scientific equipment, including voltaic piles. Carlyle's skepticism about the narrow pursuit of knowledge implied in the phrase can be seen in his early, unfinished novel, *Wotton Reinfred*, in which a character named Williams says, "We shall go by cliff and tarn, and 'interrogate Nature' as well as any of them. Oh, . . . does it not do your heart good to think of Nature being interrogated? To see some innocent little whipster, with a couple of crucibles, and pith-balls, and other like small gear, setting forth in such gaiety of spirit to cross-question Nature. By heaven! I think Nature must be the queen of dolts if she don't bamboozle him!" (104-105). A retort is a container, usually made of glass, with a long, downward-pointing neck in which substances were heated for the purpose of distillation. Originally called "Papin's Digester," after its French inventor, Denis Papin (1647-1712?), a digester is essentially an airtight pressure cooker in which the boiling point of water is significantly raised by an increase in steam pressure, allowing for the softening or dissolution of hard materials like bones. By investigating the relationship between electrical stimuli and muscular contractions in frogs, Luigi Galvani (1737-1798) inaugurated

the study of electrophysiology. Observing that Galvani's research involved the interaction of two different metals with animal tissue as the intermediary, Alessandro Volta (1745-1827) invented the first battery, a "galvanic" or "voltaic pile," by assembling alternating disks of copper and zinc and placing a layer of cloth soaked in saltwater between each disk.

7.27-29. **Raphaels, and Angelos, and Mozarts, . . . Royal Academies of Painting, Sculpture, Music:** Britain had not produced artists on a par with Raffaello Sanzio, known as Raphael (1483-1520), and Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni, better known as Michelangelo (1475-1574), two of the greatest artists of the Renaissance, or Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), the great eighteenth-century composer. London's Royal Academy of Arts was established in 1768 and included schools for painting, sculpture, engraving, and architecture. The Royal Academy of Music was founded in 1822.

7.30. **a Public Kitchen:** Kitchens for communal dining, which were features of Robert Owen's utopian schemes.

7.30. **Paternoster-row:** London street noted for its concentration of publishing houses.

7.32. **puffing:** "Puffing" is the use of extravagant, inflated praise to promote something, often a product of some kind, including literary works (see preceding note). In later writings, Carlyle frequently rails against puffery. For example, in a letter of December 1831, he advises his brother John to "'set his face like a flint' against *all* Dishonesty and Indolence and Puffery and Quackery and Malice and Delusion, whereof Earth is full" (*Letters* 6:68). An 1833 letter to John Stuart Mill complains that book-selling is "about *dead*—of Puffery" (*Letters* 7:25). Perhaps his most scathing critique of the falsity of puffery as a form of commercial advertising appears in the "Phenomena" chapter of *Past and Present* (143-44). See also "Characteristics" (below 39).

7.34-35. **No Queen Christina, in these times, needs to send for her Descartes:** In 1649, the learned Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) invited French philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650) to Stockholm to serve as her tutor. Descartes accepted, but the climate soon took its toll on the philosopher and he did not survive the winter.

7.35-36. **no King Frederick for his Voltaire, and painfully nourish him**

with pensions and flattery: In 1750, Frederick II (1712-1786) of Prussia, known as Frederick the Great, invited Voltaire (1694-1778), pen name of Francois Marie Arouet, the French writer, philosopher, and leading figure of the Enlightenment, to come to Berlin. Voltaire accepted, and Frederick bestowed upon him the Order of Merit, royal housing, a royal position (Court Chamberlain), and a royal pension of £850 a year. Relations between the two men eventually became strained, and Voltaire left Berlin in 1753. Carlyle also remarks on this episode in *Frederick the Great* (5:16.6.269). In 1825 the publishers Taylor and Hessey had offered Carlyle £100 to write a life of Voltaire, but he declined. His essay "Voltaire" (*Essays on Literature*) appeared two months prior to the publication of "Signs of the Times."

7.37-8.1. **impose a new tax, and with the proceeds establish Philosophic Institutes. Hence the Royal and Imperial Societies, the Bibliothèques, Glyptothèques, Technothèques, which front us in all capital cities:** Carlyle refers to the strong royal support for, and subsequent proliferation of, scientific societies and institutes in continental Europe. In Britain such organizations were largely self-supporting. The Royal Society of London, for example, was not supported by tax revenue but by subscriptions and admissions fees contributed by its members. British scientists complained bitterly during the 1820s about the lack of government support for scientific research, especially compared to the considerable funding provided to scientists in France and Germany. See, for example, Charles Babbage, *Reflections on the Decline of Science in England* (1830). A bibliothèque is a library, a glyptothèque is a museum of sculpture and statuary, and a technothèque a museum of technology. Carlyle is exaggerating when he says "Bibliothèques, Glyptothèques, Technothèques, . . . front us in all capital cities." Bibliothèques were indeed common, but construction of the first Glyptothèque, the Munich Glyptothek, commissioned by Ludwig I of Bavaria, began in 1816 and was completed in 1830. We have not been able to identify any technothèques.

8.4-5. **when it is thought that religion is declining, we have only to vote half a million's worth of bricks and mortar, and build new churches:** In 1824, Parliament allocated £500,000 for the purpose of building new churches.

8.6-7. **'Penny-a-week Purgatory Society!':** Common especially in Ireland, such societies required the payment of one penny per week; the local parish used the money to pray for the release of souls from purgatory.

8.30-31. **Malebranche, Pascal, Descartes, and Fénelon, has now only its Cousins and Villemains:** Carlyle contrasts the major French philosophers of the early modern period with contemporary French philosophers. Nicolas Malebranche (1638-1715), author of *De la recherche de la vérité* (1674-1675) and *Entretiens sur la métaphysique et sur la religion* (1688), among other works. Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), author *Apologie de la religion chrétienne* (usually published under the title *Pensées*), is equally well known as a scientist and religious philosopher; in 1822, Carlyle authored an entry on Pascal for the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*. René Descartes (1596-1650), influential French mathematician and philosopher, author of *Meditationes de Prima Philosophia* (1641). François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), French theologian and author of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699). Victor Cousin (1792-1867), the most famous French philosopher of the first part of nineteenth century; in the 1820s he lectured at the École Normale, published *Fragmens philosophiques* (1826), and edited an edition of Descartes's works. Carlyle had a low opinion of Cousin, writing in February 1828, "Have you heard of Cousin's *Fragmens Philosophiques*, a pragmatical creature, I fear, who arrogates to himself the opinions which he is hardly able even to *steal*" (*Letters* 4:319) and the following month describing him as "a little French thief" (*Letters* 4:338). Carlyle's distaste for Cousin's work may also have its origins in a rumor in 1827 that he was a candidate for the professorship in moral philosophy at the University of London, which Carlyle himself sought (see *Letters* 4:278). Abel François Villemain (1790-1867), professor of history and literature at the Sorbonne—which Carlyle dubbed "the forsaken crow-nest of Theology" (*Letters* 5:9)—and author of *Cours de la littérature française* (1828-1829).

8.34. **Professor Stewart:** Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh from 1785 to 1810, proponent of the "common sense" school of philosophy founded by Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid (see note to 9.24-25), and author of the three-volume *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792, 1814, and 1827). Although Carlyle—who became a student at Edinburgh at the end of Stewart's tenure—believed that several other philosophers surpassed Stewart in "perspicacity & comprehensiveness of understanding," in 1818 he asserted that none equaled Stewart's "moral dignity of mind . . . and now—when, with unabating ardour, he has retired to devote the last remnant of a well-spent life, to the great cause of human improvement—his attitude is so pensively sublime—I regard him with a reverence which I scarcely feel for any other living person" (*Letters* 1:133). At his death,

Carlyle remarked, "Dugald Stewart is dead, and British Philosophy with him" (*Letters* 4:400).

8.34-35. **In no nation but Germany has any decisive effort been made in psychological science:** The key figure is Immanuel Kant (see note to 51.38-52.2), who argued in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) that the inherent structures of the human mind actively work on sensory data to produce perceptions of the outside world. Such perceptions must be understood, therefore, as a creation of the mind, as "phenomena," rather than direct apprehensions of the material world, which remains ultimately unknowable. Another important German figure is Johann Gottlieb Fichte (see note to 45.1), whose *Wissenschaftslehre*, or "Science of Knowledge" (1794), argues that, contrary to Kant, the external world has no independent existence from the self. In the mid-1820s, Johann Herbart (a student of Fichte's who was named in 1808 to the professorship previously held by Kant at Königsberg) published his two-volume *Psychologie als Wissenschaft neu gegrundet auf Erfahrung, Metaphysik, und Mathematik* (Psychology as Knowledge Newly Founded on Experience, Metaphysics, and Mathematics, 1824-1825), which sought a scientific, mathematical basis for understanding the mind. Carlyle had discussed Kant and Fichte two years earlier in "State of German Literature," and he also provided an overview of Kant's theory in his essay "Novalis" (*Essays on German Literature* 23-27), published in July 1829, one month after "Signs of the Times."

9.3-4. **Lagrange, or Laplace:** One of the foremost mathematicians of his time, Joseph-Louis Lagrange's (1736-1813) work led to advances in mechanics (both analytical and celestial), algebra, calculus, and number theory, among others. In 1818, Carlyle apparently attempted to read Lagrange's *La Mécanique analytique* (1788), but admitted that "to me it is nearly a sealed book" (*Letters* 1:128). Although Pierre-Simon, Marquis de Laplace (1749-1827) was well known for his work physics and astronomy, Carlyle refers here to his work on differential equations and probability theory. Carlyle heard Laplace lecture at the Institute in Paris in 1824 (*Reminiscences* 271-72) and had six years earlier read at least part of his *Exposition du système du monde* (1796) but admitted he could not penetrate Laplace's masterwork, *Traité de mécanique céleste* (1798-1827) (*Letters* 1:124; see also note to 9.9). Carlyle, of course, had studied mathematics himself, and translated Adrien Marie Legendre's *Éléments de géométrie* (1794), published as *Elements of Geometry and Trigonometry* (1824).

9.5. **arithmetical mill:** A machine (mill) for mathematical calculation; a

further development of the mechanism metaphor begun in the reference to "Millites" above (see note to 5.15).

9.8. **Mathesis:** "Mental discipline; learning or science, *esp.* mathematical science" (OED). Carlyle uses this term both here and in "Novalis," written about the same time as "Signs," to signify a level of "abstract meditation" (*Essays on German Literature* 335) on mathematics superior to the mere mechanical calculations of an "arithmetical mill." As Carlisle Moore notes, for Carlyle "the ideal mathesis could be found in Euclid, Pascal, Newton, and others who infused their thinking with moral or philosophical significance" (87).

9.8-9. **Archimedes and Plato:** Archimedes (287-212 B.C.), Greek mathematician and a crucial figure in the development of geometry, and Plato (428-348/347 B.C.), one of the greatest of the ancient Greek philosophers, who established the Academy, a center of learning and research in Athens, with an emphasis on philosophy, the natural sciences, and mathematics.

9.9. ***Mécanique Céleste*:** In *Traité de mécanique céleste* (1798-1827), his most famous work, Laplace (see note to 9.3-4) subjected the solar system to a systematic, mechanical analysis, revealing a solar system that is utterly mechanical and stable, despite periodic fluxes and deviations.

9.10. **French Institute:** On October 25, 1795, the French academies were reorganized with the addition of a subdivision for moral science and politics under one institutional body known as l'Institut national des science et arts (later known as l'Institut de France).

9.10. **'God geometrises!':** This quotation is attributed to Plato by Plutarch in his *Convivialium disputationum* 8.2: "Plato said God geometrizes continually."

9.12-14. **Locke's time . . . his Essay:** In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), John Locke (1632-1704) famously posited that the human mind begins in infancy as a tabula rasa or blank slate, upon which are inscribed one's experiences, including both sensory experiences (perceptions of the outside world) and internal reflections (perceptions of the way one's mind works). Locke argues against the widely held notion that humans possess inborn ideas, advocating instead a material origin for all our ideas in the world of sensory experience.

9.24-25. **Scotch Metaphysicians . . . school of Reid:** Thomas Reid (1710-1796), Scottish philosopher and professor of moral philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, and the University of Glasgow, who was critical of the skepticism of David Hume (see note to 9.30) and the empiricism of John Locke (see preceding note). In his *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* (1764), Reid countered Hume's skepticism with "common sense," that is, knowledge of the external world that is said to be intuitively self-evident, a premise to which Carlyle refers when he writes that Reid and his school "let loose Instinct . . . to guard them against these [Hume's] conclusions." Followers of Reid, including Dugald Stewart (see note to 8.34), became known collectively as the "Common Sense School" of philosophy. In "State of German Literature," published two years before this essay, Carlyle had set the Common Sense school in opposition to the new German philosophy:

> This necessarily True, this absolute basis of Truth, Locke silently, and Reid and his followers with more tumult, find in a certain modified Experience, and evidence of Sense, in the universal and natural persuasion of all men. Not so the Germans: they deny that there is here any absolute Truth, or that any Philosophy whatever can be built on such a basis; nay, they go to the length of asserting, that such an appeal even to the universal persuasions of mankind, gather them with what precautions you may, amounts to a total abdication of Philosophy, strictly so called, and renders not only its farther progress, but its very existence impossible. (*Essays on German Literature* 81)

In "Novalis," written around the same time as "Signs of the Times," Carlyle offered the following criticism of the Common Sense school:

> Curious it is, moreover, to observe how these Common-sense Philosophers, men who brag chiefly of their irrefragable logic, and keep watch and ward, as if this were their special trade, against 'Mysticism' and 'Visionary Theories,' are themselves obliged to base their whole system on Mysticism, and a Theory; on Faith, in short, and that of a very comprehensive kind; the Faith, namely, either that man's Senses are themselves Divine, or that they afford not only an honest, but a *literal* representation of the workings of some Divinity. So true is it that

> for these men also, all knowledge of the visible rests on belief of the invisible, and derives its first meaning and certainty therefrom! (*Essays on German Literature* 312-13).

9.29-30. **bandog, to guard them . . . tugged lustily at the logical chain:** A bandog is a watchdog, usually a mastiff or bulldog. The term comes from the Middle English "band" meaning "chain," in reference to the fact that such dogs were usually chained.

9.30. **Hume:** David Hume (1711-1776), Scottish historian and philosopher, whose radical skepticism as expressed in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) cast doubt on the ability of reason to arrive at a certain, factual knowledge of the external world. Although firmly opposed to the "bigotted skepticism of Hume" (*Letters* 1:30), Carlyle admitted a grudging respect for Hume's work, especially his *Essays Moral, Political and Literary* (1741-1748), which Carlyle described in an 1815 letter as "a most ingenious production—characterised by acuteness and originality in all its parts. I have not room to tell you where I agree with its Author, and where I differ; nor how highly I admire his reasoning powers. What a pity that he is a Deist! How much might his strong talents have accomplished in the cause of truth, when they did so much in that of error!" (*Letters* 1:55).

9.33. **Hartley's, Darwin's, or Priestley's:** David Hartley (1705-1757), English physician and philosopher, author of *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations* (1749), a key figure in the development of the psychological theory of associationism, which, building on Locke's "association of ideas," asserts that all ideas are the product of various combinations of sensory experiences. Hartley thus posited a physiological, material basis for the workings of the mind (see also next note). Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), English naturalist, philosopher, and physician, best known as the author of *Zoonomia, or, The Laws of Organic Life* (1794-1796), in which he argued that species may change over time through adaptation to their environment. Although Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), scientist and Unitarian minister, is best known as the discoverer of no fewer than ten gases, Carlyle alludes here to his *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion* (1772-1774) and *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity* (1782), in which Priestley drew on Hartley's associationism in order to promote a "rational Christianity" that was in harmony with his materialist view of the mind. See also "State of German Literature" (*Essays on German Literature* 77).

9.34. **Hartley's vibrations and vibratiuncles:** Hartley (see preceding note) theorized that sensory experiences generated vibrations within the brain that leave a vestige of themselves in the form of smaller vibrations, which Hartley called "vibratiuncles," in the medulla.

9.36-38. **'as the liver secretes bile, so does the brain secrete thought;' . . . Dr. Cabanis, . . . *Rapports du Physique et du Morale de l'Homme*:** Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis (1757-1808), a French materialist philosopher, argued in his *Rapports du physique et du morale de l'homme* (1802) that those human elements usually regarded as belonging to the realm of the mind or the spirit (thoughts, emotions, morals, and so on) are actually products of the physical body (i.e., the brain and nervous system as opposed to the mind, the body as opposed to the soul). Carlyle refers here to the end of the second memoir of Cabanis's *Rapports*. Note that while Cabanis describes the brain as secreting thought, he does not use the analogue of the liver secreting bile:

> Pour se faire une idée juste des opérations de la pensée, il faut considérer le cerveau comme un organe particulier, destiné spécialement à la produire; de même que l'estomac et les intestins à faire la digestion, le foie à filtrer la bile, les parotides et les glandes maxillaires et sublinguales à préparer les sucs salivaires. Les impressions, en arrivant au cerveau, le font entrer en activité; comme les aliments, en tombant dans l'estomac, l'excitent à la sécrétion plus abondante du suc gastrique et aux mouvements qui favorisent leur dissolution. (To get a fair idea of the operations of thought, one must consider the brain as a particular organ, destined to produce it, the same as the stomach and intestines stimulate the most abundant secretion of gastric juices, the liver to filter bile, the parotids and the maxillary and sublingual glands produce salivary juices. Impressions, arriving in the brain make it become active, just as food, dropping into the stomach, stimulate the secretion of abundant gastric juices and movement favoring its dissolution.) (1:151)

Carlyle had first cited this passage in "Goethe" (*Essays on German Literature* 197).

10.4-5. **Leuwenhoeck microscopes . . . the anatomical blowpipe:** Antony

van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723), Dutch scientist, constructed the most powerful single-lens microscopes of his day, with which he made some of the first observations of bacteria, protozoa, spermatozoa, and red blood cells. An anatomical blowpipe is a small, tapered tube through which air is forced in order to inspect a cavity of the body.

10.5-7. **Thought, he is inclined to hold, is still secreted by the brain; but then Poetry and Religion (and it is really worth knowing) are 'a product of the smaller intestines!':** The first part of this sentence alludes to the passage quoted above (see note to 9.36-38). We have not been able to trace the quotation in Cabanis. As noted above, Carlyle had made the same claim in "Goethe" (*Essays on German Literature* 197).

10.9-11. **Vauxhall, whose fire-works, cascades, and symphonies, . . . saltpetre, pasteboard, and catgut:** The Vauxhall Gardens, laid out in the seventeenth century near St. James's Park in London, provided nightly spectacles of entertainment for thousands of visitors from all classes. Saltpeter, pasteboard, and catgut are items used in the production of fireworks, dramatic performances, and stringed instruments, respectively, all of which were involved in the Vauxhall entertainments.

10.13-16. **Martinus Scriblerus . . . 'as the jack had a meat-roasting quality, so had the body a thinking quality,' . . . 'who should reason as well as most country parsons':** In Chapter 12 of the *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus* (1741), jointly authored by the members of the Scriblerus Club—John Arbuthnot, John Gay, Thomas Parnell, Alexander Pope, and Jonathan Swift—Martinus receives a letter from The Society of Free-Thinkers, who offer him "an easy *mechanical Explication* of *Perception* or *Thinking*." In arguing that consciousness "is the result from the mechanical composition of the whole animal," the Free-Thinkers draw the analogy Carlyle quotes above: "In every *Jack* there is a *meat-roasting* Quality, which neither resides in the Fly, nor in the Weight, nor in any particular wheel of the Jack, but is the result of the whole composition: So in an Animal, the Self-consciousness is not a real quality inherent in one Being (any more than meat-roasting in a Jack), but the result of several modes or qualities in the same subject" (138-39). The Free-Thinkers conclude their letter on the mechanistic nature of thought and consciousness by noting that they have employed "a great Virtuoso at Nuremberg" to construct an artificial man using a combination of hydraulics, pneumatics, ropes, and pulleys: "And we are persuaded that this our artificial Man will not only walk, and speak, and perform most

of the outward actions of the animal life, but (being wound up once a week) will perhaps reason as well as most of your Country Parsons" (141). The "wood and leather" materials appear to be Carlyle's embellishment.

10.16-17. **Vaucanson did indeed make a wooden duck, that seemed to eat and digest:** Jacques de Vaucanson (1709-1782), French inventor, famous for his automatons, including a duck that could move and flap its wings as well as eat and drink and appear to digest its food and secrete its waste.

10.38-11.1. **'foam hardens itself into a shell':** This phrase appears in Richter's *Life of Quintus Fixlein* as translated by Carlyle: "It might be that, as, according to Tristram Shandy, clothes; according to Walter Shandy and Lavater, proper names exert an influence on men, appellatives would do so still more; since, on us, as on testaceous animals, *the foam so often hardens into shell:* but such internal morality is not a thing the State can have an eye to; for, as in the fine arts, it is not this, but the *representation* of it, which forms her true aim" (*German Romance* 2:230).

11.12-13. **a Socrates, a Plato, a Hooker, or Taylor:** Carlyle groups together two of the most important ancient Greek moral philosophers, Socrates (470-399 B.C.) and Plato (see note to 9.8-9), with two of the most influential sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Anglicans, Richard Hooker (1553/4-1600), theologian and author of the *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1593-1661), and Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), Anglican minister and author of moral guidebooks such as *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650) and *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651).

11.15-16. **a Smith, a De Lolme, a Bentham:** In contrast to the spiritual philosophers (see preceding note), Carlyle stresses the material concerns of Smith, De Lolme, and Bentham, especially the idea that external laws or government institutions could create moral goodness in people. Adam Smith (1723-1790), Scottish political economist and author of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and the influential *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), emphasized the role of competition and self-interest as the "invisible hand" that guides the market and results in an orderly society. A decade earlier Carlyle had expressed admiration for Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, indicating in 1815 that he had read "his first and second volumes with much pleasure" (*Letters* 1:59) and declaring in 1817 that Smith was "one of the most honest & ingenious men of his age—or indeed of any other" (*Letters* 1:99). Jean Louis de Lolme (1741-1806), the Geneva-born author of the *La Constitution de*

l'Angleterre (1771) that argued for the virtues of the English constitution, which ensured the happiness and freedom of the English people. On Bentham see note to 5.16.

11.23-25. **the methods proposed by both parties for completing or securing this all-sufficient perfection of arrangement:** Various proposals for parliamentary reform were being advocated in the years leading up to the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, three years after this essay appeared (see note to 36.17). In general, the Whigs favored such reforms, while the Tories opposed them. As reform agitation increased between 1829 and 1830, Carlyle would remark, "Over all the North there is one cry: Reform! Unhappy souls! that they should not even have attained *thus* much, which is but the beginning! I am for a radical *inward* Reform" (*Letters* 5:204).

11.30-31. **Men are to be guided only by their self-interests:** The concept of self-interest is central to much eighteenth-century moral philosophy and political economy. David Hume in his *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1734) identified self-interest as the key motivating force of human behavior. As noted above (note to 11.15-16), it was Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* that advanced the notion of competition and self-interest as the "invisible hand" that guides the free market and harmonizes the otherwise disparate and competitive interests of the populace. The concept is key for Bentham and the Utilitarians as well. In 1830, Carlyle would decry the "Moloch Spirit of this Time: a Time when Selfishness and Baseness, dizened out with a rouge, and a little theatrical frippery, has fearlessly seated herself on high places, and preaches forth her Creed of Profit and Loss as the last Gospel for men" (*Letters* 5:183).

12.6-7. **'Codification,' or code-making in the abstract:** Jeremy Bentham (see note to 5.16) for many years advocated the institution of a rational, logical code of law that would supplant existing laws, which Bentham viewed as disorganized and illogical. See Bentham, *Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction* (1817); *Codification Proposal, Addressed by Jeremy Bentham to All Nations Professing Liberal Opinions* (1822); *Justice and Codification Petitions* (1829); and *Constitutional Code for use of all nations and governments professing Liberal opinions* (1830).

12.8-9. **a patent code . . . patent breeches:** Codification of patent law. The comic compilation *Rhyming Reminiscences in comical couplets* (1826) by the pseudonymous Geoffrey Grin includes the verses "The Patent Age": "We've patent gigs on patent springs, / And patent dandy switches; / We've patent

garters, patent slings / To keep up patent breeches" (122). While Carlyle may not have known this book, it demonstrates that "patent breeches" were the subject of jocularity. Contemporary London postal directories include a J. Finlayson, "patent breeches-maker."

12.18-19. **a science of *Dynamics* . . . as well as of *Mechanics*:** In scientific discourse, "dynamics" refers to the study of the motion of objects when that motion is undergoing change (such as a ball rolling down an incline or an apple falling from a tree). "Mechanics" refers to a larger, more general field: the study of the behavior of objects in motion or at rest, particularly with regard to certain forces affecting those objects (gravitation or magnetism, for example). In adapting these terms to the field of human nature and behavior, Carlyle reverses the relationship between the two, with dynamics now designating the broader, more fundamental study of "the primary, unmodified forces and energies of man," and mechanics representing the narrower focus on the individual manifestations of these forces. The two are meant to be complementary, of course, but Carlyle's point is that moral and political philosophers (like the Utilitarians) are all now utterly mechanical in their orientation, to the exclusion of the dynamical.

12.34. **adjustments of Profit and Loss:** Ralph Jessup notes that this criticism of mechanist thought as based on a reckoning of "mere profit or loss" may be found in Adam Ferguson's *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) (Jessup 237n19; Ferguson 48).

13.7-9. **Did not Science originate . . . in the obscure closets of the Roger Bacons, Keplers, Newtons; in the workshops of the Fausts and the Watts:** Roger Bacon (1214?-1294?), English advocate and practitioner of experimental science; Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), German astronomer and discoverer of the laws of planetary motion; on Isaac Newton see note to 7.23-24; Johann Fust (1400?-1446), one of Gutenberg's financial backers who subsequently established his own printing press and was sometimes credited with the invention of gunpowder as well as the press; James Watt (1736-1819), Scottish inventor, who introduced revolutionary improvements to the steam engine in the late eighteenth century. In the recently published "Voltaire," Carlyle attributed the invention of gunpowder to Faust (*Essays on Literature* 78; see also "German Playwrights," *Essays on German Literature* 274), but he would soon come to understand that the attribution was spurious (see "German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Essays on German Literature* 545 and note).

13.28. **'preaching of the word':** See 2 Timothy 4:2-4: "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables."

14.2. **The Crusades took their rise in Religion:** From 1095 to 1270, eight crusades were mounted in an effort to place Jerusalem and other parts of the Holy Land under Christian control.

14.6. **Freemasons' Tavern:** A meeting place for a variety of organizations established in the eighteenth-century and the site where the debating society established by John Stuart Mill between 1825 and 1830 met.

14.8. **'vested interests':** Stock phrase in newspapers and periodicals of the time, often used, as here, in a political context to indicate action on a cause in which the individual has an interest. On self-interest, see note to 11.30-31.

14.13-14. **Our English Revolution too originated in Religion. Men did battle, in those old days, not for Purse sake, but for Conscience sake:** Carlyle's emphasis on the religious origin of the English revolution, and his belief in its importance, is consistent with his religious background, but most historians agree that political factors were more important. Moreover, while "conscience" was certainly a motivating factor for the Parliamentary forces, the Parliamentary armies also happened to be better paid than their royalist counterparts. Carlyle's interest in writing about the English Civil War was already evident in the 1820s, and in 1845 he would publish *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*.

14.15-16. **The French Revolution itself had something higher in it than cheap bread and a Habeas-corpus act:** One of the chief grievances leading up to the revolution was the scarcity of bread. The role of hunger as a driving force behind radical action would become one of the great themes of Carlyle's *French Revolution*, but as he explains, it is not only a hunger of the stomach but also a hunger of the head and heart that motivates the people: "Fancy, then, some Five full-grown Millions of such gaunt figures, with their haggard faces (*figures hâves*); . . . starting up to ask, as in forest-roarings, their washed Upper-Classes, after long unreviewed centuries, virtually this question: How have ye treated us; how have ye

taught us, fed us, and led us, while we toiled for you?" (1:6.3.227). The right of habeas corpus (a right of protection against unlawful detention) was incorporated into the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, English radicals called for affordable bread prices via the repeal of the Corn Laws and for upholding of the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in the late eighteenth century, from 1794 to 1795 and again from 1798 to 1801, when fears of a revolution like that in France were mounting. It was again suspended from 1817 to 1818, during a time of widespread food rioting and machine breaking, but the suspension was precipitated specifically by a mob's attack on the Prince Regent's carriage.

14.25. **gas-jars:** Jars that hold gas during laboratory experiments.

14.31. **'democratic interest':** Stock phrase used in the political rhetoric of the time, particularly in parliamentary speeches, referring to those who advocated a broadening of the electoral franchise.

14.31-32. **'taking the high *priori* road':** From Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*:

> We nobly take the high Priori Road,
> And reason downward, till we doubt of God:
> Make Nature still encroach upon his plan;
> And shove him off as far as e'er we can:
> Thrust some Mechanic Cause into his place;
> Or bind in matter, or diffuse in space.
> Or, at one bound o'erleaping all his laws,
> Make God man's image, man the final Cause,
> Of naught so certain as our reason still,
> Of naught so doubtful as of soul and will. (4.471-82)

14.38-15.1. **Saint Paul and his brother Apostles were politically slaves; Epictetus was personally one:** The apostles were politically slaves in the sense that they were subject to Roman rule and thus the authority of Roman officials. A Greek Stoic philosopher of the first century, Epictetus was born into slavery. Carlyle was familiar with his *Enchiridion*, but after an initial attraction to Epictetus's thought, his opinion changed: "How far the creed of Epictetus may require to be modified, it is not easy to determine," he wrote in an 1819 letter; "that [it] is defective seems pretty evident" (*Letters* 1:157). By 1825, he was ready to dispense with Epictetus

altogether: "An ounce of castor-oil is more effectual on the heart of man than the whole Enchiridion of Epictetus" (*Letters* 3:261).

15.1-2. **what countries produced Columbus and Las Casas?:** Spain produced Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566), a missionary, historian, and critic of Spanish oppression of the native inhabitants of the Americas. Italy produced Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), though his expeditions to the New World were financed by the Spanish crown.

15.3. **Cortes, Pizarro, Alba, Ximenes:** Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) and Francisco Pizarro (1475-1541) were Spanish conquistadors, conquerors of the Aztecs and the Incas, respectively. Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel (1507-1582), Duke of Alba, was a ruthless Spanish military commander and key figure in the courts of Charles V and Philip II, especially noted for his cruel rule as governor of the Netherlands from 1567 to 1573. Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517) was a Spanish Franciscan friar who was made cardinal and grand inquisitor in 1507.

15.4-6. **The Spaniards of the sixteenth century were indisputably the noblest nation of Europe; yet they had the Inquisition, and Philip II. They have the same government at this day; and are the lowest nation:** The purpose of the Spanish Inquisition, which began in 1478, was to root out heretics and apostates and thereby establish and maintain uniform religious doctrine within Spain, but it soon became notorious for confessions elicited through torture. Philip II (1527-1598), king of Spain from 1556 until his death, deployed the Inquisition within Spain to eliminate his political opponents and outside of Spain to thwart Protestants in the Netherlands, who were fighting for independence (see next note). Ferdinand VII (1784-1833), king from 1814, reinstated the Inquisition after Napoleonic rule, but by the 1820s Spain was roiled by internal political strife and its overseas power had shrunk dramatically.

15.6-8. **The Dutch too have retained their old constitution; but no Siege of Leyden, no William the Silent, not even an Egmont or De Witt, any longer appears among them:** The Dutch successfully defended Leiden against a Spanish siege in 1574. William the Silent (1533-1584) led the Dutch rebellion against the Spanish, beginning in 1568. Lamoral, Count of Egmont (1522-1568), objected to the oppression of Dutch Protestants, for which he was arrested and subsequently tried and then beheaded in 1568. Jan de Witt (1625-1672), an opponent of the House of Orange, led the Dutch Republic from 1653 until 1672.

15.10-12. **two centuries ago, the Commons' Speaker addressed Queen Elizabeth on bended knees, . . . the people were then governed, not by a Castlereagh, but by a Burghley:** Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (1769-1822), a key figure in the governments of William Pitt, Henry Addington, and Lord Liverpool, was widely vilified in the latter portion of his career for his association with the repression of civil liberties in England. William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598) was the principal advisor to Elizabeth I, who ruled from 1558 to 1603, serving in official capacities as secretary and lord treasurer; a skillful liaison between Parliament and the Crown, Burghley largely avoided controversy.

15.13-14. **Shakspeare and Philip Sidney, . . . Sheridan Knowles and Beau Brummel:** Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), often described as the quintessential Renaissance man, was a member of Parliament, a member of Elizabeth I's court, a statesman and diplomat, a soldier, a poet, and a literary critic. James Sheridan Knowles (1784-1862) was a successful Irish playwright popular in the 1820s and 1830s but was certainly no Shakespeare, as Carlyle's comparison indicates. Similarly, in Carlyle's view Beau Brummel (1778-1840), the leading dandy of the Regency, does not compare favorably to a man like Sidney.

16.18-19. **we are Titans, that strive, by heaping mountain on mountain, to conquer Heaven also:** After Zeus defeated the titans and cast them into the underworld, the titans, released from their imprisonment, attacked the Olympians, putting the mountain Ossa on top of Pelion in an effort to reach them. In another version of the story, the giant twins Otus and Ephialtes placed Ossa on Mount Olympus and then Pelion on top of Ossa in an effort to reach heaven.

16.32-33. **Logic-mills to grind out the true causes and effects of all that is done and created:** Carlyle is punning on the word "mill," a machine that grinds grain into flour, and the name of James Mill, one of the leading Utilitarian philosophers (see note to 5.15).

16.33. **a Smith, a Hume, or a Constant:** On Smith and Hume, see notes to 11.15-16 and 9.30. Benjamin Constant (1767-1830) was an intimate of Madame de Staël and a friend of Friedrich and August von Schlegel. At the time of Carlyle's writing, Constant was in the midst of publishing his *De la religion considérée dans sa source, ses formes et ses développements* (Of Religion Considered in Its Source, Its Forms and Its Developments, 1824-1831).

16.34-35. **An Order of Ignatius Loyola, a Presbyterianism of John Knox, a Wickliffe, or a Henry the Eighth:** Men who had a profound effect on religious practice: Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), founder in 1534 of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuit order, which aimed to counter the Reformation; John Knox (see note to 309.title), the leader of the Protestant reformation in Scotland; John Wickliffe (1330?-1384), also spelled "Wycliffe," an early religious reformer, with whose support the Bible was first translated into English; and Henry VIII (1491-1547), king of England from 1509 until his death, who caused the English church to separate from Rome and to adopt Reformation principles.

16.37. ***Euphuist*:** Derived from John Lyly's character "Euphues" in his *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wyt* (1578) and *Euphues and His England* (1580), the term "euphuist" refers to a person who deploys an excessively elegant, refined rhetorical style; by the nineteenth century the term had become associated with highfalutin bombast.

17.1. **'dwelling in the daylight of truth':** Most likely an allusion to Thomas Campbell's popular poem "Gertrude of Wyoming" (1809): "And dwells in daylight truth's salubrious skies / No form with which the soul may sympathise?" (stanza 9).

17.2. ***rush*-light of 'closet-logic':** In "Voltaire," published just before this essay, Carlyle had referred to an "ordinary man" whose "lamp or rush-light of understanding" is "the ultimate guiding light of his whole path" (*Essays on Literature* 75) and had translated "Stubenverstandes" from Novalis's *Schriften* as "closet-logic" (*Essays on Literature* 128; *Schriften* 1:204). Rush-lights are candles with the pith of a rush as the wick, casting a weak, dim light. Stubenverstandes is a compound consisting of "Stube," a small cozy room, usually windowless, possibly invoking the a place for study, and "verstande," which Carlyle usually translates as "understanding." The phrase would become part of his repertoire of pejorative terms for narrow logical thinking. In the context of contemporary German philosophy as Carlyle understood it, "verstand" (understanding) is a lesser more logical-bound apprehension in opposition to vernunft (reason), the higher more imaginative form of apprehension. For Carlyle's discussion of these terms in Kant and other German philosophers, see "State of German Literature" and "Novalis" (*Essays on German Literature* 82-83, 314). Carlyle would again refer to the "*rush*-light of closet-logic" in "Diderot" (*Essays on Literature* 266) and to "closet-logic" in "Goethe's Works" (*Essays on German Literature* 598).

17.6. **Luther:** Martin Luther (1483-1546), German religious reformer and leading figure of the Protestant Reformation. In 1829, the same year as the publication of "Signs of the Times," William Fraser invited Carlyle to write a "life of Luther" for the *Foreign Review*, but other projects took precedence and the piece was never written (see *Letters* 5:19, 23). Carlyle had a long-standing interest in Luther, who, along with Knox, would be featured as a "Hero as Priest" in *On Heroes*.

17.20-21. **tower of brass:** In Greek myth, Danaë was shut up in a tower of brass by her father, King Acrisius, who had heard a prophecy that her son would kill him; Zeus, assuming the form of a shower of gold descended into the opening at the top of the tower and impregnated her.

17.24. **Like Sir Hudibras, for every Why we must have a Wherefore:** In his satirical, mock-heroic poem *Hudibras* (1684), Samuel Butler describes the "hero" as follows:

> Beside, he was a shrewd philosopher,
> And had read ev'ry text and gloss over;
> Whate'er the crabbed'st author hath,
> He understood b' implicit faith:
> Whatever sceptic could inquire for,
> For ev'ry why he had a wherefore;
> Knew more than forty of them do,
> As far as words and terms cou'd go. (1.127-34)

17.30-33. **'Theories of Taste,' . . . wherein the deep, infinite, unspeakable Love of Wisdom and Beauty, . . . is 'explained,' . . . from 'Association':** In Britain, theories of "taste" were developed in the eighteenth century in such seminal texts as Joseph Addison's 1712 essay on taste in the *Spectator* (no. 409), David Hume's *Of the Standard of Taste* (1757), and Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757). On Hartleyan "Association," see note to 9.33. Carlyle may have in mind Joseph Priestley's "Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism" (1777) in the preface of which Priestley explains that he wanted to publish his lectures in part "with a view to the illustration of the doctrine of the *association of ideas*, to which there is constant reference through the whole work . . . in consequence of having late endeavored to draw some degree of attention to those principles, as advanced by Dr. Hartley" (i-ii).

17.33-34. **Hume has written us a 'Natural History of Religion':** David Hume's (see note to 9.30) *Natural History of Religion* (1757) traces the chronological development of monotheist religion from its roots in polytheistic practices and beliefs; his perspective is that of a philosophical skeptic who reasons that religious belief has its psychological basis in human fear and not in the existence of a divine being. A natural history is a work dealing with the properties of natural objects, plants, or animals, what we would now call biological science.

18.13. **Utility:** See note to 5.16.

18.22-23. **the Church is in danger; . . . with its tithes in the most perfect safety:** On Church in danger, see note to 4.27-29; on tithes, see note to 56.10.

18.24-25. **The true Church of England, at this moment, lies in the Editors of its Newspapers:** This passage anticipates Teufelsdröckh in *Sartor Resartus*: "There is no Church, sayest thou? The voice of Prophecy has gone dumb? This is even what I dispute: but, in any case, hast thou not still Preaching enough? A Preaching Friar settles himself in every village, and builds a pulpit, which he calls a Newspaper. Therefrom he preaches what most momentous doctrine is in him, for man's salvation, and dost not thou listen, and believe?" (3.7.185-86). Later, in *On Heroes*, Carlyle would reiterate this point: "I many a time say, the writers of Newspapers, Pamphlets, Poems, Books, these *are* the real working effective Church of a modern country" (140).

18.29-30. **'administering the Discipline of the Church':** In *The Last Days*, Edward Irving repeatedly warns that the cessation of church discipline marks the widespread self-indulgent liberality of British society: "When discipline hath ceased in the church, and regular courts for that end are held no more, and the priesthood are spoken against, and the eldership not held in holy reputation, it will surely be found that the people, being left to themselves, without the ordinance of God, will be found following their own inclinations, and breaking out into violations of the righteous and wise laws of the Gospel of Christ"; consequently "discipline" is now carried out in the court of public opinion, wherein "a newspaper paragraph will at any time beat down a sage, in the judgment of this enlightened generation" (234, 465; see also 183-85, 235-36, 307, 566, 572).

18.31-32. **the Mendicant Friars of old times: outwardly full of holy zeal;**

inwardly not without stratagem, and hunger for terrestrial things: Also known as "begging friars," mendicant friars by vow of poverty renounced all proprietorship not only individually but also (and in this differing from the monks) in common, relying for support on their own work and on the charity of the faithful. They nonetheless gained considerable temporal power and were frequently criticized, especially in England and Ireland. In *Sartor Resartus*, Teufelsdröckh will assert that the "Preaching Friar" who "builds a pulpit, which he calls a Newspaper" represents "a new Clergy of the Mendicant Orders, some bare-footed, some almost bare-backed, fashion[ing] itself into shape, and teach[ing] and preach[ing], zealously enough, for copper alms and the love of God" (3.7.186).

18.34. **scrannel straws:** An allusion to John Milton's "Lycidas" (1638), in which the clergy with "their lean and flashy songs / Grate on their scrannel Pipes of wretched straw, / The hungry Sheep look up, and are not fed" (123-25). According to the OED, "scrannel" means "thin" or "meagre" and is associated with "harsh" or "unmelodic" sound. Carlyle makes the same allusion in "Werner" (*Essays on German Literature* 136) and *Sartor Resartus* (3.10.203).

18.38. **Memnon Statue, breathing music as the *light* first touches it:** In Greek myth, Memnon is the son of Eos or Aurora (the dawn) and Tithonus. There are two stories of the origins of Memnon's music. One is that when Memnon was slain by Achilles in the Trojan war, he was made immortal, and his friends were turned into birds, the Memnonides, that lamented over his grave. The other, to which Carlyle alludes here, is that a statue of Amenhotep III, identified with Memnon, was toppled by an earthquake in 27 B.C. and began to emit musical sounds at dawn. In "Novalis," written about the same time as "Signs," Carlyle quotes Novalis's *Fragments*: "The spirit of Poesy is the morning light, which makes the Statue of Memnon sound" (*Essays on German Literature* 326; *Schriften* 2:162). A year later Carlyle would quote from Richter's *Vorschule der Aesthetik*: "In Goethe's prose, on the other hand, his fixedness of form gives us the Memnon's-tone" ("John Paul Friedrich Richter Again," *Essays on German Literature* 379). See also "Memoirs of Mirabeau" (*Historical Essays* 214) and *Past and Present* (2.15.130).

19.3-4. **as children pass through the fire to Moloch:** Leviticus 18:21: "Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I am the Lord." Molech,

or Moloch, is the name of an Old Testament deity worshipped through child sacrifice. See also Leviticus 20:2-5, 2 Kings 16:3 and 21:6.

19.11-12. **We praise a work, not as 'true,' but as 'strong;' our highest praise is that it has 'affected' us, has 'terrified' us:** Carlyle alludes to the concept of "the sublime" as articulated in the eighteenth century by Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant. In Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757), the sublime is associated with the combined feelings of pleasure and pain or terror, as distinct from the beautiful, which is associated with pleasure only. In Kant's *Critique of Judgment* (1790), the sublime is characterized by the "negative pleasure" of simultaneous attraction and repulsion. Kant insisted that although it is often the case that "nature excites the ideas of the sublime in its chaos or in its wildest and most irregular disorder and desolation, provided the size and might are perceived" (*Critique of Judgment* sec. 23), the sublime is really a state of mind and not a quality inherent in natural objects.

19.13. **'maximum of the Barbarous':** Not identified.

19.15. **Byron:** Carlyle frequently depicts George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788-1824) as an emblem of despair, pessimism, unhappiness, falsehood, and misanthropy. Byron had been a major point of contrast in his essay on Burns, published about a year before "Signs" (see 37). In "The Everlasting Yea" chapter of *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle would famously urge his readers to "Close thy *Byron*, open thy *Goethe*" (143), and in an 1832 letter, he would deliver a scathing estimation of Byron's reputation that echoes what he says here:

> In my mind, Byron has been sinking at an accelerated rate, for the last ten years, and has now reached a very low level . . . No genuine productive Thought was ever revealed by him to mankind; indeed no clear undistorted vision into anything, or picture of anything; but all had a certain falsehood, a brawling theatrical insincere character. The man's moral nature too was bad, his demeanour, as a man, was bad. What was he, in short, but a huge *sulky Dandy*; of giant dimensions, to be sure, yet still a Dandy; who sulked, as poor Mrs Hunt expressed it 'like a school-boy that had got a plain bunn given him instead of a plum one.' . . . I love him not; I *owe* him nothing;

> only pity, and forgiveness: he taught me nothing that I had not again to forget. (*Letters* 6:148-49)

19.20. **'superior morality,' of which we hear so much:** Perhaps an allusion to the leading article in the April 26, 1829, issue of the *Examiner*, entitled "The Superior Tone of our Morals," which criticizes an assertion made by John Blakiston in his *Twelve Years' Military Adventure in Three Quarters of the Globe* (1829) that English morals were superior to those of the French, because in France women of less than perfect moral virtue are able to maintain their social positions, whereas in England, "when a woman falls, she falls like Lucifer." The *Examiner*'s objection to Blakiston's reasoning is consistent with Carlyle's observation that this "superior morality" has little to do with the "love of virtue" and more to do with the efficiency of "policing" moral transgressions. "Good morality must be a rule of action or sentiment beneficial to society," says the *Examiner*, "and where is the advantage of sinking multitudes of beings into the uttermost abyss of vice? Where is the utility of making the bad the worst they are capable of becoming? How does virtue gain?" (257).

19.23. **by greater perfection of Police:** The Metropolitan Police Act became law on June 19, 1829, the result of Home Secretary Robert Peel's effort to reform the inefficient policing of London.

19.23-24. **stronger Police, called Public Opinion:** In *Imagining the Middle Class*, Dror Wahrman calls the 1810s and 1820s the "Heyday of Public Opinion," noting that "the power attributed during these years to 'public opinion' was all-pervasive" (190). MacKinnon's *On the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion* (see note to 3.2), which Carlyle was putatively reviewing, is an unreserved endorsement of public opinion as a powerful force inextricably bound to the interests of the middle class, and absolutely crucial to the creation and maintenance of "liberty and a liberal government" (8). In MacKinnon's view, therefore, public opinion is not merely the opinion of the public at large, but rather "that sentiment on any given subject which is entertained by the best-informed, most intelligent, most moral persons in the community, which is gradually spread and adopted by nearly all persons of any education or proper feeling in a civilized state" (15). He does acknowledge that "selfishness may be increased, and wealth may be courted by the mass of the people even more than formerly" but nonetheless insists that they are outweighed by "a very great amelioration . . . in the condition of mankind" (337-38). See also note to 20.8.

19.24. **Argus eyes:** In Greek mythology, Argus is a creature with one hundred eyes in its head, some of which are always awake and open.

19.25. **'inward eye':** Probably an allusion to line 21 in the concluding stanza of William Wordsworth's "I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud" (1807): "For oft, when on my couch I lie / In vacant or in pensive mood, / They flash upon that inward eye / Which is the bliss of solitude; / And then my heart with pleasure fills, / And dances with the daffodils" (19-24). Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (1671) is another possibility: "With inward eyes illuminated, / His fiery virtue roused / From under ashes into sudden flame" (1689-91).

19.25. **heavy with sleep:** See Luke 9:32: "But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep: and when they were awake, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him."

20.8. **'Force of Public Opinion!':** The "Force of Public Opinion" seems to be a stock phrase, commonly used from the late eighteenth century (see also 19.23-24). Carlyle criticizes this "force" in "Voltaire," written about the same time as "Signs":

> Again, with regard to this same Force of Public Opinion, it is a force well known to all of us, respected, valued as of indispensable utility, but nowise recognised as a final or divine force. We might ask what divine, what truly great thing had ever been effected by this force? . . . Still more ineffectual do we find it as a basis of public or private Morals. Nay, taken by itself, it may be called a baseless basis; for without some ulterior sanction, common to all minds; without some belief in the necessary, eternal, or which is the same, in the supramundane, divine nature of Virtue, existing in each individual, what could the moral judgment of a thousand or a thousand thousand individuals avail us? Without some celestial guidance, whencesoever derived, or howsoever named, it appears to us the Force of Public Opinion would, by and by, become an extremely unprofitable one (*Essays on Literature* 125-26).

20.15-16. **'the deep meaning of the Laws of Mechanism lies heavy on us':** Carlyle quotes Novalis, adjusting a sentence from a longer passage

incorporated into his essay "Voltaire": "The deep meaning of the laws of Mechanism lay heavily on those anchorites in the deserts of Understanding" (*Literary Essays* 128; *Novalis Schriften* 1:204).

20.35-37. **the Heraclides and Pelasgi, the happiness and greatness of mankind at large has been continually progressive:** The Pelasgi were the original inhabitants of Greece; the Heraclides were reputed to be the descendants of Heracles (Hercules). Carlyle characteristically locates the origin of a progressively developing human culture with the Pelasgi. In his first lecture on the history of literature (April 27, 1838), he would assert that it was the Pelasgi "with whom thought had begun to operate a progress in science and civilization" (*History of Literature* 3). As Green notes, "Vague statements about the *Pelasgi* were currently and most uncritically accepted at the time of Carlyle's lectures" (227). See also next note.

21.8-9. **'He who has been born, has been a First Man':** Not identified. Carlyle alludes to Adam, asserting that all humans are born free from the strictures of Mechanism, with the ability to perceive the infinite and divine. Compare the following passage in Carlyle's "Biography," delivered by the fictional Professor Sauerteig: "To my seeming, the babe born yesterday has all the organs of Body, Soul, and Spirit, and in exactly the same combination and entireness, that the oldest Pelasgic Greek, or Mesopotamian Patriarch, or Father Adam himself could boast of" (*Essays on Literature* 137).

21.14-15. **'one bold stroke to break the bell in pieces, and thou art delivered!':** Carlyle quotes from his translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1:418; *Werke* 19:294).

21.20. ***dilettantism*:** A dilettante is a person with an amateurish knowledge of a particular subject and whose pursuit of that subject is casual rather than serious; the dangers of dilettantism is a recurrent theme in Carlyle's writings. A few months earlier, in "Goethe," he expressed the hope that "Dilettantism will give place to Criticism" (*Essays on German Literature* 231). The concern appears again in the next essay he wrote after "Signs," "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again" (*Essays on German Literature* 366), and once again in *Sartor Resartus* (1.9.53, 2.4.96, 3.12.215). In a journal entry for September 1830, written while he was working on *Sartor*, he would comment: "The Sin of this age is Dilettantism; the Whigs, and all 'moderate Tories,' are grand Dilettanti. . . . There is more hope of an Atheist Utilitarian, of a Superstitious Ultra, than of such a lukewarm,

withered mongrel" (*Note Books* 172-73). *Past and Present* would include a chapter on the "Gospel of Dilettantism" (3.3).

21.30. **'the darkest hour is nearest the dawn':** A common English proverb.

21.32-33. **Carbonari rebellions and other political tumults, as in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece:** In pre-unification Italy, the Carbonari were members of a secret society that resisted the various post-Napoleonic regimes that ruled over the Italian states. In 1820, the Carbonari were successful in forcing Ferdinand I to accede to a constitutional government in Naples, but their success was short lived. Spain and Portugal experienced constitutional revolutions in 1820, but these too were short lived, and a return to absolute monarchy was marked by continuing civil strife in both countries throughout the 1820s. The Greek struggle for independence resulted in political factionalism and civil war in the 1820s; by 1827 Britain, France, and Russia were all directly involved in mediating an end to the conflict.

22.7. **'man's reasonable service':** Romans 12:1: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service."

22.13-14. **our Astronomy informs us, its path lies towards *Hercules*, the constellation of *Physical Power*:** By observing the relative motions of the stars, the astronomer William Herschel determined that the Earth's solar system is traveling in the direction of the star Lambda Herculis, in the constellation Hercules, a discovery he announced in his 1783 paper *On the Proper Motion of the Sun and Solar System*. Carlyle would have learned about Herschel's findings while studying astronomy at the University of Edinburgh, and he was perhaps reminded of the fact by David Brewster's article on the "Recent History of Astronomy" in the *Quarterly Review* (38 [1828]: 1-15). Carlyle calls Hercules the constellation of physical power because Hercules, the most popular of the ancient Greek heroes, was renowned for his strength.

Notes to "Characteristics"

23.1. ***An Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man*. By Thomas Hope:** Thomas Hope (1769-1831), a wealthy and knowledgeable dilettante rather than a rigorous scholar, published such works as *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807), *Costumes of the Ancients* (1809), and *Designs of*

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Modern Costumes (1812). For these efforts and his generous patronage of the arts, he became a fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries and served as vice president of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts. In 1819 he turned to fiction, publishing *Anastasius* (see note to 48.29). In 1831, Hope published *Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man,* a volume of philosophical musings on the human condition. Carlyle initially had difficulties obtaining the book and first consulted it at the British Museum, after which he reported that "it seems to be the work of a deep, earnest man, bears traces of long-continued, toilsome faithful meditation; and yet is perhaps the absurdist Book ever printed in any time or place. The highest culminating-point of the Mechanical Spirit of this age; as it were, the *reductio ad absurdum* of that whole most melancholy Doctrine" (*Letters* 6:13). Contemporary educated British readers of "Characteristics" were far more likely to have heard of Thomas Hope than of Friedrich Schlegel, whose works were known in Britain to a select few, such as Coleridge and Carlyle himself but were not translated into English until the late 1840s.

23.3-8. ***Philosophische Vorlesungen, insbesondere über Philosophie der Sprache und des Wortes. . . .*** **By Friedrich von Schlegel:** Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), German Romantic philosopher, literary critic, and philologist, and a creative force among the Jena Romantics, a group that included his brother August Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck, Novalis, Johann Fichte, and his spouse Caroline Schelling. *Philosophische Vorlesungen, insbesondere über Philosophie der Sprache und des Wortes* (Philosophical Lectures, especially on the Philosophy of Language and the Gift of Speech), the volume (along with Hope's *Essay*) that Carlyle is ostensibly reviewing in "Characteristics," gathers a series of lectures Schlegel delivered at Dresden in December 1828 and January 1829 but left incomplete at the time of his sudden death. His lectures on history, language, and literature delivered in Jena in 1800 and in Paris in 1802 had deepened his influence on writers and thinkers at home and abroad. Carlyle encountered Schlegel's work as early as 1824, when he read Samuel Taylor Coleridge's review of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, collected in the Schlegel brothers' volume, *Characteristiken und Kritiken* (Characteristics and Criticisms, 1801), which may have suggested to Carlyle the title of his own review essay. Through the remainder of the 1820s, Carlyle continued to read and occasionally to comment on Schlegel's ideas—and on the long search for faith that eventually led Schlegel to Catholicism.

23.11-12. **The healthy know not of their health, but only the sick: this is**

the Physician's Aphorism: We have not identified an existing aphorism, but the connection between physicians and aphorisms can be traced to Hippocrates (460?-377? B.C.), the Greek physician commonly referred to as the father of medicine, who was renowned for his *Aphorisms*.

23.19-20. **'false centres of sensibility':** Though this phrase apparently is Carlyle's, discussions of "centres of sensibility" were a feature of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century French Enlightenment literature, as *médecins philosophes* such as Henri Fouquet sought to identify so-called centers of sensibility in order to illuminate the relationship between body and mind; in his essay "Sensibilité (*Médicine*)" in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751-1772), for example, Fouquet identified the heart and diaphragm as a primary center of sensibility, an area closely linked to the passions and the moral sense.

23.22-23. **If a Dr. Kitchiner boast that his system is in high order:** William Kitchiner, M.D. (1775-1827)—optician, amateur musician, and cook—gained fame in the first half of the nineteenth century as the author of *Apicius Redivivus, or the Cook's Oracle* (1817), as well as *The Art of Invigorating and Prolonging Life, by Food, Clothes, Air, Wine, Sleep, &c. and Peptic Precepts* (1821). Carlyle had previously referred to Kitchiner and his "peptic persuaders" in "German Playwrights" (see *Essays on German Literature* 272). Carlyle himself struggled with dyspepsia (indigestion) through much of the 1820s; in *Sartor Resartus*—especially in the character of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh—he dramatizes his illness as a struggle between body and spirit that could be resolved only through a renunciation of self-consciousness, not through hyperconscious theorizing and system making. In a letter of January 1832, written while correcting the proofs of "Characteristics," Carlyle mentions that Jane Welsh Carlyle, suffering protracted queasiness from a voyage to London, was "living dietetically like a very Kitchiner, and is now growing decidedly better" (*Letters* 6:83). See also note to 27.30.

23.24. **Peptician:** A person who has good digestion, rather than one with a proper "theory" of digestion. The word is Carlyle's coinage; the OED cites only this instance and we have not located any others.

23.24-24.1. **Countryman who answered that, "for his part, he had no system":** The "Countryman" is likely either proverbial or Carlyle's invention.

24.6. **music of the spheres:** The supposed harmonious sounds—the "celestial

music"—that emanate from the movement of the nested crystalline spheres in which the stars are fixed. The idea comes from the sixth century B.C. Greek philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras.

24.7-9. **Thus, too, in some languages, is the state of health well denoted by a term expressing unity; when we feel ourselves as we wish to be, we say that we are *whole*:** The English word "whole," like cognates in modern Nordic languages, derives from a Germanic and ultimately Indo-European root meaning "hale" or "healthy." Carlyle would develop the etymology further in his "Inaugural Address" (below 260-61).

24.13. **the body had not yet become the prison-house of the soul:** This concept, traceable to the ancient Orphic mystery religion and voiced in the *Phaedo* of Plato, became a commonplace in neo-Platonic and Gnostic thought and was assimilated to later Christian thinking. John Calvin, for example, discusses the prison house of the soul in his *Psychopannychia* (1534). Wordsworth echoes this idea in "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" (1807; 1815), when he laments that "Shades of the prison-house begin to close / Upon the growing Boy" (67-68).

24.18-19. **Virgil's Husbandmen, 'too happy *because* we did not know our blessedness':** In the second book of the *Georgics*, Virgil writes, "Oh! all too happy tillers of the soil, / Could they but know their blessedness, for whom / Far from the clash of arms all-equal earth / Pours from the ground herself their easy fare!" (2.458-59). In his use of the passage, Carlyle reverses the condition of Virgil's farmers, who would be happy if only they understood their blessedness.

24.23-25. **a beam of perfect white light, rendering all things visible, but itself unseen. . . broken it into colours:** A phenomenon discovered by Isaac Newton during his experiments of 1665-1666 and later published in his *Optics* (1704).

24.29-30. **the Tree of Knowledge springs from a root of evil, and bears fruits of good and evil:** See Genesis 2:9: "And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Once Adam and Eve disobey God's injunction and eat the forbidden fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, sin and death enter the world. See also Genesis 2:17, 3:1-24.

24.32-33. **as the Philosopher declares, 'Life itself is a disease; a working incited by suffering':** An inexact quotation from Novalis (1772-1801), which Carlyle had quoted accurately in his essay "Novalis": "Life is a disease of the spirit; a working incited by Passion" (*Essays on German Literature* 325; *Schriften* 2:116). Variants of this sentiment in the English tradition have been voiced by the poets Abraham Cowley—"Life is an Incurable Disease" ("To Dr. Scarborough" [1656] 111)—and Alexander Pope—"This long disease, my life" ("Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot" [1735] 132). Carlyle quotes Novalis three more times in this essay (30.17-20, 34.23, 53.10).

25.10. **the mechanical:** On Carlyle's contrasts between the mechanical, identified pejoratively as external and lifeless, and the vital or dynamic, considered mysterious and alive, see "Signs of the Times" 5-6.

25.14-15. **the bottomless boundless Deep:** See Milton, *Paradise Lost*: "and the thunder, / Winged with red lightning and impetuous rage, / Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now / To bellow through the vast and boundless Deep" (1.174-77).

25.15-16. **whereon all human things fearfully and wonderfully swim:** Carlyle echoes the language of Psalm 139:14: "I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made."

25.17. **a bare bodkin:** An unsheathed dagger, from Hamlet's famous soliloquy (*Hamlet* 3.1.86).

25.23. **'body forth the Finite from the Infinite':** See the chapter on "Symbols" in *Sartor Resartus*, which Carlyle had drafted though not yet published when he wrote this essay: "In the Symbol proper, what we can call a Symbol, there is ever, more or less distinctly and directly, some embodiment and revelation of the Infinite; the Infinite is made to blend itself with the Finite, to stand visible, and as it were attainable, there" (3.3.162). Carlyle's understanding of symbols resembles that of Coleridge, as expressed in *Lay Sermons* (1816): "A Symbol . . . is characterized . . . above all by the translucence of the Eternal through and in the Temporal" (30).

25.36. **the Spiritualists:** Carlyle means by spiritualism the philosophical position sometimes linked with the German Romantics, not the later nineteenth-century spiritualism that posited the existence of ghosts in a realm "beyond the veil" of material life.

25.36-38. **dualism of Soul and Body, itself the symptom of disease; as, perhaps, your frightful theory of Materialism:** Carlyle refers in a general way to the mind-body dualism of René Descartes and the materialist tendencies he identified with Enlightenment thinkers, tendencies he also sensed in Bentham's Utilitarianism, with its psychological egoism and hedonism that set aside any transcendental considerations.

26.4. **the sign of health is Unconsciousness:** Carlyle's references to "Unconsciousness" or "the Unconscious" are pre-Freudian, with no implication of a region of mental phenomena that have been repressed from but are still capable of influencing the conscious mind. Rather, "Unconsciousness" for Carlyle refers to a lack of knowledge or conscious awareness of something—what may be more commonly understood as "unselfconsciousness." Carlyle's notion of Unconsciousness as opposed to Consciousness is related to and perhaps influenced by Friedrich Schiller's opposition between the naïve and the sentimental. See next note.

26.16-19. **'genius is ever a secret to itself' . . . Shakspeare takes no airs for writing *Hamlet* and the *Tempest*:** Carlyle quotes and paraphrases Friedrich Schiller's "Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung" (On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry, 1795), defining the "naïve" author:

> Den kindlichen Charakter, den das Genie in sei nen Werken abdrückt, zeigt es auch in seinem Privat-Leben und in seinen Sitten. . . . Es ist bescheiden, ja blöde, weil das Genie immer sich selbst ein Geheimniß bleibt, aber es ist nicht ängstlich, weil es die Gefahren des Weges nicht kennt, den es wandelt. Wir wissen wenig von dem Privatleben der größten Genies, aber auch das Wenige, was uns z.B. von Sophokles, von Archimed, von Hippokrates, und aus neueren Zeiten von Ariost, Dante und Tasso, son Raphael, von Albrecht Dürer, Cervantes, Shakespeare, von Fielding, Sterne u. A. auf bewahrt worden ist, bestätigt diese Behauptung" (The childlike character which the genius impresses on his works is also shown in his private life and his manners. . . . It is humble, even shy, because genius always remains a mystery to itself, but it is not anxious, because it does not know the dangers of the road it travels. We know very little about the private life of the greatest geniuses, but even the little things that we know, for example,

> from Sophocles, from Archimedes, from Hippocrates, and from more recent times from Ariosto, Dante and Tasso, of Raphael, of Albrecht Dürer, Cervantes, Shakespeare, of Fielding, Sterne etc. confirms this claim). (*Sämmtliche werke* 8:2.63)

Carlyle had discussed this passage in his *Life of Schiller* (198-199) and quoted it approvingly in a letter of 1823 (*Letters* 2:472).

26.18-19. **Milton, again, is more conscious of his faculty:** Carlyle implies that Milton is relatively less naïve and more sentimental (in Shiller's sense—see preceding note) than Shakespeare and the other authors he lists here. This view corresponds with his discussion of epic. As he would put it in his lectures on the history of literature: "No great man ever felt so great a consciousness as Milton. . . . His 'Paradise Lost' is not an epic in its composition as Shakespeare's utterances are epic" (166).

26.24-25. **the College Tutor's surprise at Walter Shandy: how, though unread in Aristotle, he could nevertheless argue:** In Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy,* Tristram says that his father, Walter, was a powerful orator, even though

> he had never read *Cicero*, nor *Quintilian de Oratore*, nor *Isocrates*, nor *Aristotle*, nor *Longinus*, amongst the antients;—nor *Vossius*, nor *Skioppius*, nor *Ramus*, nor *Farnaby*, amongst the moderns;—and what is more astonishing, he had never in his whole life the least light or spark of subtilty struck into his mind, by one single lecture upon *Crackenthorp* or *Burgersdicius* or any *Dutch* logician or commentator;—he knew not so much as in what the difference of an argument *ad ignorantiam*, and an argument *ad hominem* consisted; so that I well remember, when he went up along with me to enter my name at *Jesus College* in ****,—it was a matter of just wonder with my worthy tutor, and two or three fellows of that learned society, —that a man who knew not so much as the names of his tools, should be able to work after that fashion with them. (1.19.44-45)

26.27. **Sadler's Wells:** A popular theater in Clerkenwell, just north of

central London, that featured rope dancers, jugglers, and other popular entertainers.

26.28. **a flexor longus and a flexor brevis:** Muscles for the flexion of the toes and ankle and for the fingers and wrist respectively.

26.30-32. **The healthy Understanding . . . is not the Logical . . . ; the end of Understanding is not to prove . . . but to know and believe:** Carlyle fuses Kantian Understanding (*Verstand*) with Reason (*Vernunft*) so as to underscore the positive aim of Understanding. Here, as in the "Symbols" chapter of *Sartor Resartus*, understanding does not assume the negative associations of analytical logic and mechanism (3.3.164.7-9 and note) that it does in some of his other discussions (see note to 17.2).

26.37-38. **has it not become almost proverbial that the man of logic cannot prosper?:** We have not found any earlier references to such a proverb; Carlyle probably means that the general idea has become commonplace.

27.7. **armed cap-a-pie:** Completely encased in armor, literally (in Middle French) from head to foot; see Horatio's description of the ghost of Hamlet's father, who appears "Armed at point exactly, cap-a-pe" (1.2.200).

27.8. **master of logic-fence:** Carlyle continues the armor metaphor (see preceding note), using fence in the archaic sense of "defense."

27.9. **the old Schoolmen:** Medieval scholastic philosophers and theologians, skilled in the minutiae of academic disputation, formal reasoning, and subtle argument. In a letter of October 1833 Carlyle would refer to an "Old Schoolman" as "an inferior character, whom I twice for some mortal hours exchanged small logic-shot with; a *ganz ausgestorbener Mann* [completely extinct man]. He lectured on Logic, and thought Logic was to be the salvation of the world" (*Letters* 7:23). See also note to 27.16.

27.13. **Spinning Dervishes:** Members of an Islamic monastic order who practice a form of meditation that consists of spinning in place for extended periods of time.

27.14. **logical card-castles:** Structures built of cards, with an emphasis on instability. This formulation appears to be unique to Carlyle, as the OED cites only his previous use of the term, in "Novalis": "The reader would err widely who supposed that this Transcendental system of Metaphysics

was a mere intellectual card-castle, or logical hocus-pocus" (*Essays on German Literature* 314).

27.16. **The Irrefragable Doctor:** Alexander of Hales (1185?-1245), an English Schoolman (see note to 27.9), known as the "Irrefragable Doctor" (i.e., "the irrefutable doctor") a title assigned him by Pope Alexander I. Originally an ecclesiastic, he became a professor of philosophy and theology in Paris and later entered the Franciscan order. Carlyle likely encountered the epithet in Voltaire's *Lettres écrites de Londres sur les Anglois et autres sujets* (Letters from London on the English and other subjects, 1734), which notes ironically: "Mille Scholastiques sont venus ensuite, comme le Docteur irrefragable, le Docteur subtil, le Docteur angelique, le Docteur seraphique, le Docteur cherubique; qui tous ont été bien sûrs de connoitre l'ame très clairement, mais qui n'ont pas laissé d'en parler comme s'ils avoient voulu que personne n'y en tendit rien" (A thousand schoolmen came after him: there was the irrefragable doctor, the subtle doctor, the angelic doctor, the seraphic doctor, the cherubic doctor, all of whom were certain that they knew the soul very well, but which did not prevent them from speaking as if they wished no one else could) (93-94).

27:21. **a Luther, a Napoleon, a Goethe:** Martin Luther (see note to 17.6); Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), French military and political leader who made himself emperor following the French Revolution; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), German poet and thinker. Carlyle admired all three, though Luther and Goethe much more so than Napoleon. Carlyle wrote several essays on Goethe, translated his *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*, and corresponded with him for the final eight years of Goethe's life. He would later include Luther and Napoleon in *On Heroes*.

27.24. **the difference between Oratory and Rhetoric:** Though the words are at times used interchangeably with regard to formal speaking, rhetoric more frequently refers to the theoretical basis for the art of persuasive speaking, whereas oratory refers to the practice of public speaking. Carlyle highlights what he considers a gulf between the exercise of eloquence (oratory) and a theoretical knowledge of how to produce eloquence (rhetoric).

27.30. **'his system is in high order':** Dr. Kitchiner (see note to 23.22-23) devotes the whole of his "Peptic Precepts" to digestive health and the relief of dyspepsia and indigestion, noting that "the Human Frame may be compared to a Watch, of which the Heart is the Main-spring—the Stomach the regulator,—and what we put into it, the Key by which the machine

is wound up;—*according to the quantity—quality,—and proper digestion of what we Eat and Drink, will be the pace of the Pulse, and the action of the System in general*. . . . If the machine be disordered, the same expedients are employed for its re-adjustment, as are used by the Watch-maker; it must be carefully cleaned, and judiciously oiled" (182-83).

27.37-38. **"Whenever you have written any sentence that looks particularly excellent, be sure to blot it out":** Carlyle may be alluding to Horace's *Epistles* 2.1.139, which claims that Roman dramatists trying to emulate Greek tragedians had not learned to delete inadequate lines. See also Horace, *Ars Poetica*:

> An honest critic, when dull lines move slow,
> Or harshly rude, will his resentment show;
> Mark every fault, and with his pen efface
> What is not polished to its highest grace;
> Prune all ambitious ornaments away,
> And teach you on th' obscure to pour the day. (445-50)

28.1-2. **a living Thinker has taught us: 'Of the Wrong we are always conscious, of the Right never':** Carlyle quotes Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship,* likely from memory; his more precise version in his 1824 translation reads: "No one knows what he is doing, while he acts aright; but of what is wrong we are always conscious" (2:76).

28.5-6. **'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth':** Matthew 6:3: "But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

28.7-8. **The good man is he who *works* continually in well-doing:** See "The Everlasting Yea" in *Sartor Resartus*, which Carlyle had drafted though not yet published when he wrote this essay: "For the God-given mandate, *Work thou in Welldoing*, lies mysteriously written, in Promethean, Prophetic Characters, in our hearts" (2.9.146), which in turn echoes Galatians 6:9: "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."

28.10-11. **Self-contemplation . . . is infallibly the symptom of disease:** During the 1820s and early 1830s Carlyle increasingly viewed Rousseau and Byron as writers whose self-consciousness was a symptom of disease, not health: "Poets such as Byron and Rousseau are like opium eaters; they

raise their minds by brooding over and embellishing their sufferings, from one degree of fervid exaltation and dreamy greatness to another, till at length they run *amuck* entirely, and whoever meets them would do well to run them thro' the body" (*Letters* 1:316).

28.19. **Holy of Holies:** A common English version of phrases in the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate designating the inner chamber of the sanctuary in the Jewish tabernacle and temple. See Exodus, especially 26:33-34, in which "the most holy place"—the Holy of Holies—is separated by a veil from the outer chamber or "holy place."

28.22-23. **had we never sinned, we should have had no conscience:** The source of the concept, if not the specific wording, is in Genesis, when after having eaten the fruit, Adam and Eve demonstrate a new guilty awareness of their condition and their actions: "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons. And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden. And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself. And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?" (Genesis 3:7-11).

29.3-4. **'avoiding meats;' 'paying tithe of mint and anise, neglecting the weightier matters of the law':** Matthew 23:23: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." With reference to avoiding meats, Carlyle may have in mind the Catholic practice of abstaining from meat on Fridays, or he may be indicating the prohibitions on certain types of meat in Leviticus 11.

29.4-5. **Goodness, which was a rule to itself, must appeal to Precept, and seek strength from Sanctions:** This passage and the lines that follow offer Carlyle's synopsis of a morality grounded in a reductive Utilitarian calculus of reward and punishment, profit and loss. See "Signs of the Times" (above 5, esp. note to 5.16) and *Sartor Resartus* (2.7.121-23, 2.5.172-74). For additional discussion of "Motive-Millwrights," who "calculate" motives in a mechanical way, see *Sartor* 3.3.163.

29.13-14. **of Volition . . . of 'Motives,' without any Mover:** A reference to traditional and contemporary arguments about human free will and the existence of God. Aristotle posited that there must be some first mover that sets other things in motion; Thomas Aquinas built on this assumption in the first of his arguments for the existence of God (*Summa Theologiae*, Question 2, Article 3). In "The Everlasting No" chapter of *Sartor Resartus*, Diogenes Teufelsdröckh rails against the "Motive-grinders, and Mechanical Profit-and-Loss Philosophies" that in the nineteenth century have undermined a belief in human free will (2.7.123).

29.16. **reign of Sentimentality:** The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the flourishing of the sentimental novel and the cult of sensibility that especially valued the sympathetic heart. The novels of Samuel Richardson and Sarah Fielding, and more particularly Lawrence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768) and Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771), feature characters in whom sensibility—feeling and passion—trump intellect and reason as the mark of virtue.

29.20. **Socinian Preachers proclaim 'Benevolence':** By 1830 "Socinian" had become a synonym for "Unitarian." The word derives from two Italian religious reformers (Laelius and Faustus Sozzini, Latin "Socinus") of the sixteenth century who denied the divinity of Jesus and the existence of the Trinity, a doctrine taken up in England by the Unitarians. Carlyle typically refers to contemporary Unitarians as Socinians and in this passage may be referring to the American William Ellery Channing's (1780-1842) influential Unitarian theology, which emphasized an optimistic view of human nature.

29.21. **watch-seals:** A trinket containing either an engraved stone, a flat stone or a piece of colored glass, originally used for sealing letters worn as an ornament attached to a watch-guard.

29.31. **Sophists:** In ancient Greece, those specially engaged in the pursuit or communication of knowledge (Greek *sophia*), especially those who undertook to give instruction in intellectual and ethical matters in return for payment, usually with the connotation that they preferred to win debates through eloquence rather than seek the truth through sound reasoning.

29.35. **'ever a secret to itself':** See note to 26.16-19.

30.3. **Psychology and Physiology:** Both words, which entered the English

language from Germany and France in the sixteenth century, acquired their modern meanings in the seventeenth century and became commonly used only in the nineteenth.

30.12-13. **It is in Society that man first feels what he is:** Likely a distant echo of Aristotle's notion of humans as social beings who become fully human only in a community (Aristotle, *Politics* 1253a1-3).

30.17-20. **'Already,' says a deep Thinker, with more meaning than will disclose itself at once, 'my opinion, my conviction, gains *infinitely* in strength and sureness, the moment a second mind has adopted it':** Carlyle's translation of a passage in Novalis's *Schriften* (see note to 24.32-33): "Es ist gewiss, das eine Meinung sehr viel gewinnt, sobald ich weiss, dass irgend jemand davon übergengt ist, sie wahrhaft annimmt" (2:104). The idea was important to Carlyle: he offers a version of the passage in *Sartor Resartus*, in the chapter "Church-Clothes": "How true is that of Novalis: 'It is certain, my Belief gains quite *infinitely* the moment I can convince another mind thereof!'" (3.2.158). Carlyle returned to the aphorism years later in *On Heroes* (50).

30.27-30. **The Duties of Man to himself, to what is Highest in himself, make but the First Table of the Law: to the First Table is now superadded a Second, with the Duties of Man to his Neighbour:** An allusion to the division of the ten commandments, the first four or five, depending on tradition, dealing with duty to God and the remaining five or six with duties to others (see Exodus 20:1-17, 31:18). In the New Testament Jesus compresses the Ten Commandments into two: "Jesus said unto him, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets'" (Matthew 22:37-40). In this passage Carlyle echoes the two-part division of the commandments, but whereas Jesus explicitly commands love for "the Lord thy God," Carlyle voices a duty "to what is Highest in himself"—a significant revision of the law.

30.33. **intensated:** Made tense; intensified. Carlyle also used this adjectival form in "German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" (*Essays on German Literature* 545), "Diderot" (*Essays on Literature* 246), and *The French Revolution* (3:5.1.206) and the noun form in "Goethe" (*Essays on German Literature* 226), his first use of either form, and "Did-

erot" (*Essays on Literature* 255). See also *Letters* 14:136, Froude, *Life in London* 2:154. Although Carlyle is the only author cited by the OED as using these forms of the word, we have found that it was used on at least two occasions previously.

30.38-31.1. **Literature, whether as preserved in the memory of Bards:** That is, oral rather than written literature. The word "bard" referred originally to an ancient order of minstrel poets, who composed and sang verses celebrating the achievements of chiefs and warriors. By means of their verse, transmitted orally, the ancient bards preserved and passed on historical and traditional facts, religious precepts, laws, and genealogies; the idea that bards served as repositories of cultural memory became widespread in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

31.8-9. **Oriental *Scheik*, from the *Sachem* of the red Indians, down to our English *Sir*, . . . is our *senior*:** The Arabic "sheik," like the Latinate "sir" and "senior," means old or old man. "Sachem," an Algonquian word, denotes the chief leader of some Native American tribes. Carlyle appears to assume that "sachem," like the other words in this passage, refers to age rather than to other qualities as the mark of a leader.

31.13-15. **'Where two or three are gathered together' in the name of the Highest, then first does the Highest, as it is written, 'appear among them to bless them':** Carlyle alters the second half of Matthew 18:20: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." See also note to 31.21-22.

31.16. **Jacob's-ladder:** The ladder reaching up to heaven, "with the angels of God ascending and descending on it," in Jacob's dream (Genesis 28:12).

31.21-22. **Society is the standing wonder of our existence:** In *Sartor*, which Carlyle had drafted shortly before writing this essay, Teufelsdröckh notes that Church-Clothes, "the Forms, the *Vestures*, under which men have at various periods embodied and represented for themselves the Religious Principle, . . . are first spun and woven, I may say, by that wonder of wonders, SOCIETY; for it is still only when 'two or three are gathered together' that Religion, spiritually existent, and indeed indestructible however latent, in each, first outwardly manifests itself" (3.2.158).

32.2-3. **the one thing needful:** See Luke 10:41-42: "And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about

many things: But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her."

32.12. **that phrase 'artificial state of Society':** A phrase widely used in contemporary writing, perhaps derived from Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality among Men, 1755) and before it from Hobbes. In 1830, Robert Hamilton, a Scottish mathematician and political economist, published a book called *The Progress of Society,* a chapter of which was titled "Artificial State of Society." The industrialist and social reformer Robert Owen also used the phrase in his *Lectures on an Entire New State of Society* (1830).

32.16-17. **as we have an artificial Poetry, and prize only the natural:** Carlyle echoes the distinction that Schiller makes in "Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung" (see note to 26.16-19). See also the distinctions Wordsworth makes in his Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1800, 1802).

32.21-22. **Every Society, every Polity, has a spiritual principle; is the embodyment . . . of an Idea:** Carlyle echoes an idea from *Sartor*, which he had drafted shortly before writing this essay, where Teufelsdröckh asserts that "All visible things are Emblems . . . Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some Idea, and body it forth" (*Sartor* 1.11.55).

32.23-25. **as the glance of some Montesquieu across innumerable superficial entanglements can partly decipher:** Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755), French political philosopher and man of letters. Carlyle is alluding to the analysis of political constitutions in Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (On the Spirit of the Laws, 1748), but especially to the intellectual method displayed in that work. As Carlyle noted a decade earlier in an article on Montesquieu for David Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* (1820), Montesquieu "appears . . . to have aimed at discovering some system which might serve to connect the isolated facts of a science, the extent and confusion of which increased with his knowledge of it. . . . Embracing the various, and apparently capricious, systems of law, as they regard commerce, religion, or civil rights, in every country which travelers or historians make known to us, he endeavours to elicit regularity from this chaos" (*Essays* 5:82). In *Sartor*, Carlyle pays tongue-in-cheek homage to Montesquieu by having Teufelsdröckh suggest that "as Montesquieu wrote a *Spirit of Laws*, . . .

so could I write a *Spirit of Clothes*; thus, with an *Esprit des Lois*, properly an *Esprit de Coutumes*, we should have an *Esprit de Costumes*" (1.5.27).

32.32-33. **Treatises of the Commonwealth:** A reference to Cicero's *De re publica* (54 B.C.), the title of which is sometimes referred to in English as *Treatise on the Commonwealth* and which is itself an emulation of Plato's *Republic*. The treatise examines the mixed constitution of Rome's republic at a time when the republic itself was under threat from Julius Caesar, among others.

32.33-34. **the Decii are rushing with devoted bodies on the enemies of Rome:** The Decii were Roman consuls of the third and fourth centuries B.C., famed for their devotion to the republic. In 340 B.C., Publius Decius Mus, in response to an oracle, sacrificed himself in battle—his body "devoted" to the Dii Manes (the spirits of the dead)—in order to achieve victory over the enemies of Rome.

32.37-38. **Why teach Obedience to the Sovereign:** Carlyle may have in mind a range of social contract theorists, from Hobbes to Locke to Rousseau, who articulate why and to what extent a people must obey its sovereign leaders.

33.2. ***Preux Chevaliers*:** French for valiant or gallant knights, a standard epithet for the feudal knights of medieval romance.

33.3-4. **when 'dying for their king,' had ceased to be a habit with chevaliers:** Carlyle alludes to the expected noble sacrifice of a knight or vassal for his liege lord. The phrasing and the sentiment recall Edmund Burke's famous lament for the end of chivalry: "Little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon [Marie Antoinette] in a nation of gallant men [Carlyle's *preux chevaliers*], in a nation of men of honour and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult.—But the age of chivalry is gone.—That of sophisters, œconomists, and calculators, has succeeded" (238). In *The French Revolution*, Carlyle would return to the phrase once more to mark the decline of chivalry and the rise of democracy (2:4.7.182).

33.13-14. **his highest and sole blessedness is, that he toil, and know what to toil at: not in ease, but in united victorious labour:** For an extended discussion of the significance and blessedness of work, see "The Everlasting

Yea" in *Sartor Resartus*, which Carlyle had drafted shortly before writing this essay (2.9). Carlyle would again link freedom and work in *Past and Present*: "Liberty? The true liberty of a man, you would say, consisted in his finding out, or being forced to find out the right path, and to walk thereon. To learn, or to be taught, what work he actually was able for; and then, by permission, persuasion and even compulsion, to set about doing of the same! That is his true blessedness, honour, 'liberty' and maximum of wellbeing" (3.13.210-211).

33.15-17. **looking no deeper than such superficial perplexities of the early Time, historians have taught us that it was all one mass of contradiction and disease:** Carlyle refers generally to the Enlightenment historiography of such writers as Voltaire and Hume, and even Gibbon, in which past ages were condemned for the supposed ignorance and superstition that marked them. Carlyle had taken issue with such historiography in "On History" (*Historical Essays* 4-5).

33.24. **'the envy of surrounding nations':** Half of a laudatory phrase referring to Britain and more particularly to the British Constitution. Though attributed in this wording to the conservative statesman and orator George Canning (1770-1827), who reportedly claimed that the British Constitution was "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world," a version of the saying has a longer provenance: see, for example, the American John Adams, who in 1766 referred to "that constitution which had been for so long a time the envy and admiration of surrounding nations" (*Papers* 1:164-70). Carlyle incorporates the phrase several times in his work, always as a satiric marker of political pretension, a usage that antedates Carlyle's own. In 1819, for example, George Cruikshank titled a drawing denouncing the Six Acts against freedom of speech and the press *A Free Born Englishman! The Admiration of the World!!! and The Envy of Surrounding Nations*. Carlyle may well have been schooled in the satiric uses of the phrase by his older contemporary William Cobbett, who uses it repeatedly in *Rural Rides* (1830) to mark the distance between British ideals and social realities (see, for example, the entries for August 30 to September 1, 1823; November 12, 1825; and August 30, 1826). For Carlyle's use of the phrase elsewhere, see "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again" (*Essays on German Literature* 366), "Taylor's Historic Survey of German Literature" (*Essays on German Literature* 439), *The French Revolution* (2:1.8.43, 6.8.302), *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (109), and *Frederick the Great* (6:17.3.28).

34.4-5. **so soon as Prophecy among the Hebrews had ceased, then did the reign of Argumentation begin:** According to Jewish tradition, the prophetic era, during which Yahweh spoke directly to some human beings, came to an end in the fifth century B.C.; prophetic communication was succeeded by rabbinic interpretation—Carlyle's "Argumentation"—a transformation formalized by the canonization of the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible sometime between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D.

34.6. **Sadduceeisms and Phariseeisms:** The Sadducees and Pharisees were rival priestly sects that flourished during the two centuries before and during the life of Jesus; both sought to control interpretation of God's law. In Christian tradition both Sadducees and Pharisees are often depicted as more concerned with the letter than the spirit of the law. See Matthew 23:27: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness."

34.8-9. **'with the old forces still at work, but working in reverse order':** Not identified.

34.20. **Well might the Ancients make Silence a god:** Harpocrates, the Greek god of silence and discretion, borrowed from the Egyptian Harpa-Khruti (Horus the child), was often depicted holding a finger to his lips, a symbol of childhood that the Greeks misinterpreted as making a gesture requesting silence. In Roman myth the talkative nymph Lara irritated Jupiter, who cut out her tongue. She was afterward known as Muta or Tacita, the goddess of silence and secrecy. See also note to 34.38.

34.23. **have Poets sung 'Hymns to the Night':** Novalis (see note to 24.32-33), *Hymnen an die Nacht* (1800). For a brief discussion of the book, see "Novalis," in which Carlyle notes that Novalis's *Hymns to the Night* "are of a strange, veiled, almost enigmatical character," but "a still solemnity reigns in them, a solitude almost as of extinct worlds"; "a full commentary on the *Hymns to the Night*," he concludes, "would be an exposition of Novalis's whole theological and moral creed, for it lies recorded there, though symbolically, and in lyric, not in didactic language" (*Essays on German Literature* 329). Carlyle may well be using the title to gesture not only to Novalis but also to other meditations on the night written by eighteenth-century poets such as Anne Finch's "A Nocturnal Reverie" (1713), Edward Young's *Night-Thoughts* (1742-1745), and William Collins's "Ode to Evening" (1746).

34.37. **Cagliostro:** Pseudonym of Giuseppe Balsamo, Count Alessandro di Cagliostro (1743-1795), an Italian charlatan who in the years preceding the French Revolution developed a following among European aristocrats for his drugs and potions as well as for séances, Masonic lore, and other occult practices. In 1833, Carlyle would publish "Count Cagliostro," in which the charlatan serves to symbolize the dishonesty and charlatanism of prerevolutionary France. As symbol of falsity, Cagliostro would play a supporting role in "The Diamond Necklace" and *The French Revolution*.

34.38. **'the talent of silence':** Carlyle's translation of a French phrase—"grand talent pour le silence"—commonly used to describe a typically English quality. The phrase, usually translated and usually in single quotation marks, is sprinkled throughout Carlyle's work, including his letters, where it becomes part of Thomas and Jane's coterie speech (see *Letters* 5:409). Carlyle would use the French phrase in *On Heroes*, where he expresses the fervent hope that "we English will long maintain our *grand talent pour le silence*" (192; see also 158). He praised the value of silence on numerous occasions, the capacity for silence coming to symbolize a human worth inaccessible to those who spend their lives talking. In *Sartor Resartus*, which Carlyle had drafted shortly before writing this essay, Teufelsdröckh writes:

> Silence is the element in which great things fashion themselves together; that at length they may emerge, full-formed and majestic, into the daylight of Life, which they are thenceforth to rule. Not William the Silent only, but all considerable men I have known, and the most undiplomatic and unstrategic of these, forbore to babble of what they were creating and projecting. Nay, in thy own mean perplexities, do thou thyself but *hold thy tongue for one day*: on the morrow, how much clearer are thy purposes and duties; what wreck and rubbish have those mute workmen within thee swept away, when intrusive noises were shut out! . . . As the Swiss Inscription says: *Sprechen ist silbern, Schweigen ist golden* (Speech is silvern, Silence is golden); or as I might rather express it: Speech is of Time, Silence of Eternity. (3.3.161-62; see also 1.7.39)

See also "Boswell's Life of Johnson" (*Essays on Literature* 162), *On Heroes* (158), and *Past and Present* (2.11.99, 3.5.162).

35.1. **succedaneum:** Latinate word meaning "substitute." Carlyle seems to have been fond of this unusual word, which appears a handful of times in his letters, twice in September 1831, just before he wrote "Characteristics," in Novemb1er and December. Writing from London about what she should bring from Scotland on her impending trip to join him, Carlyle implores Jane Welsh Carlyle, "Do not forget *Ham* or *Hams!* It is the grand succedaneum here for breakfast condiments" (*Letters* 5:418). Again, less than two weeks later, lamenting that their letters keep crossing in the mail and thus making clear communication difficult, Carlyle notes, "In fact these *overlappings* of the Posts, and indeed the whole matter of Letterwriting is but a poor succedaneum [for face-to-face conversation]" (*Letters* 5:443). See also *Past and Present* 3.13.218.

35.6-7. **The evil repute your 'theoretical men' stand in, the acknowledged inefficiency of 'Paper Constitutions':** For Carlyle, as for Edmund Burke before him, paper is a metaphor for the unsubstantial nature of theory. "Theoretical men," though valuable in their place, have no positive practical consequence. As Burke notes disapprovingly in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), "After I had read over the list of the persons and descriptions elected into the *Tiers État*, nothing which they afterwards did could appear astonishing. Among them, indeed, I saw some of known rank, some of shining talents; but of any practical experience in the state not one man was to be found. The best were only men of theory" (193-94). Both Burke and Carlyle doubted the value of "paper constitutions," written codes of law, in contrast to Britain's unwritten, traditional constitution. In "On History," Carlyle had noted that "laws themselves, political Constitutions, are not our Life, but only the house wherein our Life is led: nay, they are but the bare walls of the house" (*Historical Essays* 6). Carlyle would use the words "theory" and "paper" frequently—and pejoratively—throughout *The French Revolution*; see especially "The Paper Age" (*French Revolution* 1:2.1.27-60). See also note to 52.15-16.

35.10-11. **Whatsoever can proclaim itself from the housetops:** Luke 12:3: "Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the housetops."

35.15-16. **Patent Dinner Calefactor:** Since at least the seventeenth century, the word "calefactor" had indicated a device for warming, but Carlyle refers specifically to small stoves such as Tozer's Patent Calefactor, which he

could have seen advertised in the *Examiner* (e.g., June 14, 1829, p. 383). He had first referred to such stoves in "Schiller": "On the one hand . . . smokes (in patent calefactors) a Dinner of innumerable courses" (*Essays on German Literature* 416).

35.17-18. **those of the Printing Press are not so well seen into for the first three centuries:** Johannes Gutenberg (1395?-1468) is credited with having invented the printing press in the early 1450s. In *Sartor Resartus*, Teufelsdröckh notes: "He who first shortened the labour of Copyists by device of *Movable Types* was disbanding hired Armies, and cashiering most Kings and Senates, and creating a whole new Democratic world: he had invented the Art of Printing" (3.5.30). See also "German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" (*Essays on German Literature* 537) and *On Heroes* (139).

35.18. **Select Vestries Bill:** Carlyle may be referring to the Vestries Act of 1831, which, in the movement for parliamentary reform, sought to remedy the abuse of parochial power by reasserting the right of parishioners with a certain income to elect vestry members from among their number. But he may also be referring to the so-called Select Vestries Bill that, after 1698, was the first item of business taken up by the House of Lords in a new parliament; each year the bill received a first reading, but it never proceeded into law. Originally a practice intended to last until a reform bill was passed, the annual reading of the Select Vestries Bill is now an archaic custom that asserts the independence of the House of Lords from the Crown. If Carlyle is referring to Hobhouse's bill, his intent may be to shine a skeptical light on those who hoped the bill would reduce corruption in the Church of England; if Carlyle is referring to the Select Vestries Bill, his intent may be to contrast the fruitless "noise and hopeful expectancy" of those debating the bill with the quiet development of the "Christian Religion" in its early years.

35.30-31. **the Improvement of the Age, the Spirit of the Age, Destruction of Prejudice, Progress of the Species, and the March of Intellect:** Typical if grandiose catchphrases and slogans of the era, several of which boast of a modern progress that Carlyle finds doubtful, at best. "The Spirit of the Age" is a translation of the German *Zeitgeist* (time spirit), which Johann Gottfried Herder coined in 1769 as a version of the Latin *genius saeculi* (guardian spirit of the century); the OED cites Percy Bysshe Shelley as the first to use the phrase in English, in 1820. William Hazlitt gave still more currency to the phrase in 1825 with the publication of *The Spirit*

of the Age (1825), a collection of essays portraying major contemporaries such as Jeremy Bentham, William Godwin, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Edward Irving, and Walter Scott. "Progress of the species" is another recurring phrase used ironically by Carlyle to characterize people who believed in the inevitable progress of society (*Letters* 12:43n4). In his journal for August 8, 1832, he had penned a characteristic expression of his distaste for formulaic social remedies and theoretical discussion: "I am getting very weary of the 'Nature of the Time,' 'Progress of the Species,' and all that business. The Time is here; men should use it, not talk about it: while they talk and lay not hold, it is gone and returns not" (Froude, *First Forty Years* 2:307). "The March of Intellect" is a phrase that others in addition to Carlyle used for satiric purposes. Carlyle may have known of W. T. Moncrieff's comic poem *The March of Intellect* (1830) or have seen satirical caricatures of the late 1820s by George Cruikshank (1792-1878) and by William Heath "Paul Pry" (1795-1840), entitled *The March of Intellect*.

35.35-36. **the spavined kind; what the Jockeys call 'all action and no go':** A spavined horse is a lame horse, the spavin being a bony tumor or excrescence in a horse's leg. "All action and no go" is horse-racing slang, frequently used in the 1830s and 1840s, to suggest exaggerated movement of the limbs ("action") with no forward speed.

35.37-36.1. **that gouty Patient, whom his Doctors had clapt on a metal floor artificially heated to the searing point, so that he was obliged to march, and marched with a vengeance—nowhither:** An anecdote from Thomas Day, *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783-1789), a didactic novel of sensibility written for children (chap. 8). Carlyle knew of and presumably had read the book, mentioning it in a letter of August 1824 (*Letters* 3:126). Though Carlyle cites the anecdote as evidence of fruitless marching with no direction or purpose, Day's gouty patient in the novel loses considerable weight and regains the use of his legs by means of this unusual regimen.

36. 2. **Noah's Flood:** See Genesis 6-8.

36.4. **'dark ages':** The concept of the "dark ages" has its source in the Italian humanist Petrarch, who in the 1330s contrasted the "light" of classical Greece and Rome with the "darkness" that followed the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century and preceded the rebirth of humanism in the fourteenth century. "Enlightenment" thinkers such as

Voltaire perpetuated the notion of the early middle ages as a time of superstition and intellectual darkness. Carlyle is voicing skepticism about the purported "darkness" of medieval times.

36.5. ***spectacles***: The first spectacles or eyeglasses in Europe were developed in Florence in the thirteenth century.

36.14. **'our system is in high order':** See note to 23.22-23.

36.17. **'Invaluable Constitution':** Stock phrase in frequent use during the debates about the Reform Bill (see next note). Reverent references to "our invaluable Constitution" had also appeared frequently in response to the French Revolution and the debate about it in the 1790s. For example, the minutes of a meeting of the Association of Loyal Britons in December 1793 records a resolution that the group's members "will upon every occasion lend their united aid to the Executive Government in the protection and Preservation of the invaluable Constitution of Great Britain."

36.17. **Reform Bill:** From the death of George IV in June 1830 to final passage of the Reform Bill in June 1832, parliamentary and electoral reform was the focus of politics in England, which was agitating the country during the months, in November-December 1831, when Carlyle was writing this essay. The Reform Bill of 1832, which passed only after much acrimony, extended the franchise somewhat and eliminated a large number of so-called "rotten boroughs." The long and tangled debate over the Reform Bill did nothing to increase Carlyle's confidence in electoral politics and elected governments. Carlyle's impatience with the Reform debate is evident in a December 1831 letter to MacVey Napier, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, in which "Characteristics" appeared: "The Reform Bill sails with fair wind and full sea. May the Heavens grant but this one prayer: That we had done with it!" (*Letters* 6:67).

36.18. **De Lolmes:** See note to 11.15-16.

36.18. **objurgatory Benthams:** Jeremy Bentham (see note to 5.16), in *Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1780) and *A Catechism of Parliamentary Reform* (1817).

36.18-20. **Treatises on the Social Contract, on the Elective Franchise, the Rights of Man, the Rights of Property, Codifications:** Carlyle refers generically to categories rather than to individual titles, though he may well

have particular writers and books in mind. The idea of a social contract between governor and governed was developed in Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651); John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government* (1689); Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu; and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du Contrat Social* (The Social Contract, 1762); and especially Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social, ou, Principes du droit politique* (The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right, 1762). Regarding the "Elective Franchise," Carlyle may have had in mind the controversy in 1828 about extending the electoral franchise to (Irish) Catholics, but the phrase would have been common in newspapers, pamphlets, and conversations in 1831 during the struggle for parliamentary reform (see note to 36.17). Regarding the "Rights of Man," see Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man* (1791), and Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790), as well as the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen*, approved by the French Constituent Assembly on August 4, 1789, which abolished feudal structures and obligations. Discussions of the "Rights of Property" would have accompanied discussions of extending the right to vote; see, for example, Robert Fellowes, *Rights of Property Vindicated against the Claims of Universal Suffrage* (1818). On codifications, see note to 12.6-7.

36.21. **Essays on Man:** See Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man* (1733-1734); the French revolutionary Jean-Paul Marat, *A Philosophical Essay on Man* (1773); and of course the ostensible subject of this essay, Thomas Hope's *An Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man* (1831).

36.22. **Thoughts on Man:** Carlyle likely has in mind William Godwin's *Thoughts on Man: His Nature, Productions, and Discoveries* (1831). Carlyle refers to Godwin's book as "of little merit" in a letter of October 8, 1831, written while he was thinking about what became "Characteristics" (*Letters* 6:13).

36.22. **Inquiries concerning Man:** See David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748; 1758) for the prime example of this sort of inquiry into human nature.

36.22-23. **Evidences of the Christian Faith:** Most likely William Paley's widely circulated *A View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1793), which Carlyle knew from the 1810s. But see also *Debate on the Evidences of Christianity* (1829), by Robert Owen and Alexander Campbell, as well as *The Evidences of the Christian religion; being a collection of all the works,*

tracts, and essays of the most established authors who have written upon the evidences of the Christian faith (1815-1817).

36.23. **Theories of Poetry:** A generic reference, but Carlyle may have in mind a meditative work such as Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* (1711). Letters of the 1820s also suggest Carlyle's familiarity with Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* (1816); see *Letters* 2:472, 4:333-34.

36.23. **Considerations on the Origin of Evil:** Numerous tracts on the "origin of evil" were published in the eighteenth century. See, for example, Soame Jenyns's *A Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil* (1757); though Samuel Johnson derided the book for its optimistic rationalism, it was reprinted numerous times in the eighteenth century.

36.34. **Co-operative Societies:** The British cooperative movement was inspired by the ideas of the early socialist Robert Owen, who promoted "villages of co-operation" in which workers would grow their own food and make their own clothes, thus raising themselves out of poverty. Building on this foundation, Dr. William King of Brighton published a small monthly magazine, *The Co-operator* (1828-1830), which explained cooperative theory and dispensed practical advice. Although some early cooperative societies were founded in the 1820s in response to social problems engendered by industrialization, the movement did not find solid footing until the 1840s.

36.34. **Universal Suffrage:** Early nineteenth-century radicals sought universal male suffrage, and were disappointed that the Reform Bill of 1832 (see note to 36.17) produced only a modest expansion of the franchise.

36.34. **Cottage-and-Cow systems:** Possibly a reference to conservative remedies for rural poverty that focused on the self-sufficiency of rural laborers, on the principle that a cottage accompanied by cowshed and cow offered hope to the cottager. See, for example, William Cobbett's *Cottage Economy* (1821-1822). Thomas Malthus (see note to 127.26-27), however, expressed doubt about the value of such cottage-and-cow improvements in his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (6th ed.): "It has been observed that those cottagers, who keep cows, are more industrious and more regular in their conduct, than those who do not. This is probably true, and what might naturally be expected; but the inference that the way to make all people industrious is to give them cows, may by no means be quite so certain. Most of those who keep cows at present have purchased

them with the fruits of their own industry. It is therefore more just to say that their industry has given them a cow, than that a cow has given them their industry . . . It may be said, however, that any plan of generally improving the cottages of the poor, or of enabling more of them to keep cows, would evidently give them the power of rearing a greater number of children, and, by thus encouraging population, violate the principles which I have endeavoured to establish" (4.13.533).

36.34-35. **Repression of Population:** Malthus (see preceding note) does not use the word "repression," but in his *Essay on the Principle of Population* he frequently writes of population being "repressed" by famine and war. In *Sartor Resartus* Carlyle writes satirically of an "Institute for the Repression of Population" (3.4.167).

36.35. **Vote by Ballot:** Voting by secret ballot in parliamentary elections (rather than by publicly voicing one's choice as was the practice at the time) was first advocated by some Whigs in the late eighteenth century, and in the early nineteenth century Benthamite Radicals also pressed for vote by ballot. There was a provision for voting by ballot in the original draft of the Reform Bill of 1832, but it did not survive the process of revision.

36.35. **dyspepsia of Society:** See notes to 23.24-24.1 and 27.30.

37.2. **The Encyclopedists:** Those who wrote for the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Encyclopedia, or a systematic dictionary of the sciences, arts, and crafts, 1751-1780), one of the great achievements of the French Enlightenment. Edited chiefly by Denis Diderot (1713-1784)—about whom in 1833 Carlyle would publish a review essay—the *Encyclopédie* when complete in 1777 filled some thirty-five volumes that surveyed the range of human knowledge and in the process sought to undermine superstition and to elevate reason. Among those who wrote for the *Encyclopédie* were, in addition to Diderot, Jean le Rond d'Alembert, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Montesquieu. See also "Diderot" (*Essays on Literature* esp. 255-60).

37.7-9. **Napoleon was but a Job's-comforter, when he told his wounded Staff-officer, twice unhorsed by cannon balls, and with half his limbs blown to pieces: "*Vous vous écoutez trop!*":** "*Vous vous écoutez trop!*" is an idiomatic expression meaning "you indulge yourself too much." In the book

of Job, three friends who come to comfort Job after Satan causes him to lose his possessions, his children, and his health, argue that his losses are his own fault, the result of his sins (see Job 16.2); in other words, they seem to offer consolation but actually make Job feel worse. We have not been able to identify a source for the anecdote of the staff-officer.

37.14-15. **The gods of this lower world sit aloft on glittering thrones, less happy than Epicurus' gods:** Epicurus (341-270 B.C.) taught that one need not fear the gods because the gods are unaware of the existence of human beings and therefore unconcerned about human happiness or misery. Carlyle would quote this indictment of "the gods of this lower world" in the closing pages of *The French Revolution* (3:7.6.313).

37.18. **whited sepulchre:** See note to 34.6.

37.19-20. **Iron highways, with their wains fire-winged:** See note to 6.13.

37.20. **moles:** A mole is a structure of stone or masonry that serves as a pier, breakwater, or causeway. The word "mole" is also used to refer to the area of water bounded by such a structure so as to form a harbor or port.

37.28-30. **Countries are rich, prosperous in all manner of increase, beyond example: but the Men of those countries are poor, needier than ever of all sustenance outward and inward:** This sentence anticipates by more than a decade the opening of *Past and Present*:

> England is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition. With unabated bounty the land blooms and grows; waving with yellow harvests; thick-studded with workshops, industrial implements, with fifteen millions of workers understood to be the strongest, the cunningest and the willingest our Earth ever had; these men are here; the work they have done, the fruit they have realized is here, abundant, exuberant on every hand of us: and behold, some baleful fiat as of Enchantment has gone forth, saying, 'Touch it not, ye workers, ye master-workers, ye master-idlers; none of you can touch it, no man of you shall be the better for it; this is enchanted fruit!' (1.1.5)

37.31. ***Sic vos non vobis*:** Literally, "Thus you [work but] not for your-

selves." According to Donatus in his mid-fourth century *Life of Virgil*, Virgil wrote a distich in praise of Augustus, but a poetic plagiarist named Bathyllus stole the lines and the honor. To shame Bathyllus, Virgil then wrote beneath the stolen distich *Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores* (I wrote these lines; another claimed the credit) and then four times the words *Sic vos non vobis*, each the start of a poetic line, challenging the plagiarist to complete the lines. When Bathyllus could not do so, Virgil completed them himself and discredited the hapless thief. In March 1831, just months before Carlyle wrote this passage, he used Virgil's words in lamenting that "the principle *sic vos non vobis* [is] universal in the life of men" while "the tumult of years goes for nothing" (*Letters* 5:241).

37.35-36. **In one Country we have seen lava-torrents of fever-frenzy:** Likely an oblique reference to political upheavals in France, not only the Revolution of 1789-1795 but also the July Revolution of 1830.

38.1-2. **To labour earnestly one month in raising wheat, and the next month labour earnestly in burning it:** During the summer and fall of 1830, rural England experienced the Swing Riots, the largest uprising of rural peasants in England since the Peasants' Revolt of the fourteenth century. Named for "Captain Swing," the nominal but likely fictitious leader, the riots erupted in protest of low wages, oppressive church tithes, and the threat to livelihood of mechanized threshing. Impoverished agricultural laborers burned corn-ricks and tithe-barns and destroyed threshing machines. Carlyle was acutely aware of this rural discontent, sympathetic to its causes but fearful of its results. Writing in September 1831, he observed, "All business at a stand; quite uncertain whether the Lords' House will pass that everlasting [Reform] Bill: certain that there *can* be no reformed Parliament returned sooner than about this time twelvemonth. There will be rick-burning I imagine as last winter. We live in the 'end of the days'" (*Letters* 5:402).

38.5. **a whole nosology of diseases:** "Nosology" is the systematic classification of diseases, or the branch of medicine devoted to such classification, or a treatise of such classification. Carlyle likely has in mind the *Synopsis Nosologiae Methodicae*, an early and influential systematic classification of disease written by William Cullen (1710-1790), a fellow Scot and long a professor of medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Carlyle would specifically mention "Cullen's nosology" in a letter of 1835 (*Letters* 8:48). Carlyle would use the term again in "Chartism" (below 118) and *The Life of Sterling* (6).

38.24. **'listens to itself':** See note to 37.7-9.

38.26. **Churches and their establishments:** The ecclesiastical system established and supported legally and financially by the state—for example, the Church of England.

38.28. **'live without God in the world':** A slightly modified version of Ephesians 2:12: "That at that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world."

38.35. **'Discourses on the Evidences':** Rather than having a particular book in mind, Carlyle may refer to commentaries on the evidence for Christianity like those to which he refers above (see 36.22 and note). Books in this tradition with titles that more closely match "Discourses on the Evidences" include Archibald Alexander, *A Preliminary Discourse on the Evidences of Christianity* (1831); Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), *Discourses on the Evidences of Revealed Religion* (1794); William Ellery Channing, *A Discourse on the Evidences of Revealed Religion* (1821). There is no evidence that Carlyle knew Alexander's book. Priestley's was widely reprinted and thus likely to have been familiar to Carlyle, at least as a title. Carlyle would write dismissively of Channing and other Unitarians in a letter to Emerson of 1835: "I never could make much of Unitarians; from the great Channing downwards there is a certain mechanical metallic *deadness* at the heart of all of them; rhetorical clangour enough, but no fruit for me" (*Letters* 6:240).

38.37. **the most enthusiastic Evangelicals:** "Evangel" means either the Christian gospel itself or one who preaches the gospel. Carlyle refers to contemporary religious groups, especially those influenced by the Methodist movement, which emphasized conversion experiences, reliance on Scripture, and missionary work. Many Evangelicals were Dissenters, but there was also an Evangelical movement within the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. The word "enthusiastic" retains here some of its early pejorative sense, of one who is irrational or quixotic or who is filled with ill-regulated or misdirected religious emotion or extravagance of religious speculation. Carlyle had firsthand encounters with charismatic evangelism in the person of his erstwhile friend Edward Irving (see note to 55.title). See also note to 52.38-53.2.

39.7-8. **Literature is but a branch of Religion:** In the 1820s, Carlyle

thought he had found in literature, especially German literature, a revitalized religion. In "Burns," he had claimed that "Poetry . . . is but another form of Wisdom, of Religion" (*Essays on Literature* 71) and in a letter written earlier in the same year he wrote this essay, he wrote that literature is "another name for . . . Religion" (*Letters* 5:250-51; see 254-55, *Note Books* 170-71). In "Taylor's Historic Survey of German Literature," also written in the year in which he wrote this essay, he had contended that "Literature is fast becoming . . . [a] Church" in which the man of letters is "Pope" (*Essays on German Literature* 464), and in his journal that spring he suggested, "Every man that writes is writing a new Bible; or a new Apocrypha; to last for a week, or for a thousand years" (*Note Books* 264). In the "Symbols" chapter of *Sartor Resartus,* Teufelsdröckh claims that "highest of all Symbols are those wherein the Artist or Poet has risen into Prophet, and all men can recognise a present God, and worship the same: I mean religious Symbols"; the poet, as literary creator of new religious symbols, becomes "a Hierarch, therefore, and Pontiff of the World" (3.3.165, 166). See also *Sartor* (1.11.60), *On Heroes* (5.134-36).

39.10-11. **subterranean and tartarean regions:** Tartarus is the dark region in the underworld of Greek and Roman mythology that, as described in the *Iliad* (8.12-18), is as far again below Hades as the earth is below heaven; it is sometimes used as an equivalent to the Christian hell. Like Milton before him (see *Paradise Lost* 2.69, 7.238), Carlyle was fond of the adjective "Tartarean," employing it, for example, in *Sartor Resartus* (2.7.121), "Memoirs of Mirabeau" (*Historical Essays* 197), and *The Life of Sterling* (16).

39.12. **Puffing:** See note to 7.32.

39.14-15. **'Babylon the mother of Abominations,' in very deed, making the world 'drunk' with the wine of her iniquity:** Revelation 17:2-5: "With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication: And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."

39.25. **View-hunting:** Carlyle's pejorative name for the self-conscious aesthetic excursions into nature made popular during the Romantic era. Carlyle criticizes certain types of Romantic literature and art that, in his view, revel in scenery for its own sake. This passage closely parallels one in *Sartor Resartus*, which Carlyle had written but not published when he wrote "Characteristics." In the chapter "Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh," Teufelsdröckh describes the mountains through which he wanders in the language of Romantic sublimity, but the English Editor juxtaposes to this paean to nature Teufelsdröckh's own following critique of Romantic self-consciousness: "'Some time before Small-pox was extirpated,' says the Professor, 'there came a new malady of the spiritual sort on Europe: I mean the epidemic, now endemical, of View-hunting. Poets of old date, being privileged with Senses, had also enjoyed external Nature; but chiefly as we enjoy the crystal cup which holds good or bad liquor for us; that is to say, in silence, or with slight incidental commentary: never, as I compute, till after the *Sorrows of Werter*, was there man found who would say: Come let us make a Description! Having drunk the liquor, come let us eat the glass! Of which endemic the Jenner is unhappily still to seek.' Too true!" (*Sartor* 2.6.116). See also note to 39.28-29 below.

39.26. **euphuistic:** See note to 16.37.

39.28-29. ***Sorrows of Werter*:** Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young Werther, 1774). Carlyle had written in "Goethe," "*Werter* . . . gave birth to a race of Sentimentalists, who have raged and wailed in every part of the world; till better light dawned on them, or at worst, exhausted Nature laid herself to sleep, and it was discovered that lamenting was an unproductive labour"; for Carlyle, Byron was the English version of Werther, "our English Sentimentalist and Power-man; the strongest of his kind in Europe; the wildest, the gloomiest, and it may be hoped the last" (*Essays on German Literature* 200). See also note to 39.25.

39.36. **every puny whipster draws out his pencil:** *Othello* 5.2.288-89: "I am not valiant neither, / But every puny whipster gets my sword."

39.38. **'wavy outline,' 'mirror of the lake,' 'stern headland':** Stock phrases in descriptions of landscape considered picturesque, a popular mode in the early nineteenth century.

40.1-2. **scarcely the Author of Waverley himself can tempt you not to**

skip: Sir Walter Scott's (1771-1832) first novel, *Waverley*, was published anonymously and his subsequent novels and stories were published as "by the author of Waverley" in order to sustain his anonymity. Among Scott's novels, *Waverley* and *Rob Roy* were notable for their picturesque descriptions of the Scottish Highlands. Carlyle admired Scott's ability to re-create the lives of men and women in the past, but he also disliked what he took to be the novels' frivolousness—views he would express in "Sir Walter Scott."

40.4-6. **Sterne's wish for a reader 'that would give up the reins of his imagination into his author's hands, and be pleased he knew not why, and cared not wherefore':** Laurence Sterne (1713-1768), *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-1767): "I would go fifty miles on foot, for I have not a horse worth riding on, to kiss the hand of that man whose generous heart will give up the reins of his imagination into his author's hands—be pleased he knows not why, and cares not wherefore" (3:12.144).

40.8-9. **Kames and Bossu:** Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), author of *Elements of Criticism* (1762), and René le Bossu (1631-1680), author of *Traité de poème épique* (Treatise of the Epic Poem; 1675). Carlyle uses the two as examples of rationalist—and reductive—critics who attempt, without much success, to explain how and why a literary work affects us.

40.12-13. **the French carried out certain inferior creatures on their Algerine Expedition, to taste the wells for them:** Source of the anecdote not identified. The French invaded Algeria in June 1830, just before the collapse of the monarchy of Charles X in July 1830.

40.16. **Byron reckons the Reviewer and the Poet equal:** A reference to the satire "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" (1809) by Byron (see note to 19.15), which laments the equal status of critics and poets:

> To these young tyrants by themselves misplaced,
> Combined usurpers on the Throne of Taste;
> To these when Authors bend in humble awe
> And hail their voice as Truth, their word as Law;
> While these are Censors, 'twould be sin to spare;
> While such are Critics, why should I forbear?
> But yet so near all modern worthies run,
> 'Tis doubtful whom to seek, or whom to shun;

> Nor know we when to spare, or where to strike,
> Our Bards and Censors are so much alike. (83-92)

The epigraph to Byron's poem quotes a similar sentiment from Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* (1711): "Such shameless Bards we have; and yet 'tis true, / There are as mad, abandon'd Critics too" (611-12).

40.17. **at the last Leipzig Fair, there was advertised a Review of Reviews:** The city of Leipzig in Germany hosted for centuries—and still hosts—a major book fair. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, the organizers of the Leipzig book fair published a comprehensive catalog of current books, though no book or journal of this specific title has been identified. Carlyle may be referring to a German title seen in the comprehensive catalog.

40.18-19. **all Literature has become one boundless self-devouring Review:** Throughout the late 1820s and into the 1830s, Carlyle expressed impatience with the task of reviewing others' books and longed to write and publish books of his own. See, for example, *Letters* 4:422-23.

40.25-26. **'the end of man,' it was long ago written, 'is an Action, not a Thought':** This statement is adapted from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 1.3: "The end aimed at is not knowledge but action," an idea reiterated in *Ethics* 10.9: "Where there are things to be done the end is not to survey and recognize the various things, but rather to do them." This assertion became a hallmark of Carlyle's thinking. See, for example, *Wotton Reinfred*: "*The end of man is an action, not a thought*, says Aristotle; the wisest thing he ever said"(13), and *Sartor Resartus*: "Hadst thou not Greek enough to understand thus much: *The end of Man is an Action, and not a Thought*, though it were the noblest?" (2.6.118).

40.31. **asking himself, What am I; and Whence; and Whither?:** Diogenes Teufelsdröckh asks the same questions, much elaborated, in *Sartor Resartus*, which Carlyle had drafted shortly before writing this essay (1.8.41-43).

41.1-2. **what Theorem of the Infinite can the Finite render complete?:** Carlyle continues to evoke the themes of his recently drafted *Sartor Resartus* (2.8.40-44; see preceding note).

41.3-4. **the illimitable ocean of the All:** An echo of what Satan, Sin, and Death see as they look out the gates of hell in Milton's *Paradise Lost*: "Before thir eyes in sudden view appear / The secrets of the hoary deep,

a dark / Illimitable Ocean without bound, / Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth / And time and place are lost" (2.890-94).

41.7-8. **A region of Doubt, therefore, hovers forever in the background; in Action alone can we have certainty:** This assertion, central to Carlyle's thinking throughout his career but especially in the years in which he wrote *Sartor Resartus*, has its source in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*: "Doubt of any kind can be removed by nothing but activity" (1:386).

41.13. **our eldest system of Metaphysics is as old as the *Book of Genesis*:** Biblical scholars place the composition of the Book of Genesis between 950 and 450 B.C.

41.19. **Dogmatical or Constructive metaphysics:** In addition to the Book of Genesis, Carlyle may place in this category the myths of the ancient Greeks, as well as the early works of such ancient philosophers as Pythagoras, Plato, Parmenides, Heraclitus, and Democritus.

41.22. **Sceptical or Inquisitory Metaphysics:** Carlyle's shorthand for the sort of rational inquiry characteristic of the French and Scottish Enlightenment in the mid-to late eighteenth century.

41.27. **Pyrrhonism from Pyrrho down to Hume:** Pyrrho of Elis (360?-270 B.C.) and his disciples claimed that truth and certitude could never be established because the reality of things is inaccessible to the human mind; those who profess to offer truth and certitude are self-deceivers who also deceive others. Therefore, the only honest response in the face of an unknowable universe is to doubt all things and to suspend judgment about them. Interest in Pyrrhonian skepticism reappeared in Europe in the sixteenth century; Montaigne was very much aware of Pyrrho's approach to knowledge. By the seventeenth century the term "Pyrrhonism" was used as a synonym in English for a thoroughgoing skepticism. The skepticism of David Hume (see note to 9.30) is often referred to as a type of Pyrrhonism. See Carlyle's comments about Scotch Metaphysicians, the school of Reid, and David Hume in "Signs of the Times" (above 9.24-25 and note).

41.38-42.2. **Our being is made up of Light and Darkness, the Light resting on the Darkness, and balancing it; everywhere there is Dualism, Equipoise:** Here as elsewhere in his work, Carlyle's thinking echoes precepts of Manichaeism, a third-century dualistic theology which posits an

eternal conflict between light and darkness, good and evil, spirit and body. According to Manichaean teaching, the body belongs to Satan and the soul to God; corporeal life is the eternal struggle to be free of darkness and to return to light. Although it is not clear whether Carlyle had any direct knowledge of Manichaeism, he could have adopted this viewpoint from Calvinism, which some commentators link to Manichaeism, especially because of the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity. This passage may also refer to Genesis 1:2-3: "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light."

42.2-3. **'where shall I place myself to escape from my own shadow':** The German idiom "über meinen eignen Schatten springen"—to jump over one's shadow—is used to suggest something that is very difficult or impossible to do, to escape from one's self, to become something other than what one is, to act differently from one's ingrained nature. Carlyle likely has in mind Goethe's distich, "Was lehr ich dich vor allen Dingen? / Möchte über meinen eignen Schatten springen!" (*Zahme Xenien*, *Werke* 4:519), which he would translate a year later in "Goethe's Works" as "'What shall I teach thee, the foremost thing?' / Could'st teach me off my own Shadow to spring" (*Essays on German Literature* 606). See also *Sartor Resartus* 2.6.118 and note.

42.4-5. **to environ, and shut in, or as we say, *comprehend* the mind:** By italicizing the word "*comprehend*," Carlyle calls attention to the metaphor its etymology reveals: the word derives from the Latin "comprehendere," to grasp or seize or entrap, though by the nineteenth century "comprehend" had come to mean take in or understand—to seize with the mind. In what follows (see next note), Carlyle makes the metaphor literal by having the Irish saint seize his own head with his teeth.

42.7-8. **The Irish Saint swam the Channel 'carrying his head in his teeth':** According to legend in Dumfries and Galloway, when hostile natives of Glenapp in Scotland cut off St. Patrick's head, the saint picked it up and quietly walked southwest to Portpatrick, where he plunged into the Irish Channel and, holding his head in his teeth, swam safely to the opposite shore. Carlyle may have heard the story as a boy in Ecclefechan, less than one hundred miles east of Portpatrick.

42.33. **Paradises, . . . Lubberland:** Carlyle may be recalling features of

paradise as described in the Koran, in which rivers of wine are described (Sura 47:15); he first encountered descriptions of the Islamic paradise in Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788). "Lubberland," which the OED traces to the late sixteenth century, refers to an imaginary land of plenty without labor. In *Sartor Resartus,* Diogenes Teufelsdröckh rejects the allure of "a whole celestial Lubberland" (2.7.122-23).

43.3-5. **Evil, . . . is precisely the dark, disordered material out of which man's Freewill has to create an edifice of order:** Another concept suggestive of Manichaean theology as it came down to Carlyle in Calvinist theology (see note to 41.38-42.2).

43.10. **It is by Faith that man removes mountains:** See 1 Corinthians 13:2: "And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."

43.15-16. **The true wretchedness lies here:** The remainder of this paragraph corresponds in less metaphorical language to the dark mood of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh in "The Everlasting No" (*Sartor* 2.7.121-24).

43.20-22. **he feel himself crushed under the Juggernaut wheels, and know that Juggernaut is no divinity, but a dead mechanical idol:** "Juggernaut" is an anglicized version of a Sanskrit word used as a title of Krishna, whose statue, it was said, so excited his worshippers when it was drawn upon a large car during religious festivals that they threw themselves under its wheels and were crushed. Though this version of events is suspect, Juggernaut came to refer in English to an institution or practice to which persons blindly devote themselves or are ruthlessly sacrificed, as well as to a relentless, unstoppable force itself. In *Sartor*, Teufelsdröckh figures the "dead mechanical idol" as "one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead indifference, to grind me limb from limb" (*Sartor* 2.7.124).

43.27-28. **'ground-plan of the All':** See also *Sartor Resartus*, where Teufelsdröckh asks, "Did the Maker take [scientists] into His counsel; that they read His ground-plan of the incomprehensible All; and can say, This stands marked therein, and no more than this?" (3.8.188).

43.33. **Werterism: "**Werterism" (or more commonly "Wertherism") was

the cultural phenomenon that followed the publication of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (see note to 39.28-29). According to the OED, this essay introduced the term into English as a pejorative reference to a fad of morbid sentimentality and melancholy.

43.34. **Byronism:** Carlyle's pejorative term for the cultural phenomenon generated by the poetry and personality of Byron (see note to 19.15); "Byronism," for Carlyle, was an amalgam of self-indulgent moodiness, rebellious posturing, picturesque misery, self-conscious melancholy, and a pervasive ironic attitude toward the world and its follies. In this judgment Carlyle assumes that Byron's personality and that of his poetic personae were identical. As this passage suggests, Byronism was akin to Werterism; however, Carlyle felt that Goethe "outgrew" the adolescent attitudes of his hero, while he thought that Byron did not live long enough to develop a mature, productive worldview.

43.34. **Brummelism:** "Brummelism" is the cultural phenomenon sparked by George Bryan "Beau" Brummell (see note to 15.13-14) and his fellow dandies' example and marked by a superficial emphasis on an elegant and fashionable outward appearance. As Carlyle notes in *Sartor Resartus*, "A Dandy is a Clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office, and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes" (3.10.200). The earliest instance of the word cited by the OED is from 1828; we have found none earlier and it was still unusual when Carlyle wrote this essay.

44.9-10. **wide-wasting Whirlwind of a departing Era:** Whirlwind was a favorite word of the Biblical prophets (in the King James Version) as an image of God's power. See, for example, the famous warning in Hosea 8:7: "For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind." Writing of the French of the 1770s, Carlyle in *The French Revolution* would claim, "Ye and your fathers have sown the wind, ye shall reap the whirlwind" (1:2.6.48).

44.19. **'questionings of Destiny':** In "Goethe's Helena," Carlyle had written that "there is misery here, nay, as Goethe has elsewhere wisely remarked, the beginning of madness itself. It is only in the sentiment of companionship that men feel safe and assured: to all doubts and mysterious 'questionings of destiny,' their sole satisfying answer is, *Others do and suffer the like*" (*Essays on German Literature* 149). We have not been able to identify a source for this quotation.

44.22. **Place-hunter:** A person who persistently seeks a job in government service, usually for self-advancement rather than from civic purpose.

44.28-29. **The lower, yet still an estimable class, take up with worn-out Symbols of the Godlike:** Nineteenth-century clergy who have devoted their lives to ritual practices and stories of a worn-out Christianity. As Teufelsdröckh observes (even more circumspectly) in *Sartor Resartus*, "As Time adds much to the sacredness of Symbols, so likewise in his progress he at length defaces, or even desecrates them; and Symbols, like all terrestrial Garments, wax old. . . . Alas, move whithersoever you may, are not the tatters and rags of superannuated worn-out Symbols (in this Ragfair of a World) dropping off everywhere, to hoodwink, to halter, to tether you; nay, if you shake them not aside, threatening to accumulate, and perhaps produce suffocation!'" (3.3.165-66). Teufelsdröckh comments more openly on the decay of contemporary religion in the preceding chapter, "Church-Clothes" (3.2).

44.32-33. **nothing is certain in the world, except this fact of Pleasure being pleasant:** An indirect and dismissive reference to Utilitarianism (see notes to 5.16).

44.35-36. **the second nobler class, who also have dared to say No, and cannot yet say Yea:** Carlyle draws on the narrative of the life of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh in *Sartor Resartus*, in which, having rejected the Everlasting No, he has not yet affirmed the Everlasting Yea (see 2.7-9).

44.36. **Golgotha:** Golgotha (from an Aramaic version of the Hebrew word for *skull*) is the place where Jesus was crucified (see Matthew 27:33).

45.1. **'Divine Idea of the World':** In the "State of German Literature," Carlyle had written of Johann Fichte's (1762-1814) *Über die Aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen* (On the Aesthetic Education of Man, 1800): "According to Fichte, there is a 'Divine Idea' pervading the visible Universe; which visible Universe is indeed but its symbol and sensible manifestation, having in itself no meaning, or even true existence independent of it." Fichte thus depicts "Literary Men" as the "appointed interpreters of this Divine Idea" and the "dispensers and living types of God's everlasting wisdom" (*Essays on German Literature* 65). In "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again," Carlyle had applied this conception to Richter, contending that he must be considered "a Philosopher, though he promulgated no systems: for, on the whole, that 'Divine Idea of the World' stood in clear ethereal light

before his mind" (*Essays on German Literature* 388). The phrase appears also in *Sartor Resartus*, when Teufelsdröckh notes that "Church-Clothes [religious institutions and myths] . . . invested the Divine Idea of the World with a sensible and practically active body, so that it might dwell among them as a living and life-giving WORD" (3.2.158). See also *Sartor Resartus* 3.1.209, 3.2.214, 3.3.223, 3.10.272.

45.7. **Byron, in melodious tones, 'cursing his day':** Carlyle links the poet Byron (see note to 19.15) with the Biblical Job, who, in the midst of his afflictions, opened his mouth "and cursed his day" (Job 3:1).

45.9. **the mad Mahlstrom:** A powerful whirlpool (usually spelled Maelstrom) in the Arctic Ocean off the west coast of Norway, which was reputed to suck in and destroy all vessels within a wide radius. Carlyle uses the term here and elsewhere metaphorically, to indicate the turbulence and confusion that marks what he calls "the Chaos of Being" (*Historical Essays* 7).

45.10. **Hear a Shelley filling the earth with inarticulate wail:** Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), British poet, whom Carlyle later judged (in an 1852 letter to Robert Browning, a great admirer of Shelley) "an extremely weak creature, and lamentable much more than admirable. Weak in genius, weak in character (for these two always go together); a poor thin, spasmodic, hectic, shrill and pallid being . . . ; the very voice of him (his style &c), shrill, shrieky, to my ear has too much of the *ghost*" (*Letters* 27:65). About 1849, the poet and politician Richard Monckton Milnes recorded in his notebook a conversation in which Carlyle condemned Shelley as one who was "always mistaking spasmodic violence for strength. I know no more *urned* books than his. It is like the writing of a ghost, uttering infinite wail into the night, unable to help itself or anyone else" (Reid, *Milnes* 1:435-36).

45.11-13. **A noble Friedrich Schlegel, stupified in that fearful loneliness, as of a silenced battle-field, flies back to Catholicism:** The son of a Lutheran minister, Schlegel (see note to 23.3-8) converted to Catholicism in 1808. In the 1790s, he was a proponent of political and religious freedom, but he grew more conservative as he aged, seeking to harmonize his version of Romanticism with medieval theology. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Schlegel became a supporter of Metternich and the Holy Alliance, and in 1820 he became editor of the reactionary Catholic paper *Concordia*, which attacked his earlier radicalism.

45.14-15. **a poor Hazlitt must wander on God's verdant earth, like the Unblest on burning desert:** William Hazlitt (1778-1830), liberal English essayist and literary critic, was as well-known in his time for what were seen as the indiscretions of his private life as for such works as "My First Acquaintance with Poets" (1823) and *The Spirit of the Age* (1825). The public was scandalized when Hazlitt published *Liber Amoris or the New Pygmalion* (1823), an account of his obsessive love for Sarah Walker, the daughter of his London landlord, from 1820 to 1823, before he had yet divorced his first wife. A letter of 1824 reveals Carlyle's strong moral distaste for Hazlitt's character and behavior: "William Hazzlitt takes his punch and oysters and rackets and whore at regular intervals; escaping from bailiffs as he best can, and writing when they grow unguidable by any other means. He has married [lately] (for the second time, his first spouse [Sarah Stoddart] and the taylor's daughter [Sarah Walker] being both alive): I never saw him, or wished to" (*Letters* 3:139). Following Hazlitt's death in 1830, Carlyle was more charitable, judging him to be, like Byron and other writers of the Romantic era, a casualty of a tumultuous, confusing, faithless age: "Poor Hazlitt! He too, is one of the victims to the Moloch Spirit of this Time: a Time when Selfishness and Baseness, dizened out with rouge, and a little theatrical frippery, has fearlessly seated herself on high places, and preaches forth her Creed of Profit and Loss as the last Gospel for men . . . In Hazlitt, as in Byron and Burns and so many others in their degree, there lay some tone of the 'Eternal melodies,' which he could not fashion into terrestrial music, but which uttered itself only in harsh jarrings, and inarticulate cries of pain. Poor Hazlitt!" (*Letters* 5:183-184).

45.17. **Sophisms:** See note to 29.31.

45.27-29. **'As yet struggles the twelfth hour of the Night: . . . wilt cause the day to dawn!':** The final, apocalyptic words of the Vorrede (preface) to Richter's *Hesperus* (1795), which Carlyle understood to hint at the glimmering possibility of a new age of faith. Carlyle had quoted the same lines—differently translated—in "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again": 'But as yet struggles the twelfth-hour of the Night: nocturnal birds of prey are on the wing, specters uproar, the dead walk, the living dream" (*Essays on German Literature* 383-84).

46.3-4. **'Philosophies of Man,' contending in boundless hubbub, must annihilate each other:** Given its context, the wording "philosophies of man" suggests a generic phrase rather than a specific title, though Carlyle

may have had in mind Dugald Stewart (see note to 8.34), *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man* (1828); Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (1800), an English translation of *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-1791); or even George Combe, *Outlines of Phrenology, or of the Philosophy of Man* (1822). Combe's phrenological theories provoked spirited opposition from Sir William Hamilton (like Stewart a philosopher and professor at the University of Edinburgh), and in the late 1820s Carlyle was aware of their competing views, noting in a letter of 1828 that "Combe and Hamilton are still jarring on phrenology, and this in print" (*Letters* 4:363). Their dispute may be part of the "boundless hubbub" that Carlyle is addressing in this essay.

46.6. **Babylonish confusion of tongues:** See Genesis 11:1-9, which tells the story of how God foils the plan of the people of Babel to build a tower to heaven by confounding their speech—turning the original single human language into multiple languages that are mutually incomprehensible—so they could not understand one another and thus could not cooperate to build the tower. There is no reference to Babylon in the book of Genesis, but Babel is a variant spelling of Babylon, and the city is mentioned frequently in later books of the Old Testament.

46.9. **Friedrich Schlegel's *Lectures*:** See note to 23.3-8.

46.9. **Mr. Hope's *Essay*:** See note to 23.1.

46.32. **Schlegel's Work is the apotheosis of Spiritualism:** On the meaning of "spiritualism" as Carlyle uses it in this essay, see note to 25.36. Throughout his lectures (see 23.3-8 and note), Schlegel emphasizes the importance of spirit, noting at the start of the first lecture:

> Ein inneres Licht der geistigen Klarheit, oder des sich selbst klar gewordnen Geistes also, ist dieses Suchen und Finden der Wahrheit und der Wissenschaft, in welchem wir das Wort oder den Sinn des Lebens, als eines Ganzen entdecken und erblicken, und durch welches alle Kräfte, Eigenschaften und Vermögen der Seele nun auch wieder für das Leben neu gestärkt, innerlich erhöht, und fruchtbar verdoppelt werden. . . . Frey wie das Leben, und wie der frey erschaffene Geist selbst, immer neu und wunderbar biegsam und mannichfaltig, und unberechenbar verschie-

> denartig in der innern Structur und äussern Gestaltung sind die Wege des denkenden und wissenden Geistes. (For nothing less than an internal light of intellectual brightness, or of the spirit made clear to itself, is that search after truth and knowledge, by which we discover the key-word and true signification of life, as a whole. . . . Free as life and the free-formed spirit itself, ever new, wonderful, versatile, and infinitely varied, both in internal structure and external manifestation, are the ways of man's thinking and speculative spirit.) (2; trans. Morrison 343)

46.32-33. **Hope's again is the apotheosis of Materialism:** Hope's skeptical, rationalist method is evident from the first page of his essay, where he explains that he "advances . . . nothing as an absolute certainty. That of which man may be actually certain amounts to very little. It amounts, at most, only to a few actually present sensations, called, some, of the sense, others, of the mind; and each, unto the minutest, detached and disconnected even from the nearest neighboring sensations" (1). Later in the introduction, Hope modifies Descartes' famous dictum, "Cogito ergo sum" (I think, therefore I am) to what Hope takes to be a more appropriate "Sentio ergo sum" (I sense, I have sensation, therefore I am) (16). Hope's essay, itself influenced by Locke and Condillac, is an early attempt to postulate a materialist philosophy of man grounded in biology, with the human mind defined as a receptacle for the storage of sensations.

46.35-36. **a Disturbance (*Zerrüttung*) produced by the *Zeitgeist* (Spirit of Time):** In the fourth lecture (see 23.3-8 and note), Schlegel discusses the idea of Zeitgeist, writing: "Sondern es ist vielmehr der Geist, welcher die ganze aus ihren Fugen gerückte Zeit dieser Welt, zuerst veranlasst und hervor gebracht hat; also der Urheber der falschen Sinnen-Zeit überhaupt" (It is rather the very spirit that originally introduced the whole of that disjointed time. It is, therefore, the author of this fallacious world of sense) (108; trans. Morrison 409). While he does not use the word "Zerrüttung" in this passage, it appears elsewhere (e.g., 25).

46.38-47.1. **the other supposes Space and Time to be 'incessantly created,' and rayed in upon us like a sort of 'gravitation':** Hope numbers time, space, and quantity among "the very first, most simple, and most general" of "things created" (1:66). For Hope, time, space, and quantity are not fixed entities but are constantly being created: "As from the Almighty

bosom, of time ever advancing and of space ever growing, new portions must be continually poured forth, so likewise must from the first cause, of quantity and of every other modification, through the medium of time and space created or made to appear, new portions be continually made to flow" (106-7). Many chapters in Hope's book attempt to explicate his notion of gravitation as a propulsive, rather than an attractive, force. We have not located the phrase "incessantly created," but, as Carlyle only consulted the work briefly, it is likely he is indicating a general notion rather than a specific quotation.

47.12-13. **we could ask, as that mad pupil did of his tutor in Philosophy, "But whether is Virtue a fluid, then, or a gas?":** Not identified.

47.30-31. **the outcry of his being 'a renegade':** Schlegel was pilloried by German contemporaries following his turn from the political radicalism and religious freethinking of his youth (see notes to 23.3-8 and 45.11-13). The label "renegade" may also owe something to the title of E. T. A. Hoffman's 1803 opera *Der Renegat* ("The Renegade").

47.33-35. **a high, far-seeing, earnest spirit, to whom 'Austrian Pensions,' and the Kaiser's crown, and Austria altogether, were but a light matter:** Carlyle downplays the significance of Schlegel's conversion to Catholicism—anathema for Carlyle in different circumstances—and his connection both to Archduke Charles (1771-1847) of Austria, whom Schlegel served as secretary in 1809, and to Charles's older brother, Franz (1768-1835), who became Emperor (Kaiser) Franz I of Austria in 1804 and who later granted Schlegel a pension for his services. Schlegel's apostasy—his "abandonment" of his Protestant heritage and his support for the Catholic Austrian empire—likely gave Carlyle pause, despite Carlyle's admiration for Schlegel's ideas. Among those who attacked Schlegel's romanticism and his Catholicism were Heinrich Voss (1751-1826), a professor of philology, a poet, and an ardent rationalist who also derided the persons and ideas of other of the younger German Romantics. The 1841 defense of Schlegel by his Irish Catholic biographer, James Burton Robinson, suggests the nature of the critical attacks on Schlegel's integrity: "The pension, title, and dignity which Schlegel received at the hands of the Emperor of Austria, were the well-earned recompense of distinguished services, and not the badges of servility" (35-36).

47.37. **Holy of Holies:** See note to 28.19.

47.37-38. **Were the lost little one, as we said already, found 'sucking its dead mother, on the field of carnage':** See above, where Carlyle likens Schlegel's conversion to Catholicism to a child's flight back "to its slain mother's bosom" (45). The anecdote has its source in *The Arabian Nights*, Night 52, which presents the story of Princess Abrizah, who is betrayed and slain by a slave; after her death, her newborn son suckles at her breast.

48.1-4. **we see this last Work of Friedrich Schlegel, the unwearied seeker, end abruptly in the middle; and, as if he *had not* yet found, as if emblematically of much, end with an 'Aber—,' with a 'But—!':** The lectures, as published in the book under review, conclude: "Das ganz vollendete und vollkommne Verstehen selbst aber" (The very perfect and perfect understanding itself but) (313). On the following page, the editors write: "Der Engel des Todes entris dem Schreibenden die Feder! . . . Es war am Sonntag den 11. Januar 1829 Abends zwischen 10 und 11 Uhr, als er die Seiten dieser zehnten Vorlesung schrieb, die er bis zum Mittwoch den 14. vorzutragen Willens war. Dieselbe Nacht um 1 Uhr hatte er schon zu leben aufgehört" (The angel of death snatched the pen from the writer! . . . It was on Sunday, January 11, 1829, between 10:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m., when he wrote the pages of this tenth lecture, which he was wanting to present by Wednesday, the 14th. His life ended the same night at 1:00 a.m.). Schlegel's death affected Carlyle deeply, as noted in a contemporaneous entry in his *Note Books*: "Friedrich Schlegel dead at Dresden on the 9th [*sic*] of January!—Poor Schlegel what toilsome *seeking* was thine: thou knowest now whether thou hadst *found*—or thou carest now for knowing!" (135).

48.13. **the First Cause is figured as a huge Circle:** See Hope 1:12, 84-85.

48.16. **'gravitation,' direct or reflex, 'in more or less central globes':** See Hope 1:306-8. Once again, these are not exact quotations but employ Hope's vocabulary.

48.29. **our love and sorrowing reverence for the writer of *Anastasius*:** Both Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle enjoyed reading Hope's (see note to 23.1) *Anastasius; or, Memoirs of a Greek Written at the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (1819), a widely popular romance. In a letter of December 1822, early in their courtship, Thomas recommended Hope's novel: "In this 'Anastasius,' I hope you will find something to amuse you, perhaps to instruct; it will at least give you the picture of a robust and vigorous mind, that has seen much, and that wants not some touches of poetry to

describe it eloquently, or some powers of intellect to reflect well upon it. I enjoyed Anastasius, the 'oriental Gil Blas' very much. Let no man despair that has read this book! In the year 1810 Mr Thomas Hope brought forth a large publication upon fire-screens and fenders and tapestry and tea-urns and other upholstery matters which seemed to be the very acme of dulness and affectation: ten years afterwards he names himself the author of a book which few living authors would be ashamed to own" (*Letters* 2:228).

48.36. **And shall Evil always prosper, then?:** A common biblical question and lament. See, for example, Psalms 37:7, 73:3, and 94:3, as well as Job 21:7.

48.37. **Out of all Evil comes Good:** One source of this classical Christian consolation is Augustine, in chapter 26 of his *Enchiridion*.

48.38-49.1-3. **we stand yet in the bodeful Night; equally deep, indestructible is our assurance that the Morning also will not fail. Nay, already, as we look round, streaks of a dayspring are in the east: it is dawning; when the time shall be fulfilled, it will be day:** Carlyle echoes the apocalyptic language of Richter in the introduction to *Hesperus* (see note to 45.27-29). The passage also echoes verses from Isaiah 21:12 and John 9:4.

49.6. **he who runs may read:** See Habakkuk 2:2.

49.23. **Life-in-Death:** The "Night-mare LIFE-IN-DEATH" is the ghastly female figure who gambles with Death for the souls of the crew in Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798). As described by Coleridge, Death itself is preferable to Life-in-Death, a frightful embodiment of suspended animation: "Her skin was as white as leprosy, / The Night-mare LIFE-IN-DEATH was she, / Who thicks man's blood with cold" (192-194).

49.34. **As Phlogiston is displaced by Oxygen:** In ancient Greek science, phlogiston is the substance supposedly contained in combustible material and released during the process of combustion. Phlogiston theory, first hypothesized with that name in the seventeenth century, was "displaced" by the oxygen theory of combustion, the shift occurring in the 1770s through the experimental research of Antoine-Laurent de Lavoisier, who identified oxygen as the element necessary for combustion.

49.34-35. **the Epicycles of Ptolemy by the Ellipses of Kepler:** The ancient

Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy (100?-170?) used the concept of epicycles to explain observed variations of speed and direction in the apparent movement of the sun, moon, and planets—a concept necessary because he postulated a geocentric model of the universe. Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), Czech mathematician and astronomer, accepted the heliocentric model of Copernicus and was able to dispense with Ptolemy's epicycles by establishing that the planets revolved around the sun in elliptical, not circular, orbits.

50.1-2. **Truth, in the words of Schiller, *immer wird, nie ist;* never *is*, always *is a-being*:** In fragments of his late letters ("folgenden Fragmenten seiner damaligen Briefe"), Schiller writes: "Wenn man die Kunst, so wie die Philosophie, als etwas, das immer wird und nie ist, also immer dynamisch, und nicht, wie sie es jetzt nennen, atomistisch, betrachtet, so kann man gegen jedes Product gerecht seyn, ohne dadurch eingeschränkt zu warden" (If one views art, like philosophy, as something that always becomes and never is, as always dynamic, and not, as they call it now, atomistic, then one can be fair to any production without being limited) (*Sämmtliche werke* 1:liv-lv). Carlyle mentions this aphorism in a journal entry of March 1822: "Nine tenths of our reasonings are *artificial* processes, depending not on the real nature of things but on our peculiar mode of viewing things, and therefore varying with all variations both in the kind and extent of our perceptions. How is this? Truth *immer* WIRD *nie* IST?" (*Note Books* 4).

50.4. **Pyrrhonism:** See note to 41.27.

50.8. **'moonlight of memory':** Carlyle borrows the phrase from Richter's *Leben des Quintus Fixlein* (Life of Quintus Fixlein, 1796), which Carlyle translated in *German Romance* (2:227).

50.12-13. **to speak in the German dialect:** An allusion to the metaphysical language Carlyle associated with the German Romantic philosophers and writers.

50.14-16. **Time itself reposes on Eternity: the truly Great and Transcendental has its basis and substance in Eternity; stands revealed to us as Eternity in a vesture of Time:** This statement presents in a nutshell a major theme of *Sartor Resartus*, most of which he had written in the months before writing "Characteristics." See especially the sections of

Sartor that articulate the "Clothes Philosophy" of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, as well as the chapter "Natural Supernaturalism" (*Sartor* 3.8).

50.32-33. **new omnipotence of the Steam-engine:** The steam engine appears more ominously in "The Everlasting No" chapter of *Sartor Resartus*, where Teufelsdröckh in his despair describes the universe—"all void of Life, of Purpose, of Volition, even of Hostility"—as "one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead indifference, to grind me limb from limb" (2.7.124). See also "Signs of the Times" (above 6).

50.34. **economical distresses, those barnyard Conflagrations themselves:** See note to 38.1-2.

50.38-51.1. **Must the indomitable millions, full of old Saxon energy and fire, lie cooped up in this Western Nook:** In both "Chartism" and *Past and Present*, Carlyle would develop the idea of Saxon energy and action as well as the desirability of the English bursting forth from their "Western Nook" to colonize the world. See the chapters "New Eras" and "Impossible" in "Chartism" (see below 104-15, 120-30) and the chapters "The English" and "Captains of Industry" in *Past and Present* (3.5, 4.4).

51.2. **a Blackhole of Calcutta:** The punishment cell at the barracks in Fort William, in the Indian city of Calcutta (now Kolkata), in which, on June 19, 1756, after the fall of the fort during a fierce attack by the Nawab of Bengal against forces of the East India Company, sixty-four British and Anglo-Indian soldiers and civilians were confined overnight in crowded conditions, only twenty-one surviving until the morning. "Blackhole of Calcutta" became a byword among the English for a terrible, confining place.

51.3-4. **If the ancient Captains can no longer yield guidance, new must be sought after:** In *Past and Present*, Carlyle would suggest that the old landed aristocracy will be superseded by the new "Captains of Industry," poised to lead England into a productive future. See, for example, *Past and Present* 3.8 and 4.4.

51.12-13. **The fever of Scepticism must needs burn itself out, and burn out thereby the Impurities that caused it:** Carlyle employs a medical language whose origins stretch back to the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates, in which fever is imaged as a fire that burns away the impurities that have upset the balance of a healthy body. In eras before the modern development of anti-inflammatories, patients could be cooled for comfort

but the fever would naturally and necessarily continue until it "burns itself out." Carlyle's language also suggests the burning away of impurities in the process of smelting metal ores.

51.26-28. **English or French Metaphysics . . . are not what we allude to here; but only the Metaphysics of the Germans:** Carlyle reduces early nineteenth-century British and French philosophy to negative critique; he identifies the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century work of such German thinkers and writers as Kant, Schiller, Friedrich and August Schlegel, Fichte, Richter, and Novalis with a positive rethinking of human beings and the world.

51.31. **Pyrrhonism of Hume:** See note to 41.27.

51.32. **Materialism of Diderot:** Denis Diderot (see note to 37.2), as editor of the *Encyclopédie*, sought throughout that work to undermine what he considered superstition and to advance the cause of reason, always seeking rational explanations for complex phenomena and (both implicitly and explicitly) denying explanations grounded in religion or spiritualism. Carlyle grudgingly admired Diderot's intelligence and energy but rejected his atheism and his mechanistic view of the universe, as would be evident in his essay "Diderot."

51.38-52.2. **that wide-spreading, deep-whirling vortex of Kantism, so soon metamorphosed into Fichteism, Schellingism, and then as Hegelism, and Cousinism, perhaps finally evaporated:** Carlyle summarizes the transformations in metaphysics from the rethinking of time and space of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) to the subsequent versions of Idealism in Johann Fichte (see note to 45.1), Friedrich Schelling (1775-1854), Georg Hegel (1770-1831), and the French thinker Victor Cousin (see note to 8.30-31). Though never a primary influence on Carlyle's thinking, Kant had been in his mind since at least 1821, when he attempted to read the first of Kant's critiques, the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781); however, marginalia in his copy of the book suggests that he did not finish it. By 1831, Carlyle had wearied of the complexities of metaphysics, though he acknowledged the work its theorists had done in demonstrating (to Carlyle's satisfaction) the limitations of eighteenth-century rationalism and materialism. See also note to 45.1.

52.5-6. ***Free*-thinker no longer means the Denier or Caviller:** Especially when capitalized as here, "Free-thinker" was used in England throughout

the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to refer pejoratively to those, particularly of the French and Scottish Enlightenment, who rejected—"denied"—orthodox Christianity in the name of rationalism. Of Voltaire, Carlyle had written: "His task was not one of Affirmation, but of Denial" ("Voltaire," *Essays on Literature* 123; see 87, 104). In "Goethe's Helena," he notes that Mephistopheles "calls himself the Denier, and this truly is his name" and goes on to compare him to Voltaire. In "Diderot" (see note to 51.32), the essay that would follow "Characteristics," Carlyle would insist: "So that we cannot call him a Sceptic; he has merited the more decisive name of Denier" (*Essays on Literature* 266).

52.11-12. **Utilitarianism, or Radicalism, or the Mechanical Philosophy:** See note to 5.16.

52.15-16. **What sound mind among the French, for example, now fancies that men can be governed by 'Constitutions':** Carlyle's critique of French fascination with written constitutions (see note to 35.6-7) would culminate in his depiction in *The French Revolution* of the repeated efforts of the French to write a constitution that could rein in competing interests and quell the violence of the Revolution. Two chapter titles of the second volume, "The Constitution," articulate the impossibility of the task: "Constitution Will Not March" (2:5.7) and "Constitution Burst in Pieces" (2:6.8).

52.22. **the infinite gulf of human Passion shivered asunder the thin rinds of Habit:** The wording is Carlyle's own, though the sentiment owes much to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, especially to the passages detailing the October Days of 1789, when a crowd of angry Parisians, many of them women, rushed the palace at Versailles and forced the king and queen to accompany them back to Paris. Burke wields his most impassioned rhetoric to warn his readers that when "the decent drapery of life is to be rudely torn off," boundless human passion will overwhelm the structures of society designed to contain it (239). As Carlyle would note in a letter to John Stuart Mill of January 1833, when he was beginning the research that would result in *The French Revolution*, during the Revolution, "the 'thin rind of Habit' was utterly rent off; and man stood there, with all the powers of Civilization, and none of its rules to aid him in guiding these" (*Letters* 6:302).

52.24. **sanscullotic:** Adjectival form of "sansculotte," meaning "without breeches" and referring to an extreme republican or revolutionary of

the poorer classes—that is, one who wore trousers rather than the knee breeches of the aristocrat. In *The French Revolution,* Carlyle would play upon the name to imply the "nakedness" of the revolutionaries who have taken off the garments of culture and civilization (see preceding note). Carlyle plays on its literal meaning to develop one aspect of the clothes metaphor in *Sartor* (see 1.3.16).

52.38. **"Go to, I will make a Religion":** Carlyle may have in mind Claude Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon (see note to 96.38), whose theories of social organization and transformation persuaded his followers that their leader's ideas were in fact a new religion.

52.38-53.2. **In England still more strangely; as in all things, worthy England will have its way: by the shrieking of hysterical women, casting out of devils, and other 'gifts of the Holy Ghost':** As Carlyle notes in "Signs of the Times," during the mid- to late 1820s, a time of increasing social and political tension in Britain, "it was to be expected that the rage of prophecy should be more than usually excited" (above 5). Dynamic preachers, among whom was Carlyle's friend and early mentor Edward Irving (see note to 55.title), foretold the imminent Second Coming of Christ; the phenomenon of speaking in tongues spread through and beyond Irving's congregation, with many coming to believe in such signs as divine, prophetic gifts associated with healing. The practice of speaking in tongues (see note to 57.22) derives from the account in Acts of the Apostles: "While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word. And they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. / For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God (10:44-46). Irving's emotional, charismatic phase was still in the ascendant as Carlyle wrote "Characteristics," though Carlyle was highly skeptical of it and tried to persuade him to step away from its excesses.

53.2-4. **Well might Jean Paul say, in this his twelfth hour of the Night, 'the living dream;' . . . 'the dead walk':** See note to 45.27-29.

53.10. **'We are near awakening when we dream that we dream':** Novalis, *Schriften* 2:103. One of the aphorisms of Novalis (see note to 24.32-33), whom Carlyle quotes earlier in "Characteristics" (see note to 24.32-33). Carlyle included this fragmentary aphorism—in his own translation, as here—in his essay "Novalis" (*Essays on German Literature* 324).

53.16. **the name of the Infinite is Good, is God:** Carlyle suggests by this phrasing that the words "Good" and "God" derive from the same root word, but the OED dismisses this notion as faulty etymology, noting, however, that the linking of the two was and is common in Scots.

53.20. **'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might':** Ecclesiastes 9:10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

53.21. **Six Thousand Years of human effort:** Carlyle invokes a widely accepted chronology of human history developed by Bishop James Ussher of the Church of Ireland, who, working from the generations listed in the Bible, calculated the creation as having occurred in 4004 B.C., roughly six thousand years before Carlyle's writing.

53.23. **Eldorados:** El Dorado (Spanish for "the golden one") is a term that has been used to describe first a man and then a place—most often a lost city—somewhere in South America. By 1830, the name "El Dorado" was used to refer to a mythic—rather than actual—realm of immense riches.

53.26-27. **'My inheritance how wide and fair! Time is my fair seed-field, of Time I'm heir':** From the verses prefixed to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*: "Mein Erbtheil wie herrlich, weit und breit! / Die Zeit ist mein Besitz, mein Acker ist die Zeit." In his translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, Carlyle rendered the lines: "My inheritance, how wide and fair! / Time is my estate; to Time I'm heir" (2:193). He quoted and translated these lines several times; here his translation introduces "seed-field" in place of "estate." See also *Sartor Resartus* (1.2.8), "Count Cagliostro" (*Historical Essays* 33), *French Revolution* (3:2.2.107), "Chartism" (below 88), *On Heroes* (156), *Past and Present* (3.11.195), *Letters* (5:200).

Notes to "Death of the Rev. Edward Irving."

55.title. **DEATH OF THE REV. EDWARDS IRVING:** Carlyle's essay appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* as the second of two anonymous eulogies of Edward Irving (for the first, by Bryan Waller Procter, see *Fraser's* 61 [1835]: 99-101). Carlyle would compose a much more substantial remembrance in his posthumously published *Reminiscences*. Irving's career is also discussed in the issue's opening piece, "The Fraserians; or, the Commencement of the Year Thirty-Five. A Fragment" (see 3-6). Edward Irving (1792-1834)

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Notes to "Death of the Rev. Edward Irving."

55.title. **DEATH OF THE REV. EDWARDS IRVING:** Carlyle's essay appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* as the second of two anonymous eulogies of Edward Irving (for the first, by Bryan Waller Procter, see *Fraser's* 61 [1835]: 99-101). Carlyle would compose a much more substantial remembrance in his posthumously published *Reminiscences*. Irving's career is also discussed in the issue's opening piece, "The Fraserians; or, the Commencement of the Year Thirty-Five. A Fragment" (see 3-6). Edward Irving (1792-1834)

was a controversial Scottish minister who achieved notoriety in the 1820s and early 1830s. Carlyle first met Irving in 1815; Irving, who was three years older, was slightly ahead of Carlyle at Annan Academy and the University of Edinburgh. The two taught together for a time in a school in Kirkcaldy and became friends. It was Irving who urged Carlyle, in 1819, to make his name by writing for periodicals like *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh Review* (see *Letters* 1:217n3). In 1821, Irving introduced Carlyle to one of his former students, Jane Welsh of Haddington, whom Carlyle would marry five years later. Initially an assistant to the famed preacher Dr. Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow, Irving left Scotland in 1822 to take a position as minister of the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden, London, where his compelling oratory quickly brought him fame and celebrity. While on a visit to London in 1824, Carlyle wrote to Jane Welsh that Irving's "philosophy with me is like a gill of ditch-water thrown into the crater of Mount Ætna; a million gallons of it would avail me nothing. I receive his nostrums with a smile: he at length despairs of ever seeing me converted. On the whole, however, he is among the best fellows in London; by far the best that I have met with" (*Letters* 3:232-3). In the mid-1820s, much to Carlyle's dismay, Irving became increasingly obsessed with the interpretation of prophetic books of the Bible (see note to 57.21-22). In 1827, Irving and his congregation moved to a new and larger venue, the National Scotch Church in Regents Square, but in the late 1820s and early 1830s Irving's reputation and influence rapidly declined (see also note to 56.35-36). Irving's insistence that Christ's body and nature were human and thus subject to the same temptation and sin as are all humans resulted in charges of heresy and his expulsion from the Presbyterian Church. In the 1830s, Irving's validation of "speaking in tongues" among members of his congregation brought him ridicule and alienated him from his friends, including Carlyle (see note to 57.21-22). Irving's followers ultimately formed a separate sect, the Catholic Apostolic Church. Despite their differences, Carlyle and Irving remained friends; Irving last visited Carlyle in late October 1834, a few weeks before he died, on December 7 (see note to 58.1-2).

55.9. **'son of thunder':** See Mark 3:17: "And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; and he surnamed them Boanerges, which is, The sons of thunder."

55.18. **Herculean man:** See note to 207.2-3.

55.18. **our mad Babylon:** Babylon, the capital of the ancient Mesopotamian

kingdom of Babylonia and a city of great wealth, spectacular architecture, and pagan worship, became for some Christians a symbol of materialism, sensual pleasure, and degeneracy. The epithet "Babylon" was thus often applied rhetorically to large urban centers like Rome and London. The book of Revelation predicts the fall of Babylon as one of the signs of the millennium (see Revelation 14:8 and 18:2, 10, and 21); in his *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God* (1828), Irving asserted that the fall of Babylon was already underway.

55.19. **it took her twelve years:** Carlyle refers to Irving's time in London, 1822-1834.

55.19-20. **He sleeps with his fathers:** The phrase "thou shalt sleep with thy fathers" (meaning to join one's ancestors in death) occurs twice in the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 31:16 and 2 Samuel 7:12).

55.20. **that loved birth-land:** Irving, a native of Scotland, died in Glasgow and was buried in the Glasgow Cathedral.

56.2. **phantasmagory:** From phantasmagoria, an entertainment employing a combination of magic-lantern projections and other stage machinery to produce the illusion of the appearance of ghostly phantasms. The entry in the OED states that the performances began in France in 1798 and in England in 1802; however, we have found textual evidence of its use as early as 1793 in the *Feuille Villageoise* (Village Newspaper, 510). Carlyle had first used the term in the introduction to his translation of *Wilhelm Meister* (1:6), published in 1824, and repeated it in "Werner" (*Essays on German Literature* 92). In "Goethe's Helena," which was subtitled "klassisch-romantische Phantasmagorie," Carlyle first used the alternative form, "phantasmagory," on analogy with allegory, with which he contrasted it (*Essays on German Literature* 181; see 140). Subsequently, in the introduction to "The Tale," he had contrasted Goethe's "phantasmagoric adumbration" with Bunyan's allegory: "This is no Allegory; which, as in the Pilgrim's Progress, you have only once for all to find the key of, and so go on unlocking: it is a Phantasmagory, rather; wherein things the most heterogeneous are with homogeneity of figure, emblemed forth; which would require not one key to unlock it, but, at different stages of the business, a dozen successive keys" (*Essays* 2:448-49).

56.10. **Tithe Controversy:** Tithes were payments originally given "in kind" to the local parish and amounted to one-tenth of the produce harvested.

Initially a voluntary gift, over the centuries tithes became customary and then codified by law; after the Reformation, many tithes were paid to landowners rather than to the parish. By the early nineteenth century, in-kind payments had become burdensome and impractical for both farmers and the tithe collectors, and in many localities monetary payments were being substituted for in-kind tithes, though fixing the value of the monetary payment often led to disputes between farmers and tithe owners. Some farmers advocated the elimination of tithes altogether. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, Parliament debated the merits of legislating the conversion of tithes into rent payments, but it did not act until 1836. Carlyle may also refer to the campaign in Ireland against paying tithes that began after Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

56.10. **Encyclopedism:** The ideas and values of the *Encyclopédistes* of eighteenth-century France, who contributed to the thirty-five volume *Encyclopédie,* (see note to 37.2). The *Encyclopédistes* were drawn from the ranks of the philosophes (see note to 89.16), who valued free thought, scientific rationality, and progressive politics; among them were Voltaire and Rousseau as well as Diderot. Carlyle had criticized the encyclopedists in his essay on Voltaire:

> What Plough, or Printing-press, what Chivalry, or Christianity; nay, what Steam-engine, or Quakerism, or Trial by Jury, did these Encyclopedists invent for mankind? They invented simply nothing; not one of man's virtues, not one of man's powers, is due to them; in all these respects, the age of Louis XV. is among the most barren of recorded ages. Indeed, the whole trade of our *Philosophes* was directly the opposite of invention: it was not to produce, that they stood there; but to criticise, to quarrel with, to rend in pieces, what had been already produced;—a quite inferior trade; sometimes a useful, but on the whole a mean trade; often the fruit, and always the parent, of meanness, in every mind that permanently follows it. (*Essays on Literature* 126)

See also Carlyle's "Diderot," where he critiqued Diderot and Encylopedism as atheistic and polemical, a "Mechanical System of Thought" that "will admit no organ of truth but logic" (*Essays on Literature* 265).

56.11. **Catholic Rent:** Members of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association

(established in 1823) paid a "Catholic Rent" of one penny per month to finance the organization's activities in support of extending various civil rights to Catholics, including the right to serve as a member of Parliament. The efforts of the Catholic Association resulted in the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act, legislation that Irving vigorously opposed (see note to 4.31).

56.11. **Philanthropism**: Philanthropism refers to the many activities carried out by the voluntary societies that proliferated in the first half of the nineteenth century. Such societies took up a variety of issues, including the education of the poor, the easing of urban poverty, the propagation of Christianity, the abolition of slavery, and the improvement of medical care (see also note to 7.10-11). As David Owen has observed, "in such areas as medical relief, aid for the physically handicapped, relief of destitution and helplessness, the treatment of delinquency, the years 1820-1860 saw the energies of the philanthropist reach a high, almost a frenetic, pitch" (170).

56.11. **Revolution of Three Days**: The "July Revolution" in France (July 27-29, 1830), a crisis precipitated by the reactionary, ultra-royalist policies of Charles X and his supporters. It forced Charles X to abdicate and flee the country, and in his place the Duke of Orleans, Louis-Philippe, was made king. Edward Irving interpreted the July revolution as one more sign that the "last days" had begun: in an August 9, 1830, letter to Carlyle, his brother John reports that "Irving is beside me & he desires to be kindly remembered to you. These revolutions in France confirm his prophetic anticipations" (*Letters* 5:146n13).

56.24-26. **Annan Castle had become a Townhall; and Prophetic Knox had sent tidings thither: Prophetic Knox—and, alas, also Sceptic Hume; and, as the natural consequence, Diplomatic Dundas:** Carlyle offers a thumbnail sketch of the Scottish historical, religious, philosophical, and political context within which Irving was raised. Annan, a port town on Solway Firth in the southwest of Scotland, was Irving's birthplace. Annan Castle, a twelfth-century fortification, was the original home of the Bruce family, including Robert the Bruce; over time, the castle and its lairds were supplanted by the more mundane civic rule of the town hall. John Knox (see note to 309.title) led the Protestant reformation in Scotland and was largely responsible for the establishment of Presbyterianism as the national church of Scotland. Carlyle remarks in his *Reminiscences* that in Irving's time "Annandale itself was not an irreligious country, though Annan itself (owing to a drunken clergyman and the logical habits they cultivated)

was more given to sceptical free-thinking than other places" (1:81). On Hume, see note to 16.33. Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811), was a politically powerful figure in Scotland who held a variety of high-level positions in the British government, including Secretary of War (1794-1801) and First Lord of the Admiralty (1804-1806). In an 1831 letter, Carlyle refers to "the old Dundas system [as] having become noisome in the nostrils of all men" (*Letters* 5:294). As the editors of the *Letters* explain, Dundas and his son Robert (the 2nd viscount Melville) managed a "complex system of preferment and patronage [that] gave them almost complete control over Scottish political life" (5:294n3); Dundas exerted considerable influence over Scottish politics and was sometimes called the "Grand Manager of Scotland" and "King Harry the Ninth." It should be noted that from the mid-1820s on, Irving was friends with and influenced by the wealthy banker, M.P., and millennialist Henry Drummond, who was Henry Dundas's son-in-law (see note to 57.21-22).

56.34. **Novel-Cameronianism:** The Cameronians, a radical faction of the Scottish Covenanters, had been depicted by Walter Scott in such novels as *Old Mortality* (1816) and *Heart of Midlothian* (1818); they were named for and followers of Richard Cameron (1648-1680), who was, like Irving, a skilled orator and popular open-air preacher.

56.35-36. **Fashion crowded round him. . . Bacchic dances; breathed her foul incense on him; intoxicating, poisoning:** Bacchic dances are ecstatic rites honoring Bacchus, the Roman god of wine, who was associated with excess and fertility; the comparison invokes both the ecstatic speaking in tongues and the general response to Irving's preaching. Irving was an almost immediate sensation when he began preaching in London in July 1822. As William Hazlitt states in *The Spirit of the Age*, "Few circumstances show the prevailing and preposterous rage for novelty in a more striking point of view than the success of Mr. Irving's oratory. People go to hear him in crowds, and come away with a mixture of delight and astonishment. They go again to see if the effect will continue, and send others to try to find out the mystery" (11:38). Irving's fame and reputation were heightened by the number of high-profile politicians and literati attending his sermons. Because Irving drew crowds greater than the capacity of the Caledonian Chapel, a ticket system had to be devised to limit admission; construction of a larger church in Regents Square was completed in 1827. Carlyle repeatedly expressed concern about the effect of such popular acclaim on Irving; in an August 1823 letter, he remarks:

> On the whole I am sorry that Irving's preaching has taken such a turn. It had been much better, if without the gross pleasure of being a newspaper Lion and a season's wonder, he had gradually become, what he must ultimately pass for, a preacher of first rate abilities, of great eloquence and great absurdity, with a head fertile above all others in sense and nonsense, and a heart of the most honest and kindly sort. As it is, our friend incurs the risk of many vagaries and disasters, and at best the certainty of much disquietude. . . . With three newspapers to praise him and three to b[lame], with about six peers and six dozen right Honourables introduced to him every Sunday, tickets issuing for his church as if it were a theatre, and all the devout old women of the Capital treating him with comfits and adulation, I know that ere now he is 'striking the stars with his sublime head': well if he do not break his shins among the rough places of the ground! I wish we saw him safely down again, and walking as other men walk. (*Letters* 2:413-14)

56.38. **Syren songs:** The sirens of Greek mythology possessed irresistible singing voices that caused sailors to wreck their ships on the dangerous rocks nearby.

57.1-2. **sons of Mammon, and high sons of Belial and Beelzebub:** Figures of evil in the Bible. In the New Testament, Mammon stands for the pursuit of riches. Belial is a synonym for Satan, and translates as wickedness. Beelzebub, in the Old Testament a god of the Philistines, is identified as prince of the devils. In *Past and Present*, Carlyle would condemn "The Gospel of Mammonism" (3.2).

57.2. **gumflowers of Almack's:** Artificial flowers at Almack's Assembly Rooms in London; founded in 1765, Almack's was an exclusive social club that held highly fashionable weekly balls.

57.4-5. **Egyptian Crocodiles, Iroquois Hunters:** Crocodiles, along with other "exotic" animals, were exhibited in various venues in London during the 1830s. "Iroquois Hunters" may refer to various dramatic presentations that appeared under such titles as "The Iroquois Basket Maker" and "The Iroquois or the Indian's Oath."

57.10. **Circean draught:** In Greek myth, Circe was a sorceress who was able by means of drugs and incantations to change humans into wolves, lions, or swine.

57.11. **Bedlam:** In London, The Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, known as "Bedlam," was a notorious asylum for the insane.

57.21-22. **Prophecies of Millenniums:** Irving's interest in the millennium (see note to 5.14) began in earnest in 1825, when he gave his first public sermon on the subject. In the expanded, published version of this sermon, *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God: A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse Which Relate to These Latter Times, and until the Second Advent* (1826), Irving identifies the year 1868 as marking the commencement of the millennium (see note to 5.16-17). Irving's own subsequent published work on the millennium includes his 1827 translation of *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty* by Juan Josaphat Ben-Ezra (a pseudonym for Manuel Lacunza), to which he affixed a lengthy *Preliminary Discourse* further expounding his millennial theories. This was followed by two more millennial works: *The Last Days: A Discourse on the Evil Character of These our Times, Proving Them to be the "Perilous-Times" of the "Last Days"* and *The Signs of the Times* (see note to 3.4-5). In an 1830 letter to his brother John, who was staying at Irving's home in London, Carlyle lamented, "Would the Scotch Kirk but expel him, and his own better genius lead him far away from all Apocalypses and prophetic and theologic chimeras, utterly unworthy of such a head, to see the world as it here lies visible and is, that we might fight together, for God's *true* cause, even to the death!" (*Letters* 5:145).

57.22. **Gifts of Tongues:** Much more controversial than Irving's millennialist rhetoric was his subsequent embrace of speaking in tongues as an authentic manifestation of the Holy Spirit (see note to 52.38-53.2). Initially Irving thought that such manifestations would occur only after the Second Coming, but upon learning of and then investigating several instances of speaking in tongues that occurred in western Scotland in March 1830, Irving revised his interpretation, insisting now that such manifestations were signs of the impeding millennium and that such signs should be encouraged and embraced. By late 1831, members of Irving's congregation in Regents Square began speaking in tongues, and the controversy soon escalated, with wide coverage in the press. Carlyle mentions the speaking in tongues phenomenon several times in his letters, always with disapproval and often with concern for Irving's sanity. In September

1831, Carlyle wrote, "Edward Irving I meet with very often. He is kinder, stiller than usual; a very good man, and not at all what I can name an unwise one, tho' surely but ill-informed, with such a shrieking out at his prayer-meetings, and *clavering* downright jargon, which they name Gift of the Holy Ghost, and Speaking With Tongues!" (*Letters* 5:438). Much to their dismay, the Carlyles experienced the phenomenon firsthand in October, while visiting Irving at his home. As Jane Carlyle reports:

> A far worse Bedlam is poor Edward Irving's house where people are to be found at all hours '*speaking with tongues*' that is to say shrieking and howling in no tongue. I happened to be there one night just when a Lady was under the inspiration of 'the Spirit'; and the horrible sounds she made almost threw me who am not of hysterical temperament into a fit. I could not help crying all the way home. Indeed it is truly distressing to see a man of such talents and such really good and pious dispositions as Mr. Irving given up to an infatuation so absurd—ready to sacrifice to it his dearest friends, his reputation, all his worldly prospects. (*Letters* 6:35)

Thomas Carlyle reports having tried to convince Irving that these manifestations were "*no* special work of the Holy Spirit, or of any Spirit save of that black frightful unclean one that dwells in Bedlam," but to no avail. "For Irving himself the consequences frighten me," writes Carlyle. "That he will lose his Congregation seems calculated on by his friends: but perhaps a far darker fear is not out of the question; namely that he may lose his own wits" (*Letters* 6:41). For his own account of the speaking in tongues phenomenon, see Irving's three-part article in *Fraser's Magazine,* "Facts Connected with Recent Manifestations of Spiritual Gifts" (4 [1832]: 754-61; 5 [1832]: 198-205; 5 [1832]: 316-20).

57.22-23. **Orthodoxy prims herself into decent wonder, and waves her Avaunt!:** By 1833, owing to these controversies, Irving had lost both his position as minister of his Regents Square church and his standing as a Presbyterian minister, though the latter of these punishments was due primarily to his heretical stance on the human nature and body of Christ.

57.27-28. **His last words, they say, were: "In life and in death, I am the Lord's":** Carlyle's source for this information remains unidentified. Different versions of Irving's last moments circulated after his death. Carlyle

attests to the veracity of his source in a December 24, 1834, letter to David Hope, also a friend of Irving:

> Your account of poor Edward's last hours differs very considerably from that current here among his followers. They report speeches of his, etc., etc. I assure every one concerned, that *my* authority is one of the most punctual veracious men living, and that I will believe *him*. It were perhaps well, however, if you took a little pains to verify all that while it is still time: there may possibly enough some printed Narrative appear, when the contraction is not so ready, and so falsehoods will get themselves perpetuated. It is a very mournful thing for me to find how *universally*, except among his own sect, the noble Edward is regarded here, even by tolerant, reasonable men, as little better than an empty quack! Such is the nature of popularity: today in the clouds; to-morrow down in the gutter, and even there not low enough. (*Letters* 7:347)

Margaret Oliphant's biography gives a slightly different account of Irving's last words, as reported by his father-in-law: "The last sentence we could make out was, 'If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen'" (2:402). This is the version of his last words that appeared in Procter's eulogy published in conjunction with Carlyle's text (see note to 55.title).

57.29-58.6. **One who knew him well, . . . where Twilight has become Day!":** Carlyle refers to himself. Although the two were not introduced until 1815, Carlyle recalls in his *Reminiscences* that it was probably in April or May 1808 that he first saw Irving, a date that coincides with the text that follows (179).

57.36. **our Schoolmaster:** Adam Hope, the "Annan gerund-grinder" (*Letters* 1:319). See Carlyle's description of Hope in *Reminiscences* (173-78).

58.1-2. **The last time I saw him was three months ago:** This final meeting at Carlyle's home was a brief one, lasting only twenty minutes. Carlyle says in a note that "he was very friendly, calm and affectionate; spoke chivalrously courteous to Her [Jane Carlyle] (as I remember), 'Ah yes,' looking around the room; 'you are like an Eve, make every place you live in beautiful!' He was not sad in manner; but was at heart, as you

c*d* notice, serious, even solemn. Darkness at hand, & the weather damp, he c*d* not loiter. I saw him mount at the door; watched till he turned the first corner (close by the Rector's garden-door),—and had vanished from us for altog*r*. He died at Glasgow before the end of Dec*r* coming" (*Letters* 7:340-41). See also *Reminiscences* 304.

Notes to "Petition on the Copyright Bill"

59.1. **To the Honourable the Commons:** In 1837, Thomas Noon Talfourd (1795-1854), lawyer, author, and Member of Parliament, introduced a bill that would extend the term of copyright from the current length of twenty-eight years or the life of the author, whichever was longer, to life plus sixty years. The bill was opposed by proponents of free trade and failed to pass. Each year from 1837 to 1841 Talfourd introduced the bill without success. In 1842, after Talfourd lost his seat in Parliament, the bill was reintroduced by Philip Henry Stanhope, Lord Mahon. In its final form it provided forty-two years from publication or seven years beyond the author's death, whichever was longer. In 1839, Talfourd solicited support from many authors, including Wordsworth, Southey, and others. Carlyle at first declined to submit a petition but eventually consented (*Letters* 11:34, 37). His petition was presented to the House on May 1, 1839.

59.7-8. **Mr. Thomas Tegg:** The publisher Thomas Tegg (1776-1846) specialized in cheap reprints of works on which the copyright had expired; for this reason, Tegg opposed the bill.

59.22-23. **That this his labour has found hitherto, in money or monies' worth, small recompense or none:** Carlyle exaggerates somewhat. By 1839 he was receiving substantial income from the sales of *The French Revolution*. However, up to this time his primary income came from writing reviews, and he had been giving public lectures in order to augment his income. The fact that his collected essays (1838-1839) and *Sartor Resartus* (first English edition, 1838) were being published in book form for the first time gave him a greater interest than previously in protecting his copyrights.

60.26-27. **for a space of sixty years at shortest:** The proposed term of copyright in Talfourd's bill (see note to 59.1).

Notes to "Chartism"

63.1-2. **A feeling very generally exists that the condition and dispo-**

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Notes to "Chartism"

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sition of the Working Classes is a rather ominous matter at present: Newspaper coverage of Chartist violence and agitation (see next note) had been ongoing for some time prior to the publication of Carlyle's "Chartism" in December 1839. In the fall of 1838, the *Examiner* (to which the Carlyles subscribed) included several articles on the "Ultra-Radical Demonstrations" of the Chartists; headlines in December 1838 included "The Savage Agitation" and "The Incendiaries." Coverage of rioting in 1839 was extensive, particularly regarding the Birmingham riots in July and the Newport riots in November. A front-page article in the March 24, 1839, issue of the *Examiner* contains a typical assertion reflecting the "ominous" feeling that Carlyle refers to: "The spirit that characterizes the Chartists is a spirit of barbarism, and the readiness with which it contemplates the greatest of calamities, civil war, indicates the antagonism of its nature to civilization" (177). Similar leading articles appeared in the *Times* and other newspapers.

63.4-5. **the 'National Petition' carts itself in waggons along the streets, and is presented 'bound with iron hoops, four men bearing it':** The "National Petition," or "People's Charter," was the central political document of the Chartist movement. The Charter called for the adoption of six "points": universal suffrage (meaning the extension of the franchise to all men aged twenty-one and over who are not insane or incarcerated); voting by secret ballot; the elimination of the property qualification for membership in Parliament; the payment of members of Parliament; equal electoral districts; and the annual election of Parliament. The petition traveled throughout Great Britain, collecting by various reports well over one million signatures. The May 12, 1839, *Examiner* described the physical object: "The petition is a roll of paper, nearly three miles long . . . When rolled it appeared to be about four feet in diameter. It was girded round with hoops, and drawn in a van ornamented with ribbons and banners" (297). When presented to Parliament on June 14, 1839, by Thomas Attwood, M.P. for Birmingham, the document "appeared to have the circumference of a carriage wheel, and was rolled solidly round a straight axle, supported by transverse uprights at each end" (*Examiner*, June 16, 1839, 377). The following month, on July 12, the House of Commons voted 235-46 to reject even considering the petition.

63.5-6. **a Reformed House of Commons:** After passage of the Reform Bill (see note to 36.17), the Whig Party, which had pushed for its passage, won a majority in the election of 1832 and continued to govern as the majority party until 1841.

63.6-8. **Chartism numbered by the million and half, . . . breaks out into brickbats, cheap pikes, and even into sputterings of conflagration:** Carlyle's figure is no doubt tied to the reported number of signatures on the 1839 National Petition (see note to 63.4-5). A Chartist uprising in Newcastle in late July 1839 featured "brickbats, stones, and other instruments of civic warfare . . . flying about in unusual abundance" (*Times,* August 2, 1839, 5). A pike is a long pole, sharpened at one end, and a brickbat is a part of a brick, usually half of it or less, a common weapon in rioting.

63.15-16. **according to the newspapers, Chartism is extinct; . . . a Reform Ministry has 'put down the chimera of Chartism':** Reform Ministry refers to the Whig administration that was elected in 1832 (see note to 63.5-6), in short, the government. In Greek mythology, a chimera is a fire-breathing monster with a lion's head, a goat's body, and a dragon's tail; it has come to designate any illusory, unfounded conception. Wehtje notes that many articles in the *Times* between July and September 1839 remarked on the weakening, and seemingly imminent demise, of Chartism (146n1). As reported in the *Examiner* 1839, for example, the *Glasgow Courier* concluded that where Chartism is concerned, "the game is up" (Aug. 25, 1839, 520). By November, Attorney General Sir John Campbell claimed during a speech in Edinburgh that "I have put down Chartism. I have put down Chartism without shedding a drop of blood" (*Times*, Nov. 7, 1839, 4). We have not found the phrase "chimera of Chartism" in any newspaper, so it may be taken as Carlyle's summing up of the general tenor of press coverage.

64.3-4. **constabulary rural police, new levy of soldiers, grants of money to Birmingham:** In response to the riots during the Chartist conventions (see note to 64.22), the Treasury department advanced funds for the establishment of a police force in Birmingham. The March 1839 report of the Royal Commission on Constabulary Forces prompted the Constabulary Force Bill, which proposed adding five thousand men to the army and authorizing justices of the peace to establish constabulary forces as needed. The bill became law as the Rural Constabulary Act of 1839.

64.9-10. **vitriol-bottle and match-box, or openly brandishing pike and torch:** Vitriol is a sulphate with corrosive qualities; a vitriol bottle could be hurled as a weapon. Testimony in the trial of the Glasgow Spinners in early 1838 (see next note) included details about a young man assaulted with vitriol (see *Times,* Jan. 16, 1838, 5). Jelinger C. Symons's *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad* (to which Carlyle alludes below, see note to

97.36) includes details of several cases of vitriol assaults associated with Glasgow union members in the early 1820s (see 140-43). On pikes, see note to 63.6-8; on torches, see note to 64.22.

64.16. **'Glasgow Thuggery,' 'Glasgow Thugs':** At their January 1838 trial, five members of the Glasgow Operative Spinners Union were charged with twelve crimes alleged to have been committed between April and July 1837, including conspiracy to intimidate workers hired to replace those on strike, the assault of such workers, attempted arson, and one count of murder. The jury unanimously cleared the spinners of nine of the charges, including the most serious ones, but returned a guilty verdict on three counts involving conspiracy to intimidate, threaten, and/or assault factory owners and workers at mills where the union was on strike. The sentence was seven years' transportation to Australia. The comparison of the workers to thugs—a long-standing secret fraternity of thieves, murderers, and assassins in India—was novel (the earliest use of "thug" in the OED is from 1810). Although Carlyle puts the phrases in quotation marks, we have not been able to identify a specific source; he may have constructed the epithets from an January 21, 1838, *Examiner* report (also appearing in other papers) describing the activity of the workmen as a "new system of Thuggery" (44).

64.17-18. **the practice of 'Number 60' entering his dark room, to contract for and settle the price of blood with operative assassins:** Carlyle's source for "Number 60" may have been Archibald Swinton's report on the trial of the Glasgow spinners (see preceding note), which had been reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review* 67 (April 1838): 209-59. David Thorburn, a cotton spinner, testified at the trial that "idle spinners go under the name No. 60" and that "two of the number 60 gave us the instructions" to attack another cotton spinner (166). Another cotton spinner, Angus Campbell, testified that "the original meaning of 'No. 60' was, that there were a number of men idle, and to whom the association gave something to keep them from starving. At the time this grant was given by the association, their number amounted to sixty, and for convenience sake, and expediency, that name was fixed upon them, and applied to all men out of employment afterwards" (195). The prosecution pointed to a reference in a book titled *Emigration* found among the union's possessions describing how a "No. 60" would be paid for forcing workers to obey union commands to strike, which it took to imply the use of violence, a charged denied by the defense (304).

64.21. **banishment to Botany Bay:** Convicts were transported to Botany Bay, in New South Wales, the first colony to be established in Australia, beginning in 1788; as indicated in the note to 64.16, the convicted spinners received a sentence of transportation.

64.22. **Chartist torch-meetings:** Chartists often held torch-light meetings at night. The authorities perceived such meetings as threatening because of their potential to be both figuratively and literally incendiary.

64.22. **Birmingham riots:** The National Convention of the Chartist movement met in Birmingham on July 1, 1839. On July 4, a riot erupted as police from London attempted to disperse Chartists assembled in the city's Bull-ring (thus the alternative name, Bull-Ring Riots). The following day, the police arrested several Chartist leaders; further agitation and rioting ensued over the next ten days. See also note to 64.3-4.

64.22. **Swing conflagrations:** See note to 38.1-2.

65.14. **St. Stephen's:** Parliament, after St. Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster. Most of it was destroyed by the fire that burned the Houses of Parliament in 1834, but Charles Barry's replacement building incorporated remnants of it.

65.19. **Hansard's Debates, or the Morning Papers:** *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* the record of speeches made in Parliament, was published beginning in 1812 by Thomas C. Hansard, whose family continued to publish the debates until 1889. Parliamentary speeches were also reported in major daily newspapers, including the *Times* and the *Examiner*.

65.22. **Canada question:** "The Canada question" became a leading issue in British politics when armed rebellions erupted in November and December 1837 in both Upper and Lower Canada. Lord Durham's February 1839 Report on the Affairs of British North America recommended the political union of Upper and Lower Canada, the establishment of "responsible government," and the assimilation of the French. Durham's secretary in Canada was Carlyle's former pupil and friend Charles Buller, who is thought to have authored some or all of Durham's report. In a February 5, 1939, letter, Carlyle writes: "Charles Buller was busy drawing up his Canada Report when I saw him last, ten days ago" (*Letters* 11:18).

65.22. **Irish Appropriation question:** An ongoing debate about the Whig

proposal to appropriate the surplus income of the Church of Ireland for the purpose of funding education. Between 1833 and 1838 the Whigs tried and failed repeatedly to pass an Irish Church bill with such an appropriation clause. The Irish Tithe Act of 1838 made landlords responsible for payment of the tithe, but the act did not include an appropriation clause.

65.23. **West India question:** The debate over consequences of the emancipation of slaves in Britain's West Indian possessions. The 1833 Slavery Abolition Act granted partial freedom to slaves under an "apprentice" system, which expired four years later, in 1838, at which time full freedom was granted to West Indian slaves. The ongoing debate had many facets, including how to address the subsequent decline in sugar production. In 1839, much of the discussion in Parliament focused on a proposal to suspend the constitution of Jamaica; the proposal stemmed from Parliament's West Indies Prisons Act, which regulated prisons in Jamaica in order to prevent abuses of former slaves. The Jamaican Assembly refused to adopt the bill and in protest refused to pass any laws whatsoever. Instead of suspending the constitution, Parliament ultimately conferred law-making power on the governor and the Governor's Council.

65.23. **Queen's Bedchamber question:** The Bedchamber Crisis occurred in May 1839 when the Whig leader Viscount Melbourne resigned, and the queen tapped the Conservative leader, Robert Peel (see note to 209.title), to form a new government. Peel accepted on condition that the Whig ladies of the bedchamber (wives and relatives of the Whig ministers) be replaced. Queen Victoria, who admired Melbourne and was attached to her Mistresses of the Wardrobes and Ladies of the Bedchamber, refused; Peel declined to form a government, and Melbourne resumed his post.

65.23. **Game Laws:** Game Laws against hunting or trapping by unqualified individuals had been strengthened by the Night Poaching Acts of 1817, which provided severe penalties for infractions. Although hunting was opened to all in 1831, hunting on private property remained illegal and the Night Poaching Acts remained in force. Carlyle was a vociferous critic of the Game Laws, which he associated with the "do-nothing" Aristocracy. In 1830 he had written in his journal: "A man with £200,000 a year eats the *whole* fruit of 6,666 men's labour thro' a year; for you can get a stout spademan to work and maintain himself for that sum of £30. Thus we have private individuals whose wages are equal to the wages of 7 or 8 thousand other individuals: what do those highly beneficed individuals *do* to society for their wages? *Kill Partridges*" (*Two Note Books* 159-60).

Shortly thereafter, in *Sartor Resartus,* he created the satirical figure of Count Zähdarm, who, according to his epitaph, shot five thousand partridges in his lifetime (2.4.130 and note). In *Past and Present*, he would depict a generic landed aristocrat who, when pressed as to what he has done with his three hundred thousand pounds a year, responds: "Done with it? Who are you that ask? I have eaten it; I and my flunkies, and parasites, and slaves two-footed and four-footed, in an ornamental manner" (4.6.277). See also the note on game laws (above 65.23).

65.23. **Usury Laws:** The Usury Laws fixed the rate of interest at a maximum of 5 percent. Exceptions to this rule were implemented in the 1830s for certain transactions, and in June 1839 a bill was proposed in the House of Commons to extend the "relaxation" of the usury laws from three-month bills to twelve-month bills of exchange and making that relaxation permanent. Some members spoke in favor of eliminating the laws altogether. On June 20, the Bank of England raised its interest rate on discounted bills of exchange and notes to just over 5 percent, sparking much discussion and controversy in the Parliament and the press.

65.24. **African Blacks:** The 1833 Slavery Abolition Act (see note to 65.23) led to the elimination of slavery in British colonies; however, transatlantic slave trading continued under the auspices of other current and former colonial powers. Portugal, for example, abolished the slave trade in 1836, but the transportation of slaves to Brazil via Portuguese ships continued unabated. Efforts to end the transatlantic slave trade were debated in Parliament, resulting in the Palmerston Act of August 1839, which authorized the British navy to seize Portuguese vessels that were found to be transporting African slaves.

65.24. **Hill Coolies:** Coolie, derived from the Hindi term "kûlî," meaning "hired laborer," referred to laborers from India brought to the British West Indies as indentured servants to offset the decline in the labor force due to the abolition of slavery. "Hill Coolie" referred specifically at first to members of the Dhangar caste who were primarily shepherds; in English the term was then used generically to refer to all Indian laborers. The treatment and living conditions of Indian workers were much discussed in Parliament and the press in 1839. Extensive correspondence about the condition of the "Hill Coolies" between Governor Light of British Guiana and Lord Glenelg and the Marquis of Normanby appeared in the *Times* in September 1839, and the Aug. 5, 1838, *Examiner* recorded parliamentary discussion of legislation to protect coolie laborers (485).

65.24. **Smithfield cattle:** In mid-1839, physical improvements were made to the livestock market at Smithfield in London, and in October 1839, new regulations governing the driving of cattle to the Smithfield Market through the public streets of the city were enacted.

65.24. **Dog-carts:** A new fine was announced in September 1839 to be levied against anyone employing a dog to pull a cart, wagon, or other similar contrivance (see *Times* Sept. 25, 1839, 5). The prohibition of dog-carts in London was part of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1839.

65.25. **the alpha and omega:** The first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, figuratively, everything from the beginning to the ending.

65.27. **Radical Members:** Members of Parliament who sought radical change, including followers of Bentham (called "philosophic radicals") and some left-leaning Whigs who supported universal (male) suffrage.

66.5-6. **for the day the evil thereof sufficient:** See Matthew 6:34: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

66.10. **the Collective Wisdom of the Nation:** An allusion to William Cobbett's sobriquet for Parliament, with the subtitle of *Cobbett's Collective Commentaries: or, Remarks on the Proceedings in the Collective Wisdom of the Nation* (1822) and repeated several times in that work, sometimes in quotation marks (e.g., 34). In *Rural Rides* (1830), Cobbett sarcastically remarks, "How can my mind be otherwise than filled with reflections on the marvelous deeds of the Collective Wisdom of the nation!" (81).

66.22-23. **For, as is well said, all battle is misunderstanding:** Carlyle had cited this adage in *The French Revolution*, where he also treated it as an adage that is "well said" (3:3.2.121). However, we have not been able to identify a source.

66.34-35. **No African expedition now, as in the days of Herodotus, is fitted out *against the South-wind*:** "On the country of the Nasamonians borders that of the Psylli, who were swept away under the following circumstances. The south-wind had blown for a long time and dried up all the tanks in which their water was stored. Now the whole region within the Syrtis is utterly devoid of springs. Accordingly, the Psylli took counsel among themselves, and by common consent made war upon the southwind—so at least the Libyans say, I do but repeat their words—they went forth

and reached the desert; but there the south-wind rose and buried them under heaps of sand: whereupon, the Psylli being destroyed, their lands passed to the Nasamonians" (Herodotus, *Histories* 4.173).

66.36. **Simoom:** "A hot, dry, suffocating sand-wind which sweeps across the African deserts at intervals during the spring and summer" (OED).

67.4. **What are the rights, what are the mights:** See below chap. 5, "Rights and Mights."

67.5-6. **He were an Œdipus, and deliverer from sad social pestilence, who could resolve us fully:** After Oedipus unknowingly killed his father and married his mother, the city of Thebes, where he was king, was struck by pestilence. When the oracle was consulted, Oedipus's crimes were brought to light. Carlyle may also allude here to his delivery of Thebes from the Sphinx, who sat on a rock outside the city and demanded of all who pass that they solve her riddle. Carlyle would entitle the second chapter of *Past and Present*, which repeats many of the themes of "Chartism," "The Sphinx."

68.1. **A WITTY statesman said you might prove anything by figures:** An allusion to George Canning, a politician who served briefly as Prime Minister in 1827, to whom is attributed the statement "I can prove anything by statistics except the truth."

68.1-3. **We have looked into various statistic works, Statistic-Society Reports, Poor-Law Reports, Reports and Pamphlets:** Prior to writing "Chartism," Carlyle often stated his intention to read reports and pamphlets on the condition of the working classes, but there is very little evidence to indicate that he fulfilled this intention, and indeed, he approached statistical reports with skepticism. On June 7, 1839, he wrote: "My other Article on the *Condition of the Poor* will be a work of considerable time and trouble; I have not begun it yet; I have not even got any of the Books and Pamphlets for it: but I persist in meaning to do it; there seems a kind of *call* on me that way" (*Letters* 11:124). On June 19, he complained that he had not been able to obtain these books because they are "wide-scattered, difficult to get hold of" (*Letters* 11:128). In another letter of the same date, he wrote that he had been "read[ing] about the 'Working classes,'" to see "if there be any book discoverable [or] pamphlet on that subject worth reading" (*Letters* 11:133). The next day, he complained again, "I find myself totally in want of statistics in

regard to [the article], and do not succeed easily in getting at them. . . . I am communicating with Chadwick (hitherto without answer from *him*, he is in Lancashire) and with others; not hitherto to almost any purpose. . . . At bottom withal I find that it must not be statistics by any means, tho' I ought to know these too; but it must be utterance of *principles*, grounded on facts which all may see: an utterance of things difficult to utter articulately; yet many, indeed all reflective people, are longing to have them uttered" (*Letters* 11:137). Subsequent to this statement, and prior to the publication of "Chartism," in late December 1839, Carlyle mentioned only "reading a very little in Poor-Law Reports" in late July (*Letters* 11:156), although below he states, "We have looked over these four annual Poor-Law Reports with a variety of reflections" (72). Carlyle does respond to Edwin Chadwick's *An Essay on the Means of Insurance* in "Chartism" (see 69.38 and note).

68.6. **Proverb, 'as the *statist* thinks, the bell clinks':** A play on the Scottish proverb, "As the fool thinks, ay the bell clinks"; "statist" means "statistician." Carlyle employed the proverb in its conventional form in a letter of early 1838 in which he is concerned with Poor Law Reports (*Letters* 10:15; see note to 72.1).

68.7. **sieve of the Danaides:** In Greek mythology, the Danaides were the fifty daughters of Danaus, a king of Libya, who were forced to marry their fifty male cousins but killed them on their wedding night; they were condemned, in the underworld, to forever carry water in a sieve.

68.15. **a Pactolus never so golden:** The Pactolus was a Phrygian river (in modern Turkey) and an important source of gold for the kingdom of Lydia. The presence of gold was attributed to King Midas, who purportedly washed away his power of turning things to gold in its waters.

68.20-22. **the crabbed satirist was partly right, as things go: 'A judicious man,' says he, 'looks at Statistics, not to get knowledge, but to save himself from having ignorance foisted on him':** Probably an invented quotation. The "crabbed satirist" may be an allusion to the fictitious Diogenes Teufelsdröckh of *Sartor Resartus*; in a surviving manuscript fragment, Carlyle refers to Teufelsdröckh as the "crabbed author" (Yale GEN MSS 677). Carlyle similarly alludes to Teufelsdröckh below as a "sardonic German writer" (93.25-26; see also 130.1-14).

68.23. **Useful-Knowledge Society:** The Society for the Diffusion of Use-

ful Knowledge, founded in 1826, issued inexpensive but well-produced periodicals, encyclopedias, and books for popular education. See also note to 69.15-16.

69.4-5. **lamentations and prophecies of a humane Jeremiah:** Old Testament prophet, and author of the prophetic book of Jeremiah and the book of Lamentations. On Carlyle's use of the Old Testament prophetic tradition in the essays in this volume, see the introduction.

69.15-16. **Charles Knight and Company:** The publisher Charles Knight (1791-1873), oversaw the publication of works produced by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (see note to 68.23). In February 1839, G. L. Craik, on behalf of Knight, proposed that Carlyle contribute "Review-Articles" on Goethe, Richter, and other German authors for an "Analytical Library" series focusing on ancient and modern writers. Carlyle replied that "the thing might be done as to Goethe and others, tho' the general scheme of the 'Analytical' concern did not look very smiling to my judgment, and with Useful-Knowledge men . . . must necessarily prove *ligneous* [wooden]" (*Letters* 11:17 and n. 11); he never wrote the proposed volumes.

69.16-21. **Northampton Tables, compiled by Dr. Price 'from registers . . . by men of science in France':** The first quotation is a close approximation of Chadwick's (see next note) explanation that the Northampton table "was formed by Dr. Price, from bills of mortality kept in the parish of All Saints, Northampton, during the years 1735 to 1780" (2-3); the second is again very close to Chadwick's original: "The facts were carefully collected by Dr. Heysham, and the calculations founded upon them accurately conducted by Mr. Milne" (4); and the third is taken from a portion of the pamphlet that discusses two French reports: "According to a document which the men of science in France treat as satisfactory evidence, it appears, that the annual deaths in Paris during the 'age of Chivalry,' (the fourteenth century,) was one in sixteen or seventeen. During the seventeenth century, it was one in twenty-five or twenty-six; and in 1824, it was one in 32.62" (24). The Northampton Tables are appended to the fourth edition of Richard Price's *Observations on Reversionary Payments; on schemes for providing annuities for widows . . . and on the National Debt* (1783; first edition published in 1771). The initial publication of John Heysham's *Observations on the bills of mortality, in Carlisle: for the year 1779* (1780) was followed by observations for the subsequent years, through 1787. Contrary to what Carlyle implies here, Chadwick's pamphlet is in

fact critical of both the Northampton mortality table and the Carlisle mortality table. Of the Northampton table, Chadwick states that "a table formed on so narrow a basis as that afforded by half the population of a small town is obviously inapplicable to determine (of itself) the chances of mortality amongst the general population of the kingdom" (3; see also 4). And yet, as Chadwick laments, this table is precisely the one currently in use by the majority of insurance companies.

69.38. **An Essay on the Means of Insurance against the Casualties:** The author of the essay was Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890), who, under the influence of the Utilitarians, led the movement to reform the Poor Laws (see note to 71.25) and from 1834 held the post of Secretary of the Poor Law Commission that administered them. In June 1839, shortly before he began work on "Chartism," Carlyle wrote that he had been "communicating" with Chadwick but had not heard back from him (*Letters* 11:137). It is not clear whether Chadwick responded at this time, but he sent Carlyle Poor-Law reports in 1841 and his *Report . . . from the Poor Law Commissioners on an Inquiry into the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* in 1842 (*Letters* 13:325, 15:3-4).

70.8-9. **Statistic Inquiry, in its present unguided condition, cannot tell:** See note to 68.1-3.

71.3-4. **Statistic science turns up her Savings-Bank Accounts, and answers, "Increasing rapidly":** Statistical evidence indicated that savings bank deposits were increasing during the 1830s. The primary source for these statistics in the 1830s was John Tidd Pratt's *The Savings Banks in England, Wales, and Ireland* (1834). An account of the meeting of the Statistical Society in 1835 is typical: "With such indications of wealth . . . in the condition of the higher classes, it becomes an important and interesting inquiry, how far it is shared by that portion of the community of a lower grade in the social trade. If we turn to Mr. Tidd Pratt's book on Savings Banks, . . . we shall find that amongst them also accumulation of capital appears to be taking place; small, certainly, in the individual proprietary, but great in the aggregate" (*The Athenaeum* 382 [1835]: 152). Although it is not the subject of his essay, Chadwick also notes the significance of deposits held in savings banks by the working class: "We may add also, that during the last year (1827), the deposits in the Savings Banks amounted to upwards of sixteen millions of money. Of this sum a large proportion, though not probably so large as is generally supposed, consists of deposits from mechanics and other laboring men" (6-7).

71.25. **New Poor-Law Bill:** The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 provided that, except in unusual circumstances, all paupers seeking relief, including the able-bodied, should reside in workhouses; in theory, therefore, it abolished outdoor relief, a system of poor-relief payments to those living outside of workhouses. The central aim of the new Poor Law was to make workhouse conditions harsh and undesirable, so that the poor would be dissuaded from seeking relief there and seek instead outside employment (see also note to 72.7). The Poor Law also created a centralized bureaucracy to implement and administer the provisions of the law, to be headed by the Poor Law Commission based in London (see also note to 69.38). On earlier Poor Laws, see note to 74.13-14.

70.26. ***experimentum crucis*:** Literally, a crucial experiment, that is a decisive test that shows which one of several hypotheses is correct.

72.1. **To read the Reports of the Poor-Law Commissioners:** On the Poor Law, see note to 71.25. The Poor Law Commissioners issued annual reports regarding the administration of the law, which often included statistical data in appendices. Five such reports would have been available to Carlyle, one for each year from 1835 to 1839, though he mentions below only the first four (see 72.14). However, there is little evidence to suggest that Carlyle read the Poor Law Reports very thoroughly. Indeed, in a letter from early 1838, Carlyle expresses skepticism regarding the relevance of the Poor Law Commissioners' Reports to the plight of the working class: "As to 'Commissioners' and their evidence I do verily take it all to be worth almost nothing in that matter; your answer is according to your question, and your questionee,—'as the fool thinks the bell clinks,' all things whatsoever can be demonstrated if you choose your man" (*Letters* 10:15).

72.2-3. **One sole recipe seems to have been needful:** See note to 32.2-3.

72.3. **'refusal of out-door relief':** See note to 71.25.

72.5-6. **like Hyperion down the eastern steeps:** The movement of the sun. In Greek myth, the titan Hyperion is father of the sun and is himself identified with the sun.

72.6-7. **Let there be workhouses:** An allusion to Genesis 1:3: "Let there be light." Various forms of the workhouse existed already in 1834, but the New Poor Law (see note to 71.25) made them the preferred method

of dealing with the impoverished. In order to qualify for relief, individuals had to pass the "workhouse test" specifying that conditions in the workhouse must be less desirable than those outside of it and that the applicant should nonetheless be willing to reside in it as a condition of poor relief. Workhouse tasks were tedious and repetitive: stone-breaking and/or hole-digging for the men, scrubbing and sweeping for the women. The prison-like conditions led to their being called "Poor-Law Bastilles" (see note to 74.29).

72.7. **bread of affliction and water of affliction:** 1 Kings 22:27 and 2 Chronicles 18:26: "And say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction, until I come in peace" (see also Deuteronomy 16:3).

72.13. **a consummation devoutly to be wished:** From the "To be or not to be" soliloquy in *Hamlet*: "'tis a consummation / Devoutly to be wish'd" (3.3.62-3). Carlyle quotes the soliloquy again below (121.6).

72.14. **four annual Poor-Law Reports:** Presumably the first four Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales (see note to 72.1).

72.22. **'chief glory' of a Reform Cabinet:** Probably an allusion to Samuel Johnson's *Preface to a Dictionary of the English Language* (1755): "The chief glory of every people arises from its authors." On the Reform Cabinet, see note to 63.15-16.

73.4. **'chargeable labourers':** "Chargeable" laborers are those who qualify for poor relief and thus become an expense, or charge, to the parish. The Poor Law Commissioners sought to gather statistical evidence regarding changes and patterns in the numbers of "chargeable" laborers. See, for example, the *Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws. Appendix (A.) Reports of Assistant Commissioners. Part III. Evidence Collected by E. Chadwick Esquire.* (1834): 73.

73.9-13. **'all the labour of the country being absorbed into employment' . . . 'the rates are diminished':** Pro-Whig supporters of the New Poor Law often claimed that able-bodied "surplus" laborers were now finding employment rather than seeking relief in the workhouse system and that increased opportunities for employment were made possible by lower

poor rates. A representative editorial in the August 12, 1837, issue of the *Bristol Mercury* reminded the Tories that

> previously to the passing of the new poor-law, . . . the poor rates in England and Wales alone amounted to EIGHT MILLIONS! . . . there was no end to the outcry against *surplus population*; in many parishes the cultivation of the land was relinquished by the proprietors, and the whole of the produce was absorbed for the poor. . . . To what is the country indebted for the important change that has succeeded? The burthen of the poor rate has been reduced to less than five millions; . . . and the idle and vicious paupers—the surplus population, as they were called—have been driven to habits of sobriety and industry; and the *surplus* labor has been absorbed by the improved cultivation of the land, the farmers having been enabled to pay for additional labour by the reduced amount of their poor-rates. (3)

In the Poor Law Commissioners Report of 1834, Charles May contended: "I have no hesitation in stating my firm belief that the sum of human suffering has already diminished, and will continue diminishing in an increased ratio as the arrangements for perfecting the plan are brought into operation; and it appears perfectly clear to me that the real improvement of the condition of the poor will be very much in proportion to the reduction of the rates nominally for their relief, but virtually, under the old mal-administration, for their degradation" (*First Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners* 285).

73.14-15. **no statistic tables as yet report much increase of deaths by starvation:** Statistical data at the time indicated that starvation played a very small role in overall deaths nationally. In his 1839 letter to the registrar-general, the statistician William Farr reported sixty-three deaths due to starvation out of the 141,607 deaths registered in the second half of 1837 in England and Wales. This small percentage would likely have gone unnoticed had Farr not qualified this statistic by stating that "hunger destroys a much higher proportion than is indicated by registers in this and every other country" (*First Annual Report of the Registrar-General* appendix P, 75). This statement caught the attention of Edwin Chadwick, who called into question starvation as a definitive cause of death in these cases and who, of course, sought to disconnect such deaths from

the administration of the Poor Law. The ensuing controversy between Chadwick and Farr continued into the year 1840. For an overview of the controversy, see Hamlin 144-47.

73.25. ***Laissez faire, laissez passer*:** Literally, "leave to do; leave to pass," or more colloquially "leave it alone." Laissez-faire is the principle, advocated by Adam Smith (see note to 11.15-16) and his followers, that because supply and demand will always force wages and prices to a "natural" level (see note to 102.17), it is best that the government not intervene in the market and should instead "let it alone." See chapters 6 and 7 below.

73.26-29. **'the widow picking nettles for her children's dinner, and the perfumed seigneur delicately lounging in the Œil-du-Bœuf, who has an alchemy whereby he will extract from her the third nettle, and name it rent and law':** Carlyle quotes his own *French Revolution*: "The widow is gathering nettles for her children's dinner; a perfumed Seigneur, delicately lounging in the Œil-de-Bœuf, has an alchemy whereby he will extract from her the third nettle, and name it Rent and Law: such an arrangement must end. Ought it not?" (1:6.3.229). The royal palace at Versailles has a room that features an Oeil-de-Boeuf, or "eye of the steer," a small round or oval window.

73.30-31. **Targum or sacred-parchment:** "Each of several Aramaic translations, interpretations, or paraphrases of the various divisions of the Old Testament, made after the Babylonian captivity, at first preserved by oral transmission, and committed to writing from about 100 A.D. onwards" (OED).

73.33. **beggar's gabardines:** Loose smocks of coarse material.

73.34-35. **a Paul shall die on the gibbet and a Nero sit fiddling as imperial Cæsar:** St. Paul (d. 64 or 67) was executed near the end of the reign of Nero; by what means is not known, but tradition has it that he was beheaded, not hanged on a gibbet. Popular legend holds that the emperor Nero Claudius Caesar (37-68) played his violin during a fire that burned down half of Rome. Carlyle makes similar allusions in *Sartor Resartus* 2.7.121 and "Count Cagliostro," *Historical Essays* 42.

74.13-14. **the old Poor-Law, in its assertion of the opposite social principle, that Fortune's awards are *not* those of Justice:** The 1601 Elizabethan Poor Law (see note to 75.37) codified a parish-based system of poor relief supported by local taxes (poor rates). Relief was primarily of the outdoor

variety; indoor relief (in poorhouses) was mainly for the ill or infirm. The 1782 Gilbert's Act (the major Poor Law Act prior to 1834) forbade sending able-bodied workers to the workhouse; instead, the able-bodied were to receive either outdoor relief or employment nearby.

74.17-18. **a law, which has become a bounty on unthrift, idleness, bastardy and beer-drinking:** In their first Report, the Poor Law Commissioners asserted that the old system of outdoor relief encouraged idleness and left vice unpunished: under this system

> it appears to the pauper that the Government has undertaken to repeal, in his favour, the ordinary laws of nature; . . . that no one shall lose the means of comfortable subsistence, whatever be his indolence, prodigality, or vice: in short, that the penalty which, after all, must be paid by some one for idleness and improvidence, is to fall, not on the guilty person or on his family, but on the proprietors of the lands and houses encumbered by his settlement. Can we wonder if the uneducated are seduced into approving a system which aims its allurements at all the weakest parts of our nature, which offers marriage to the young, security to the anxious, ease to the lazy, and impunity to the profligate? (*The First Report of the Commissioners* 50)

The problem of bastardy was of particular interest to the commissioners, who devoted a rather lengthy section of their report to it (see 165-78).

74.29. **Poor-Law Bastille:** The poor generally hated the workhouses (see note to 72.7), which soon were identified with the Bastille, the prison in Paris that had been a symbol of oppression for the French. See Carlyle's *French Revolution*, volume 1 of which is entitled "The Bastille."

74.30. **'perfect constitution of society':** Montesinos, quoting Kant, in Robert Southey's *Colloquies on Society* (1829): "The problem of the establishment of a perfect constitution of society depends upon the problem of a system of international relations, adjusted to law, and apart from this latter problem cannot be solved" (2.15.410-11). The quotation is the seventh thesis of Kant's *Idea of a Universal History from a Cosmopolitical Point of View* (1784).

74.30-31. **'God's fair Earth and Task-garden, where whosoever is not working must be begging or stealing':** A self-quotation: "What are ye doing in God's fair Earth and Task-garden; where whoso is not working is begging or stealing?" (*The French Revolution* 1:4.4.145). Carlyle addresses the question to the nobility and clergy processing to the Estates General in 1789, just prior to the outbreak of the revolution.

75.11-12. **'protection of the thrifty labourer against the thriftless and dissolute':** The quotation marks are Carlyle's way of suggesting that he is expressing the meaning of the law.

75.37. **'Statute of the Forty-third of Elizabeth':** The Poor Law of 1601 (see note to 74.13-14); the text of the "43d of Elizabeth" was given in the supplement to the *First Report of the Commissioners*.

75.38. **roundsmen systems:** As is explained in the *First Report of the Commissioners*, under the eighteenth-century roundsman system, Poor Law Guardians would give able-bodied paupers tickets to seek work from local farmers, and if they were successful, part or all of their wages were paid by the parish council (31-35).

75.38. **parish doles:** Under the old Poor Law (see note to 74.13-14), those without work received a 'dole' of money or relief in kind.

76.1. **free and easy workhouses:** Under the Old Poor Law, workhouses provided only for the ill, the aged, and children, as opposed to workhouses under the New Poor Law, which also provided for the able-bodied unemployed. See notes to 71.25, 72.7, and 74.13-14.

76.14-15. **a broken reed to lean on, if there ever was one; and did but run into his lamed right-hand:** Isaiah 36:6: "Lo, thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, on Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust in him."

76.18. **'the sceptre of our Planet':** Carlyle quotes from his own *Sartor Resartus*, where Teufelsdröckh writes, "Two men I honor, and no third. First, the toilworn Craftsman that with earth-made Implement laboriously conquers the Earth, and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard Hand; crooked, coarse; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Sceptre of this Planet" (3.4.168).

76.18-22. **He that can work is a born king of something; . . . Let a man honour his craftmanship, his *can-do*:** Carlyle was partial to an etymology of king that is now discredited. In *Sartor Resartus,* Teufelsdröckh writes: "The only Title wherein I, with confidence, trace eternity, is that of King. *König* (King), anciently *Könning*, means Ken-ning (Cunning), or which is the same thing, Can-ning" (183; see also *French Revolution* 1:1.2.9 and *On Heroes* 12, 169). Scholars now agree that *king* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon cyning, meaning "tribe" or "people," as in kin, rather than the Anglo-Saxon cunnan, meaning "to know," as in ken.

77.title. **FINEST PEASANTRY IN THE WORLD:** Since at least the 1820s, this phrase had been cited in quotation marks, often mockingly, with the imputation that it was, as Sir Joseph Yorke put it in a parliamentary debate on February 5, 1830, "blarney" (*Hansard* 22:152). The phrase also appears in Carlyle's report on the condition of Annandale farm workers, which he drafted in 1839 while writing "Chartism," but did not publish (see note to 79.35-80.1).

77.8-9. **Burns expresses feelingly what thoughts it gave him: . . fed and sheltered:** An allusion to stanza 8 of Robert Burns's "Man Was Made to Mourn": "See yonder poor, o'erlabored wight, / So abject, mean and vile, / Who begs a brother of the earth / To give him leave to toil; / And see his lordly fellow-worm / The poor petition spurn, / Unmindful, 'though a weeping wife / And help less offspring mourn."

77.19-22. **Ireland has near seven millions of working people, . . . third-rate potatoes as will suffice him:** In mid-nineteenth-century Europe, especially Ireland, potatoes were one of the chief foods of the poor. In *Sartor Resartus*, Teufelsdröckh had written of the Irish poor: "Their universal sustenance is the root named Potato" (3.10.207), and in *The French Revolution*, citing pp. 21-22 of the *Report of the Irish Poor-Law Commission* of 1836, Carlyle declared that there is a "Nation, the third soul of whom had not, for thirty weeks each year, as many third-rate potatoes as would sustain him" (3:7.6.312). It should also be noted that potatoes were a regular staple of the Carlyles, who were often in search of potatoes of good quality (see, for example, *Letters* 12:60-61). During the potato famine, which began in 1845, they would experiment with corn meal as a substitute (see "Indian Meal" below).

77.24-78.1. **a 'wise and loving' manner:** Carlyle refers back to his earlier statement (76.5).

78.6. **Sanspotatoe:** Without potato, an ironic version of Sansculotte (see note to 52.24); here, he refers, of course, to the Irish poor.

78.6. **superfinest Lord Lieutenant:** The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the head of the British government in Ireland, usually a member of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy; "superfinest" means most refined or delicate.

78.10-11. **the Autocrat's of all the Russias:** "Tsar of all the Russias" was the title of Nicholas I (1796-1855), an autocratic ruler who believed that he alone spoke for Russia.

78.18. **the Pit:** Hell, conceived as a sunken place, or as a dungeon.

78.26. **'justice to Ireland':** This was a widely used phrase referring to the situation in Ireland after the union of Britain and Ireland of 1801. Although the exclusion of Catholics from the franchise had been remedied with the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 (see note to 4.31), the Irish still had very little self-government, and demands for justice would continue throughout the century.

78.29-33. **The Irish National character is degraded, disordered; . . . "only they have two faults, they do generally lie and steal: barring these":** The quotation and the "Irish lady" are probably Carlyle's invention. Carlyle's largely ill-informed and prejudiced perspective on the Irish led to a lifelong friendship with the Irish nationalist Charles Gavan Duffy. In 1845, the Carlyles would be visited by three Irish nationalists, Duffy, John Edward Pigot, and John O'Hagan, who were admirers of Carlyle, but objected to his characterization of the Irish in "Chartism." As Carlyle recounts in an April 28, 1845, letter:

> On Saturday Night I had three redhot Irish Repealers here; one of them, Duffy, a fellow Prisoner of O'Connell's,—a really interesting young man. Full of zeal, of talent and affection; almost *weeping* as he spoke of his poor country,—and taking *this* plan for relief of it, poor fellow! They are all sworn disciples of *mine*, they say; which astonished me beyond measure. They came to complain of my unfairness to Ireland; I had called them "all liars and thieves," which was hard talking!——I liked this poor Duffy very much. They are all ready for "insurrection," for "death" &c &c I strongly advised them to make a

> general insurrection *against the Devil* first of all, and see what came of that! (*Letters* 19:64-65).

Duffy saw Carlyle as a potential ally of tremendous value, a value that might be realized if Carlyle were better informed: "He knows next to nothing, accurately or circumstantially, of Irish affairs. He has prejudices which are plainly of Scotch origin, but he intends and desires to be right, and when he understands the case, where could such an advocate be found before England and the world!" (*Letters* 19:64-65n1). While Carlyle retained his prejudices (see note to 183.17-21), he also sought better governance for Ireland, which led him to visit it twice, briefly in 1846 and then a more extensive, monthlong visit in 1849.

79.14-15. **when Strigul first meddled with that people:** Richard de Clare, also known as Richard Strongbow (1130-1176), 2nd Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Strigul. In 1170 Strongbow, an Anglo-Norman lord, invaded Ireland (with the approval of Henry II) to aid Dermot MacMurrough, deposed king of Leinster, in his struggle against Roderic O'Connor, high king of Ireland. His invasion was successful and paved the way for the English conquest of Ireland.

79.17-18. **five wild centuries:** In the fourteenth century, the English reasserted and strengthened control of Ireland by the creation of three new Anglo-Irish earldoms.

79.23-24. **their fare across by steam is four-pence sterling! Crowds of miserable Irish darken all our towns:** Cheap travel by steamship between Ireland and Great Britain facilitated the emigration of the Irish poor. As an August 1839 article in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* explains:

> The great bulk of the Irish population, both in England and Scotland, is formed of the common day-labourers. Without excelling in any branch of industry, they may be said to have obtained the most exclusive possession of all the lowest departments of manual labour in the country. There appears to be in Ireland a general disposition to emigrate in search of more profitable employment; and many of the Irish leave their country with very vague and ill-defined projects, and with highly exaggerated notions of the chances of success in England. This disposition to emigrate seems to have been further encouraged by

> the cheap and regular communication which has taken place between the two countries, within the last fifteen years, by means of steam navigation. . . . The great bulk of the Irish poor in Great Britain are chiefly employed in the towns, at various kinds of coarse unskilled labour. ("The Irish Poor in Great Britain" 223)

See also note to 79.35-80.1.

79.25. **Milesian:** Synonym for Irish, from Irish mythology, according to which the Milesians were the sons of Míl Espáine (literally "Soldier of Hispania") whose descendants were prophesized to rule Ireland.

79.31. **He needs only salt for condiment:** See *Sartor Resartus*: "Their universal sustenance is the root named Potato, cooked by fire alone; and generally without condiment or relish of any kind, save an unknown condiment named *Point*, into the meaning of which I have vainly inquired; the victual *Potatoes-and-Point* not appearing, at least not with specific accuracy of description, in any European Cookery-Book whatever" (3.10.207). "Potatoes-and-Point" refers to the custom among Irish peasants of eating potatoes and pointing at other wished-for but unobtainable foods.

79.34. **Saxon man:** Carlyle contrasts the Irish with the presumably Anglo-Saxon Englishman. The name "England" is derived from the Angles, the Germanic group who, along with the Germanic Saxons and Jutes, invaded Britain in the fifth century. However, as Carlyle well knew, citizens of Britain were descendants of a variety of groups that invaded the isles over the centuries, notably the Britons, who preceded the Anglo-Saxons, and the Normans and Danes who followed them.

79.35-80.1. **He too may be ignorant; . . . drives out the Saxon native, takes possession in his room:** Compare Carlyle's draft report on the state of Scottish farmers in Annandale, apparently written in October 1839:

> The district lies opposite Ireland; by steam-boats the finest peasantry in the world, ready to live on potatoes, without clothes, and to roost or pig in any sod-cabin, are imported, sometimes at the rate of four-pence a head: the Scotch hinds have one of two resources; to go to Canada, or take what terms are offered them. The unmarried sort, of any enterprise, prefer Canada,

> endeavour to save ten pounds, and leave their native soil to the finest peasantry; the married sort, without money, without means, have nothing for it but remaining, cow or no cow. (*Letters* 11:203 n. 2)

At this time, Carlyle's brother Alexander was considering emigration to North America because of the difficulties of making of living (see note to 121.31).

80.7-8. **This soil of Britain, these Saxon men have cleared it, made it arable, fertile and a home for them:** Carlyle alludes to theories that those who make the land usable gain ownership of it. See John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1689), which argues that God gave the land as a gift to all humankind and that the right of property arose when individuals mixed their labor with it (Second Treatise, secs. 31-32).

80.15. **'Irish repeal?':** See note to 181.title. Carlyle consistently opposed repeal; his 1848 article on the topic, "Repeal of the Union," is reprinted below.

80.15-16. **"Would to God," as Dutch William said, "*You* were King of Ireland, and could take yourself and it three thousand miles off":** "Dutch William" is William III (William of Orange), king of England 1688-1702 (see note to 303.7-8). We have not identified the source of the quotation, which may be Carlyle's imagined version of William's retort to James II, whom William displaced as king, and who sought refuge in Ireland in 1689.

80.17. **Celtiberian:** The inhabitants of Celtiberia, in north-central Spain, were the product of the intermingling of Celts and Iberians; many Irish were, of course, Celts.

80.31. **'Berserkir-rage':** The OED, which cites only nineteenth-century examples, states that a berserker is a "wild Norse warrior of great strength and ferocious courage, who fought on the battle-field with a frenzied fury known as the 'Berserker rage.'" Carlyle had discussed the "story of the Berserkers" in his lectures on literature in 1838, describing them as men "who despised danger and fear, rushed forth fiercely to battle, and, though without armor, trod down hosts of foes like shells under his feet. Hence his name, Berserker, 'bare spirit'" (*History of Literature* 126; see also *On Heroes* 180, *Past and Present* 3.5.168, *Letters* 12:267). The correct etymology

of "berserker," however, is from the Old Norse for "bearskin"; medieval accounts have Berserkers fighting in bear or wolf skins or fighting naked.

81.9. **Striguls, Henrys, Macdermots, and O'Donoghues:** For Strigul, see note to 79.14-15. Henry II (1133-1189) allowed an expedition of barons from South Wales to establish Anglo-Norman supremacy in Leinster (1169), which the king himself extended in 1171. The Macdermots ruled the kingdom of Moylurg, in western Ireland, from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. Wehtje suggests that Carlyle refers here specifically to Dermot MacMurrough (d. 1171), the Irish king of Leinster who invited Strigul to help him hold his kingdom and whose daughter Strigul married (183 n. 1). The O'Donoghues were Gaelic nobility with significant land and influence in County Kerry.

81.9-10. **The strong have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the weak are set on edge:** Ezekiel 18:1-3: "The word of the Lord came unto me again, saying, What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, sayeth the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel."

81.10-11. **'Curses,' says the Proverb, 'are like chickens, they return always *home*':** Proverbial. See Chaucer, "The Parson's Tale": "And ofte tyme swich cursyinge wrongfully retorneth agayn to him that curseth, as a bryd that retorneth agayn to his owene nest" (619) and Robert Southey, "The Curse of Kehama" (1810): "Curses are like young chickens, they always come home to roost" (epigraph).

81.14. **Danaides:** See note to 68.7.

81.23-28. **Half-a-million handloom weavers, . . . known to us by the best evidence, by eyesight:** Carlyle quotes from his draft report on the condition of farmers in Annandale, which was apparently written in 1839, the same year as "Chartism," presumably during the period of that year (July through early September) that Carlyle spent in Scotland: "They [the Scottish farm-laborers] have no cow; and what is more, tho' indeed but an extension of the same thing, they have in many cases no possibility of procuring milk" (*Letters* 11:203n2).

81.29. **wages of 'skilled labour':** The distinction between "skilled" and "unskilled" or "common" labor was well established in economic discourse

by the 1830s. Adam Smith and James Mill both discuss the "wages of skilled labour," Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* (98) and Mill in *Elements of Political Economy* (106). In the 1838 *Edinburgh Review* article on the Glasgow spinners trial (see note to 64.17-18), the author argues that "the wages of *skilled* labour have been raised by the effects of combination," and that the consequence of unionization is, for the unskilled laborer, a decline in wages (256-57).

82.1. **Proteus:** In Greek myth, a god who could change his shape at will.

82.8-9. **The master of horses, when the summer labour is done, has to feed his horses through the winter:** The motif would appear again in *Past and Present* (1.3.24-25), *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (20:27, 96-97, 101-2, 152, 237-38, 244) and "The Negro/Nigger Question" (*Essays* 4:370); see also *Sartor Resartus* 3.4.169-70.

82.11-12. **are you ignorant (or must I read you Political-Economy Lectures) that the Steamengine always in the long-run creates additional work?:** Given the preceding analogy with horses, Carlyle may allude to the discussion of the commercial and political effects of the introduction of steam power in Dionysius Lardner's *The Steam Engine Familiarly Explained and Illustrated* (1836), in which Lardner discusses how reducing transportation costs would spur the economy and in particular argues that the resulting reduction in the number of horses and the acreage needed to feed them would enable "the support of human beings as would suffice for an additional population of eight millions; or, what amounts to the same, would increase the means of support of the present population by about one third of the present available means" (174-75; see 169-79). See also note to 120.17-23.

82.34-83.1. **Wages of working men differ greatly in different quarters of this country; . . . were fully adequate to comfortable living:** A reference to Jelinger C. Symons, *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad* (1839), who calculates the average rate of wages in Lancashire factories to be 10/6 per week per person (4) and notes that this average rate compares quite favorably with compensation rates abroad: "The factory work-people are decidedly the best paid in England in comparison with the same class abroad. . . . so that cotton-factory work-people of Lancashire have 26 per cent., or a quarter, more wages than the same class abroad" (84). However, Symons does not use the three to one ratio cited by Carlyle.

83.8. **'short-time':** Working fewer than the regular number of hours per day or of days per week, a decision of the employer, not the laborer.

83.17. **the time all out of joint:** *Hamlet* 1.5.188-89: "The time is out of joint; O cursed spite, / That ever I was born to set it right!"

83.21. **Tophet:** Tophet (from the Hebrew for "altar") was originally a place of sacrifice, but in Christian tradition became a synonym for the place of eternal fire, hell. See Jeremiah 19:2-6 and Isaiah 30:33.

83.21. **copperas-fumes, cotton-fuz:** Noxious copperas-fumes were produced by chemical dyes made from copperas (ferrous sulfate) used in textile mills. Cotton fuzz are the fine bits of cotton produced by the process of carding, the inhalation of which caused lung disease. As early as 1833, Carlyle had become concerned about the effects of cotton fuzz: "little children labouring for sixteen hours a day, inhaling at every breath a quantity of cotton *fuz*, falling asleep over their wheels, and roused again by the lash of thongs over their backs, or the slap of 'billy-rollers' over their little crowns" (*Letters* 6:355). The editors of the *Letters* suggest that Carlyle may have read John Wilson's "The Factory System," which discussed the reports of the parliamentary committee that led to the passage of the Factory Act of 1833 (6:355 n. 2).

83.23-24. **Dantean Hell:** *The Inferno*, the first part of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (see note to 128.23-26), describes the many levels of hell.

83.24-25. **statistics of Gin: Gin justly named the most authentic incarnation of the Infernal Principle in our times:** Gin was the cheapest form of spirits and thus widely used by the poor. There had already been a "Gin scare" in the 1820s, and anxieties about an inebriated working class were frequently expressed. For "statistics of Gin," see *Blackwood's,* which in 1837 reported, with characteristic sarcasm and irony, that gin-drinking expenditures among the poor were on the rise, from £21,874,000 in 1834 to £23,397,000 in 1835 and £24,710,000 in 1836. It concluded: "We are to bear in mind also, that the whole population of England and Wales is not above fourteen millions, and that the gin-drinking is confined to the exclusive pleasure of the populace; gin never being among the luxuries of a gentleman's table, and very seldom finding its way into his house" (Croly 69).

83.29-30. **sold at ten-pence the quartern:** A quartern is a quarter of a

pint. The price cited by Carlyle is high, closer to that for a pint. As Ben Wilson notes, "In 1830 a pint of beer cost between 3½ and 4 pence, while a quartern of gin cost 2½ pence and a pint just 10 pence" (359).

84.6-7. **a law written direct by the hand of God in the inmost being of man:** See Jeremiah 31:33: "But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people."

84.17-18. ***meum* may be mine, *tuum* thine:** A reference to the commonplace about confusing "meum et tuum," "what is mine and what is thine."

85.2. **a small still voice:** 1 Kings 19:11-12.

85.10-11. **Phalaris' Bull, imprisoned in its own iron belly:** Phalaris (d. 554? B.C.), tyrant of Acragas (modern Agrigento), Sicily, who was notorious for his cruelty, reputedly had his enemies burnt in a bronze bull, and their cries were supposed to resemble its roars.

85.11-12. **as Novalis says, by a 'simultaneous universal act of suicide':** Carlyle quotes from his "Novalis": "Nevertheless, that great epoch cannot fail to arrive, when the whole family of mankind, by a grand universal Resolve, will snatch themselves from this sorrowful condition, from this frightful imprisonment; and by a voluntary Abdication of their terrestrial abode, redeem their race from this anguish, and seek refuge in a happier world, with their ancient Father" (*Essays on German Literature* 320). In his commentary on the passage in which this statement appears, Carlyle remarks: "That theory of the human species ending by a universal simultaneous act of Suicide, will, to the more simple sort of readers, be new" (322).

85.19-21. **Mithridates King of Pontus, come now to extremity, 'appealed to the patriotism . . . for long years':** Mithridates VI Eupator (120-63 B.C.), king of the region known in Roman times as Pontus, defeated by the Romans in 63 B.C. We have not been able to identify the historian.

85.28-31. **the old Saxon Nobles, disunited among themselves, . . . a new class of strong Norman Nobles . . . *were* in a condition to govern it:** Harold II (1020-1066), the last Saxon king, came to the throne nine months before his death at the Battle of Hastings, where he was defeated

by the Norman invaders led by William I, the Conqueror (1028-1087). Thierry, whom Carlyle cites below (106.26), emphasizes the disunity of the Anglo-Saxons after the defeat of Harold: "But there was wanting a supreme chief, under whose command the whole strength and will of the country should rally; and the national council, which had to name this chief, was slow in giving a decision, agitated and divided as it was by intrigues and contending claims" (1:307).

85.38. **Teutonic men:** Although the Normans came from France, they were, as their name indicates, descendants of the Norse men, or Vikings, which Carlyle, following his tendency to divide Europeans between German and French or Celt, identified as Teutonic or Germanic.

86.23. **'Place of Hope':** The phrase was a favorite of Carlyle's, recurring in his letters, especially in the 1830s. The earliest use is from 1825, in a letter to Jane Welsh: "Who knows, too, but we may still be happy? In calm hours, hope has not yet forsaken me; for we are still in the land of the living which is the place of hope, and more perverse destinies than ours have changed to smoothness and serenity" (*Letters* 3:366-70). In the "Everlasting No" chapter of *Sartor Resartus*, Teufelsdröckh is quoted as saying, "Man is, properly speaking, based upon Hope, he has no other possession but Hope; this world of his is emphatically the Place of Hope" (2.7.121).

87.3. **'wild-justice':** Francis Bacon, "Of Revenge": "Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out" (2:261).

87.7. **Chivalry *Femgericht*, and Secret-Tribunal:** Femgericht, or Vehmgericht, was a medieval law tribunal of Westphalia in Germany. It held open sessions to which all free men were admitted for adjudicating property questions and ordinary misdemeanors, and featured a secret assembly, attended only by the judge, the aldermen, and parties to the case; the latter had superseded the former by 1500.

87.9. **fustian jackets:** Jackets made of cotton and flax, often used as shorthand for working-class attire.

87.10. **the paved Gallowgate of Glasgow:** One of the oldest paved streets in Glasgow. The men tried in the Glasgow spinners case (see note to

64.16) were arrested at the Black Boy Tavern, Gallowgate, on July 29, 1837 (see Swinton 91-92).

87.26. **Glasgow Trades-unions:** See note to 64.16.

87.29. **a French Revolution not yet complete:** In *The French Revolution,* Carlyle had doubted that the writing of a constitution had completed the revolution: "The Revolution is finished, then? . . . Your Revolution, like jelly sufficiently *boiled*, needs only to be poured into *shapes*, of Constitution, and 'consolidated' therein?" (1:6.4.234).

87.34. **Tithe Bill:** The Irish Tithe Bill (1838), which reformed the taxation Catholics were forced to pay to the Irish (Anglican) Church. See note to 118.9-11.

88.4-5. **three-and-twenty years' close fighting, sieging, conflagrating, with a million or two of men shot dead:** From 1792 to 1815, France was at war with England and other European nations more or less continuously. Modern estimates put the death toll at two and a half million (see Cashman and Robinson 2).

88.8-11. **The French Revolution is seen, or begins everywhere to be seen, 'as the crowning phenomenon of our Modern Time;' 'the inevitable stern end of much; the fearful, but also wonderful, indispensable and sternly beneficent beginning of much':** Carlyle quotes his *French Revolution*: "Surely a great Phenomenon: nay it is a *transcendental* one, overstepping all rules and experience; the crowning Phenomenon of our Modern Time" (1:6.1.212) and "Fear not Sansculottism; recognise it for what it is, the portentous, inevitable end of much, the miraculous beginning of much" (1:6.1.213).

88.19. **Falsehood Incarnate:** In *The French Revolution,* Carlyle had deemed Louis XVI a "very Solecism Incarnate" (1:1.4.21).

88.22. **'Time's Seedfield':** See note to 53.26-27.

88.34-36. **The cunningest Mephistopheles cannot deceive a simple Margaret of honest heart; 'it stands written on his brow':** "Es steht ihm an der Stirn geschrieben, / Dass er nicht mag eine Seele lieben" (*Faust* 1.3489-90). In "Count Cagliostro," Carlyle had translated these lines: "it

stands written on his brow that he never loved a living soul!" (*Historical Essays* 43).

89.14-15. **Domdaniel *Parcs-aux-cerfs*:** Domdaniel is the name of a fabled abode of evil spirits, gnomes, and enchanters, said to be an underwater cavern; it first appeared in Chaves and Cazotte's *Arabian Tales: Being a Continuation of the Arabian Nights* (1788-1793) and was introduced by Southey into his *Thalaba* (1801). Carlyle adds the connotation of a place of false delights. The Parc-aux-cerfs (literally, "Deer Park") was a hunting reserve at Versailles; the name was applied in jest to the nearby hotel where Louis XVI met (or "hunted") his mistresses. Carlyle alludes to it in the opening chapters of *The French Revolution* (see 1:1.3.16 and 1:1.4.21).

89.15. **'Peasants living on meal-husks and boiled grass':** *French Revolution* 1:5.3.168: "The National Assembly can get no furtherance for its Committee of Subsistences; can hear only that, at Paris, the Bakers' shops are besieged; that, in the Provinces, people are 'living on meal-husks and boiled grass.'"

89.16. **French Philosophisms:** The beliefs of a group of writers, journalists, scientists, and reformers—including Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot—who rejected traditional authority and favored philosophical reason. Carlyle considered them the intellectual fathers of the Revolution.

89.16-17. **Hume Scepticisms:** See note to 9.30.

89.17. **Diderot Atheisms:** Denis Diderot (1713-1784), one of the *philosophes* (see note to 89.16), was a man of letters and editor of the *Encyclopédie* (see note to 56.10). In "Diderot," Carlyle had discussed Diderot's and Hume's atheism.

89.18. **Seven-years Silesian robber-wars:** A struggle for supremacy between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa of Austria (1756-1763), the last major conflict before the French Revolution to involve all the great powers of Europe.

89.22-23. **Antæus-like the giant had struck his foot once more upon Reality and the Earth:** According to Greek mythology, the Libyan giant and wrestler Antæus was invincible so long as he stood on his mother, Earth; he was finally defeated by Hercules, who held Antæus off the ground until he weakened and died.

89.25. **'Phœnix fire-consummation':** In Indo-European myth the phoenix is a fabulous bird that every five hundred years (some legends say one thousand years) flies from paradise to a desert where it lights a fire with its wings, self-immolates, and then is reborn from its own ashes, only to begin again the ritual cycle of Life, Death, and Resurrection. Carlyle apparently evokes his *French Revolution*: "Behold the World-Phoenix, in fire-consummation and fire-creation: wide are her fanning wings; loud is her death-melody, of battle-thunders and falling towns; skyward lashes the funeral flame, enveloping all things: it is the Death-Birth of a World!" (1:6.1.213). This passage recalls also book 3, chapter 5, of *Sartor Resartus*, entitled "The Phœnix," as well as a later passage in *Sartor* in which he describes the annihilation of time and space as "the Fire-Creation of the World to its Fire-Consummation" (3.8.271).

89.28. **'rights of man':** On August 26, 1789, a few weeks after the storming of the Bastille, the National Assembly approved *La Declaration Des Droits De L'homme Et Du Citoyen* (The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen), which served as the preamble to the constitutions of 1793 and 1795 (see *French Revolution* 1:3.8.99-100). In 1791, Thomas Paine published *The Rights of Man, a Defense of the French Revolution*.

89.38. **'the Ideal weds itself to the Possible,' as the Philosophers say:** The specific quotation is not identified, but see the second chapter of *The French Revolution*, entitled "Realised Ideals" (1.1.2.8-11); the reference a few lines below (90.6-11) comes from this passage.

90.3-5. **The Highland wife, with her husband . . . (if there be historical truth in Joseph Miller), . . . "Go up, Donald, my man; the Laird bids ye":** An allusion to *Joe Miller's Jests; Or, the Wit's Vade-Mecum*, originally published in 1739 and widely circulated in various editions throughout the nineteenth century. We have not found an edition containing this anecdote, so "Joseph Miller" may be merely shorthand for a widely circulating joke.

90.6-11. **Deputy Lapoule, in the *Salle des Menus* at Versailles, . . . should be 'abrogated':** See *French Revolution*: "That Law authorising a Seigneur, as he returned from hunting, to kill not more than two Serfs, and refresh his feet in their warm blood and bowels, has fallen into perfect desuetude,—and even into incredibility; for if Deputy Lapoule can believe in it, and call for the abrogation of it, so cannot we" (1:1.2.12).

90.12. **corn-law:** From 1815 on, the Corn Laws imposed duties on im-

ported grain in order to protect the price of domestic grain and thus the interests of the landowning aristocracy. Opposition to the law, which was of long standing, gained momentum in 1838 with the founding of the Anti-Corn Law League, though repeal did not come until 1846. In 1832, Carlyle had published a sympathetic review of Ebenezer Elliott's *Corn-Law Rhymes*, a volume of poetry attacking the laws. In a letter of February 1839, Carlyle remarked, "One hopes there may be this single good in the scarcity: it may produce a determined universal onslaught on those iniquitous Corn-Laws, and abolish or modify them. There is like to be great disturbance otherwise, and great distress any way" (*Letters* 11:12). He would express his opposition to the laws again in *Past and Present* (1.1.9).

90.12. **game-law:** See note to 65.23.

90.12-13. **rotten-borough law:** Electoral districts that, because of shifts in population, were able to elect a member of Parliament with very few voters, disproportionate to other districts. One of the aims of the Reform Bill of 1832 (see note to 72.14) was to correct this imbalance.

90.18. **'Use every man according to his *rights*, and who shall escape whipping!':** *Hamlet* 2.2.529-30: "Use every man after his desert, and who should scape whipping?"

90.32. **the alpha and omega:** See note to 65.25.

90.35. **Lyons fusilladings, Nantes noyadings, reigns of terror:** Episodes of the French Revolution. In volume 3, book 5 of *The French Revolution,* entitled "Terror the Order of the Day," Carlyle recounts how at Lyons and other cities in the south of France, when the guillotine could not keep up with the number of executions of those considered enemies of the revolution, the revolutionaries turned to fussiladings "by musket and cannon" (3:5.3.217). In the same chapter, he describes how, at Nantes, people were locked up in boats, which were then sunk in the middle of the Loire, or thrown in the river with their hands tied (3:5.3.221). These events were part of the Reign of Terror, the name of the period from September 5, 1793, to July 27, 1794, when the revolutionary government declared that "Terror" was the order of the day and took harsh measures against those suspected of being enemies of the Revolution.

91.9-10. **as old as the Fall of Lucifer:** That is, since before the beginning

of human life, when, according to Christian mythology, Lucifer, the leader of a faction of angels, rebelled against God, who defeated him, after which he fell into hell.

92.title. **LAISSEZ-FAIRE:** See note to 73.25.

92.9-10. ***Laissez-faire* having passed its New Poor-Law:** The New Poor Law (see note to 71.25) was perceived to be an attempt to implement laissez-faire policies (see note to 73.25).

92.10. ***felo-de-se*:** In Latin, literally "a felon of himself." A legal term for suicide.

92.22. **idea which may well call itself divine:** See note to 45.1.

93.6. **This Church answers: Yes, the people are taught:** See the debates on universal education (note to 121.30).

93.6-10. **This Aristocracy, . . . Do we not pass what Acts of Parliament are needful; as many as thirty-nine for the shooting of the partridges alone? Are there not tread-mills, gibbets; even hospitals, poor-rates, New Poor-Law?:** The shooting of partridges refers to a favorite aristocratic pastime and the game laws designed to protect it (see note to 65.23). The treadmill—a common form of punishment in Victorian prisons—is a mill consisting of a large wooden cylinder with steps on the outside that is worked by persons treading on the steps; their weight causes the cylinder to revolve and forces them to continue taking steps. In most cases, the treadmill was not attached to anything and performed no useful function. A gibbet is a structure like a gallows, for the hanging and display of executed criminals. Hospitals may include the older sense of charitable institutions for the destitute, infirm, or aged or for the education and maintenance of the young as well as the more modern sense of a medical establishment. On the poor rates and New Poor Law, see note to 71.25.

93.11. **lucifer-box:** Box of matches (lucifers).

93.14-15. **Messiah Thom of Canterbury, and has himself shot for a new fifth-monarchy brought in by Bedlam:** John Nichols Thom (1799-1838), who claimed to be the Messiah, was shot to death during a riot near Canterbury on May 31, 1838, after an earlier altercation in which he killed a constable. His claim to be a Messiah leads Carlyle to compare

him and his followers to the seventeenth-century "fifth monarchy men," millennialists who believed that the second coming of Christ was immediately at hand (see note to 5.15-16). Carlyle probably read a report of this event in the June 3, 1838 *Examiner* (346), which described Thom as a "madman" who spent time in an insane asylum—hence Carlyle's reference to Bedlam (see note to 57.11)—but was also charismatic and managed to make himself "popular with the ignorant rabble, whose champion he avowed himself," and whom he "inflamed . . .by harangues against the New Poor Law Bill."

93.16. **fustian-jacket *Femgericht* in Glasgow City:** See notes to 87.7, 87.9, 64.16.

93.18. **'the five points':** Although the original Chartist petition (see note to 63.4-5) outlined five demands, a sixth was later added, but Carlyle persists in referring to five both here and in *Past and Present* (e.g., 1.4.28).

93.25-26. **a sardonic German writer:** One of Carlyle's fictional guises, Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, the clothes philosopher of *Sartor Resartus*. That he alludes to Teufelsdröckh here is confirmed by the manuscript drafts: "Laissez faire is good and yet as a crabbed author has said—'Leave us alone of your gov^{t}' (Teufelk.); 'eat your wages and sleep' {expand this.}" (Yale GEN MSS 677 fol. 5). See note to 68.20-22.

93.32-33. **in the time of Adam Smith, *Laissez-faire* was a reasonable cry:** Adam Smith (see note to 11.15-16) argued in *Wealth of Nations* that intervention in the marketplace was doomed to failure and that laissez-faire (see note to 73.25) was thus the best policy.

93.35-36. **hungry Greeks throttling down hungry Greeks on the floor of a St. Stephens:** On St. Stephens (Parliament) see note to 65.14. The hungry Greeks are not identified, but this is possibly an allusion to the *Odyssey,* in which Odysseus and his crew stop at the island of the sun god, Helios; Odysseus warns his men not to kill the sun god's oxen, sacred symbols of fertility, but the hungry Greeks do so, and Zeus destroys their ship with a thunderbolt.

94.8. **Peterloo:** On August 16, 1819, at St. Peter's Field, Manchester, cavalry and yeomanry attacked a meeting that had been organized to promote the reform of Parliament, leaving many dead and wounded. The event was soon named Peterloo—an ironic reference to the battle

of Waterloo (1815)—and became a symbol of unjust oppression. Each anniversary was commemorated by a demonstration at Manchester, and the Chartists used these occasions to advocate for their cause.

94.8. **Place-de-Grève:** A square in the center of Paris where public executions had been held since the fourteenth century; it was used for this purpose throughout the French Revolution, and the guillotine was set up there. In *The French Revolution*, Carlyle describes brutal executions there (see 1:5.7.196 and 2:6.7.301-2)

94.37-38. **Rome and Athens are themes for the schools; unexceptionable for that purpose:** School texts discussed certain phases of Greek and Roman governments as the earliest democracies. The first democracies were considered to have evolved in certain Greek city states. Beginning in 509 B.C. Rome became a republic; it was not strictly a democracy, but possessed institutions such as the senate that were regarded as antecedent institutions of a representative democracy.

95.3-4. **The French Convention was a Parliament elected 'by the five points,' with ballot-boxes, universal suffrages:** Carlyle draws an analogy between the changes of government in France during the revolution and those advocated by the Chartists, both of which sought to implement democratic reforms (see *The French Revolution* 2:5.1.195-203). Following the crisis of the tenth of August 1792, a National Convention was called (see 3:1.1.5).

95.7. **more arbitrary than any Sultan Bajazet:** In Racine's drama *Bajazet* (1672), Beyazid II (1447-1513), Ottoman sultan, is the victim of the sultan Amurat.

95.8-10. **It had to purge out its argumentative Girondins, elect its Supreme Committee of *Salut*, guillotine into silence and extinction all that gainsayed it:** The Girondins, a somewhat loosely affiliated group of politicians, many hailing from the French department known as the Gironde, were generally perceived as more theoretically and intellectually oriented than their opponents, the more radical Montagnards. As the French convention, in particular the Jacobin and Montagnard factions, became increasingly concerned to oppose both internal and external threats to the revolution, it evolved into a dictatorial regime under the Comité de salut public (Committee of Public Safety), led by Jean-Paul Marat.

Many members of the Girondin party, which opposed it, were executed. These events are recounted in *The French Revolution* 3:3.

95.11-12. **Napoleon was not president of a republic; Cromwell tried hard to rule in that way, but found that he could not:** When Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) imposed himself through military coercion and assumed the title of emperor, all pretense of a democratic republic vanished. After the execution of Charles I, the British Isles were declared a republic and named the Commonwealth, with Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) as chairman of the Council of State. At the end of the ensuing wars, Cromwell attempted to mediate between the army, which held considerable power, and the Parliament, but when this failed, he dismissed Parliament and established an "Assembly of Saints"—Puritan leaders—to govern, but found it also impossible to work with, and so took the role of Lord Protector, ruling with the advice of a council of state and Parliament. Carlyle would bring Napoleon and Cromwell together again in the "Hero as King" section of in *On Heroes* and would subsequently publish *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*.

95.13. **'the armed soldiers of democracy':** *The French Revolution*: "And even so it will blaze and run, scorching all things; and, from Cadiz to Archangel, mad Sansculottism, drilled now into Soldiership, led on by some 'armed Soldier of Democracy' (say, that Monosyllabic Artillery-Officer), will set its foot cruelly on the necks of its enemies; and its shouting and their shrieking shall fill the world!" (3.7.3.297). See also "Mirabeau," *Historical Essays* 159.34.

95.37-38. **What is an Aristocracy? A corporation of the Best, of the Bravest:** As Carlyle indicates, *aristocracy* is derived from the Greek *aristos* (best) and *kratia* (rule). Carlyle would repeat this idea in *Past and Present* 3.13.211.

96.31. **solution of continuity:** In medical terminology, a "solution of continuity" is a wound, a separation (dissolution) of soft tissue (a result of a laceration, for example) or of bone (as in a fracture). Burke had used the term in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*: "In the very act, in which . . . parliament departed from the strict order of inheritance, in favour of a prince, who, though not next, was however very near in the line of succession, . . . [it] is curious to observe with what address this temporary solution of continuity is kept from the eye; whilst all that could be found in this act of necessity to countenance the idea of

an hereditary succession is brought forward, and fostered, and made the most of" (165-66).

96.38. **Moral Philosophies:** The context indicates that Carlyle refers here to attempts of eighteenth-century philosophers to put morality on a rational basis. The Earl of Shaftesbury argued that ethics derive from an innate "moral sense" that enables one to distinguish right from wrong. His contemporary Francis Hutcheson systematized these principles and combined them with the greatest happiness principle. Carlyle had criticized moral philosophy in "Memoirs of Mirabeau": "The two Mosaic Tables were of simple limited stone; no logic appended to them: we, in our days, are privileged with Logic,—Systems of Morals, Professors of Moral Philosophy, Theories of Moral Sentiment, Utilities, Sympathies, Moral Senses, not a few; useful for those that feel comfort in them" (*Historical Essays* 156).

96.38. **St.-Simonisms:** The philosophy of Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), who hoped to create a new social order based on a blend of Christian and rational humanist principles as set forth in *Le Nouveau Christianisme* (1825). As discussed in the introduction, some of his followers thought they recognized in Carlyle's "Signs of the Times" a similar set of beliefs and the following year sent to him a collection of Saint-Simonian writings (*Letters* 5:133). During the late 1820s, Carlyle was sufficiently impressed with Saint-Simon that he translated *Le Nouveau Christianisme* and respected the Saint-Simonians' desire for a reborn society organized on new principles, but he rejected their claim that "Dieu est revenu à la France en Saint-Simon, et la France annoncera au monde le Dieu nouveau" (God has returned to France in Saint-Simon, and France will announce the new God to the world) (*Letters* 5:137). As Carlyle explains politely but firmly in a letter to the Saint-Simonian Gustave D'Eichthal, "You call yourselves a *Church*, and founders of a new *Religion;* which Religion, permit me to confess, I hitherto seek for in vain" (*Letters* 5:278).

96.38. **Robert-Macairisms:** Robert Macaire is the villain in the play *L'Auberge des adrets* (1823), based in part on a fourteenth-century legend. In 1837, the first of Honoré Daumier's cartoon series featuring Robert Macaire appeared in the illustrated newspaper *Le Charivari*. His Macaire is a satiric caricature of the typical businessman of Louis-Philippe's reign.

97.1. **'Literature of Desperation':** Goethe described Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* (The Hunchback of Notre Dame, 1831) as an example of

"*die Litteratur der Verzweiflung*" ("the Literature of Despair") in a letter of June 10, 1831 (*Goethe's Briefe* 484). John Stuart Mill had used the phrase in a letter of August 2, 1833, to Carlyle in which he wrote that his "notion" of Paris "is chiefly taken from its recent literature, which is exactly what Goethe called it, the literature of despair, 'die Litteratur der Verzweiflung'" (*Works* 12:62). Carlyle had used the phrase in "Sir Walter Scott," where he associates it with Goethe's own *Werter* and with Byron: "Then as to *Werterism*, had not we English our Byron and his genus? No form of Werterism in any other country had half the potency: . . . France, busy with its Revolution and its Napoleon, had little leisure at the moment for Götzism or Werterism; but it has had them both since, in a shape of its own: witness the whole 'Literature of Desperation' in our own days, the beggarliest form of Werterism yet seen, probably its expiring final form" (*Essays on Literature* 304). See also Carlyle's notes to Jane Welsh Carlyle's letter of August 23, 1842: "*Litterature der Verzweiflung* was Goethe's definit*n* of Victor Hugo and C*o*'s new gospel" (*Letters* 15:42, n.1) and his 1841 comment on Geraldine Jewsbury (Froude, *Life in London* 1:221), as well as *On Heroes* 160 and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* 289.

97.6. **written in Belshazzar fire-letters:** Prophetic writings warning Belshazzar of the ending of his reign (see Daniel 5).

97.8. **ideology:** The word "idéologie" was coined by Destutt de Tracy in 1796 and that year first appeared in English as "ideology." De Tracy used the term to refer to the philosophy of mind, the science of ideas. The meaning of the term was altered by Napoleon, who used it to refer to those who remained faithful to the principles of the French Revolution, as people driven by theoretical ideas. Carlyle had used a form of this term ("Ideologist") in *Sartor Resartus*, where Teufelsdröckh refers to Napoleon's usage: "'He himself,' says the Professor, 'was among the completest Ideologists, at least Ideopraxists: in the Idea (*in der Idee*) he lived, moved, and fought'" (2.8.184).

97.8. **perfectibility:** Carlyle on several occasions expressed skepticism about enlightenment predictions that humanity was moving toward perfection. See, for example, "The State of German Literature": "Then did the Prices and Condorcets of Germany indulge in day-dreams of perfectibility; a new social order was to bring back the Saturnian era to the world; and philosophers sat on their sunny Pisgah, looking back over dark savage deserts, and forward into a land flowing with milk and honey" (*Essays*

on German Literature 73); see also "Novalis" (*Essays on German Literature* 325n) and "Schiller," (*Essays on German Literature* 421).

97.13-14. **'sensible species':** In Aristotle, the forms of objects that can be perceived by the senses; this concept continued to be discussed in analysis of the formation of ideas in John Locke, Thomas Reid, and others. Reid defines the Aristotelean use of the term in his essay titled "The Intellectual Powers of Man": "Aristotle taught that all objects of our thought enter first by the senses; and, since the sense cannot receive external material objects themselves, it receives their species—that is, their images or forms, without the matter, as wax receives the form of the seal without any of the matter of it. These images or forms, impressed upon the senses, are called sensible species, and are the objects only of the sensitive part of the mind; but, by various internal powers, they are retained, refined, and spiritualized, so as to become objects of memory and imagination, and, at last, of pure intellection" (225).

97.14. **'ghosts of defunct bodies':** From Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1663): "He could reduce all things to Acts / And knew their Natures by Abstracts, / Where Entity and Quiddity / The Ghosts of defunct Bodies flie" (1.1.142-45).

97.17-18. **In Charity-Balls, Soup-Kitchens, in Quarter-Sessions, Prison-Discipline and Treadmills:** As Carlyle implies, these are institutions of recent date; the first two are philanthropic and the latter three penal. Charity balls were a recent development, an extension of voluntary societies in which private individuals united for philanthropic purposes. Soup kitchens were a philanthropic institution that provided meals for the destitute. Quarter Sessions were courts held quarterly in every county in England, presided over by justices of the peace who, until the 1820s, usually were members of the landed gentry who were known to prosecute with vigor violators of game laws. Prison discipline refers to the movement toward penal reform in the early nineteenth century, initiated by John Howard in 1773 and continued by a number of individuals in the nineteenth century. On the treadmill, see note to 93.6-10.

97.34-35. **Society 'exists for the protection of property':** John Locke used similar phrasing in several places in his *Two Treatises of Government* (1689), arguing that "the chief end" of "civil society . . . is the preservation of property" (*Treatise* 2, chap. 6, sec. 85), that "government has no other end but the preservation of property" (2.7.94), and finally that "the great and

chief end, therefore, of men uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property; to which in the state of Nature there are many things wanting" (2.9.124).

97.35-36. **the poor man also has property, namely, his 'labour':** In the early nineteenth century, radicals, in response to the fact that the electoral franchise was limited to those who own property, argued on the basis of Locke's conception of labor that workers' labor is their property and thus should accord them the right to vote as owners of property. Locke had written in his *Two Treatises of Government* (see preceding note): "Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a 'property' in his own 'person.' This nobody has any right to but himself. The 'labour' of his body and the 'work' of his hands, we may say, are properly his" (*Treatise* 2, chap. 5, sec. 26). This conception became the basis for Adam Smith's claim in *Wealth of Nations* that labor is the basis of all wealth.

97.36. **fifteen-pence or three-and-sixpence a-day he can get for that:** Based on a six-day work week, these figures represent a range from 7.5 shillings to 21 shillings per week. The figures are roughly consistent with the wage tables in Symons's *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad* (see especially 2-3), where the lower end of weekly wages for men (depending on the particular job) is 7 shillings per week and the upper range is above 20 shillings, though in some cases, as with machine-makers and iron-founders, the upper limit is 30 shillings per week. As noted above (note to 64.9-10), Symons puts the average weekly wage of Lancashire workers at 10 shillings, 6 pence per week.

97.38-98.2. **Eighth Commandment, the whole 'rights of man' are well cared for; I know no better definition of the rights of man. *Thou shalt not steal*:** Exodus 20:15.

98.2-3. **Plato's Republic, More's Utopia:** Both Plato's *Republic* (4th century B.C.) and Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) attempt to delineate the ideal form of government.

98.10-11. **I have the miraculous breath of Life in me, breathed into my nostrils by Almighty God:** Genesis 2:7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."

98.16. **eight hundred pounds and odd a-day:** An enormous income, on the order of £250,000 per year, indicating an individual of vast wealth.

98.19-20. **Socrates walked barefoot, or in wooden shoes:** Plato's *Symposium* describes Socrates's penchant for walking barefoot, even in winter (51). References to Socrates walking barefoot may also be found in Aristophanes's *The Clouds* (21).

98.22. **'Of my very body I have but a life-rent':** Carlyle quotes his alter ego, Diogenes Teufelsdröckh: "When the widest and wildest violations of that divine right of Property, the only divine right now extant or conceivable, are sanctioned and recommended by a vicious Press, and the world has lived to hear it asserted that *we have no Property in our very Bodies, but only an accidental Possession, and Life-rent*, what is the issue to be looked for?" (*Sartor Resartus* 2.10.149). In his journal for October 28, 1830, Carlyle had written:

> I have no *property* in anything whatsoever; except, perhaps (if I am a virtuous man), in my own free will. Of my body I have only a life rent; of all that is without my skin only an accidental possession, so long as I can keep it. Vain man! Are the stars *thine* because thou lookest on them? Is that piece of earth thine because thou hast eaten its fruits? Thy proudest palace what is it but a tent: pitched not indeed for days but for years? The earth is *the Lord's*. Remember this, and seek other duties than game preserving, wouldst thou not be an interloper, sturdy beggar, and even thief. (Froude, *First Forty Years* 2:93)

A life-rent is a rent which one is entitled to receive for life, usually for support, thus a right to use and enjoy property during one's life.

98.22-24. **this flaccid purse of mine, 'tis something, nothing; has been the slave of pickpockets, cutthroats, . . . 'twas his, 'tis mine:** *Othello* 3.3.157-61: "Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing; / 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands; / But he that filches from me my good name / Robs me of that which not enriches him, / And makes me poor indeed."

98.24. **Jew-brokers, gold-dust-robbers:** On March 25, 1839, Lewin Cas-

par, an employee of a shipping company, together with his father, Elias, stole one hundred pounds of gold dust, which they sought to dispose of through Emanuel Moses, a pawnbroker and fence, hence, presumably the reference to "Jew-broker." They and their accomplices, all of whom were Jewish, were soon caught and on June 17 were convicted of the robbery. The *Examiner*, to which the Carlyles subscribed, carried several reports relating to the crime.

98.31. **A sooty African *can* become a Toussaint L'ouverture:** L'Ouverture (1743-1803) was the leader of the slave rebellion in Haiti, a French colony that sought independence during the French Revolution, beginning in 1791. He was the son of a slave and, of course, of African descent. Although Carlyle describes the rebellion in *The French Revolution* (2:5.4), he does not mention L'Ouverture. L'Ouverture may have been brought to mind by the publication of Harriet Martineau's novel *The Hour and the Man* (1839), about Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian rebellion, but Carlyle did not read it until December 1840, after the publication of "Chartism" (see *Letters* 12:348, 356).

98.32. **Three-fingered Jack:** Pseudonym of Jack Mansong, a Jamaican slave who ran away from his master in 1780 and organized a group of escaped slaves into a band of outlaws; after a reward was offered for his capture in 1790, he was caught and killed. His story was first popularized by Benjamin Moseley in *A Treatise on Sugar* (1799) and by William Earle Jr., in *Obi; or, the History of Three-finger'd Jack* (1800). The stage version, *Obi, or Three-Finger'd Jack,* originated in 1800 as a pantomime and became a spoken melodrama in the 1820s, at which time the story was given an abolitionist slant.

98.32. **yellow West Indies:** Presumably the white slave-owning inhabitants of Haiti, Jamaica, and other West Indian islands. Yellow may be a synonym for white; in *Past and Present* Carlyle would similarly contrast a Haitian duke with "*yellow*-coloured 'Free Labourers' in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire" (4.5.273). It may also refer to supposed creolization in accord with contemporary discourse that distinguished people of European descent born in the Caribbean as Creole and in some cases suggested subjection of the body to its climate resulted in "creolization." Carlyle also here draws on elements of contemporary racial science, which plays a role in his discussion of Celts and Saxons; below he describes the Norman Conquest in terms of "race" (107).

98.32-35. **A Scottish Poet 'proud of his name and country,' *can* apply fervently to 'Gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt,' and become a gauger of beer-barrels, and tragical immortal broken-hearted Singer:** Robert Burns's (1759-1796) efforts to achieve financial independence led him to enter the Excise Service as a customs officer, or gauger, in 1789, a circumstance that Carlyle had discussed in "Burns," where he depicts him as a "true Poet-soul," whose short life was "a tragedy, and one of the deepest": "And this was he for whom the world found no fitter business than quarrelling with smugglers and vintners, computing excise-dues upon tallow, and gauging ale-barrels! In such toils was that mighty Spirit sorrowfully wasted: and a hundred years may pass on, before another such is given us to waste" (*Essays on Literature* 34, 33, 35; see also "Goethe's Works," *Essays on German Literature* 575, "Heintze's Translation of Burns," *Essays on Literature* 329, *On Heroes* 164, *Past and Present* 2.9.89). The Caledonian Hunt was a social association of noblemen and country gentlemen sharing an enthusiasm for field sports, some of whose members patronized Burns in Edinburgh. Burns dedicated the first Edinburgh edition of *Poems* (1787) to the Hunt and was himself a member from 1792 (Lindsay). The dedication begins, "My Lords, and Gentlemen, A Scottish Bard, proud of the name, and whose highest ambition is to sing in his Country's service, where shall he so properly look for patronage as to the illustrious Names of his native Land; those who bear the honours and inherit the virtues of their Ancestors?" (v). Carlyle would include Burns (along with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Samuel Johnson) in "The Hero as Man of Letters," in *On Heroes*.

98.36. ***Miserere*:** "Miserere mei, Deus," the Latin title of the hymn based on Psalm 51:1.

99.27. **Mahometanism:** Carlyle's qualified respect for Mohammed and Islam was unusual for his time. On his reading concerning Islam, see the headnote to the "Hero as Prophet," which takes Mohammed as its illustration (*On Heroes* xli-xliii and 37-66.).

99.28. **Dalai-Lamaism:** In *On Heroes* (see preceding note), Carlyle would state that he finds "Grand Lamaism itself to have a kind of truth in it" and compares it to the papacy (6). Carlyle's source of information on Tibet and the Dalai Lama appears to have been Samuel Turner's *Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet* (1800). See *Past and Present* 482.

100.23-24. **'usual habits of Parliament':** Presumably an approximation of a cant phrase of the era; we have not been able to identify instances of this particular phrase. Carlyle quoted the phrase again in *Past and Present* 4.3.264.

101.11-12. **'*Memoires*' of Horace Walpole:** Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford (1717-1797), *Memoirs of the Reigns of George II and III* (1822-1859), a record of political events of his time. In a December 2, 1838, letter, Carlyle writes: "My present book is *Horace Walpole*; I get endless stuff out of it, epic, tragic, lyrical, didactic: all *in*articulate indeed. An old blind schoolmaster in Annan used to ask with endless anxiety when a new scholar was offered him, 'But are ye sure *he's not a Dunce?*' It is really the one thing needful in a man; for indeed (if we will candidly understand it) *all* else is presupposed in that. Horace Walpole is no dunce, not a fibre of him is duncish" (*Letters* 10:230-31).

101.15-16. **one who will go all lengths for the 'glorious revolution,' and resist Tory principles to the death:** The "glorious revolution" involved deposing James II in favor of his daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, resolving a crisis that arose when James threatened to undermine the status of the Church of England as state religion, thus raising questions about the succession; it was considered glorious because it took place without bloodshed and established the parameters for the modern British state. The Walpoles were Whigs, who regarded the "glorious revolution" of 1688 as the restoration of important rights lost during the Norman conquest.

101.16-19. **he writes, with an indignant elegiac feeling, . . . scandalously postponed to Mr. That:** In the eighteenth century, members of the Whig and Tory parties could expect that their fellow party members would reward loyalty with sinecures for their family and friends.

101.21. **to cry, Hold!:** *Macbeth* 1.5.50-54: "Come, thick night, / And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell, / That my keen knife see not the wound it makes, / Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark, / To cry 'Hold, hold!'"

102.6-7. **Rick-burnings:** The burning of hayricks (haystacks) in the Swing riots (see note to 38.1-2).

102.17. **'Supply and demand':** A fundamental principle of political econ-

omy in Adam Smith and his successors, associated with laissez-faire (see notes to 11.15-16 and 73.25). According to the law of supply and demand, prices are determined by the relative quantities of the supply of goods and the demand for them.

102.21-22. **Samuel Johnson furnished with 'fourpence halfpenny a-day,' and solid lodging at nights on the paved streets, as his payment:** Carlyle had written about Samuel Johnson's (1709-1784) meager income in "Boswell's Life of Johnson," stating "it is known that he once lived on fourpence halfpenny a-day" (*Essays on Literature* 148). He also notes how Johnson and the poet Richard Savage would "wander homeless through the streets; without bed, yet not without friendly converse; such another conversation not, it is like, producible in the proudest drawing-room of London. Nor, under the void of Night, upon the hard pavement, are their own woes the only topic: nowise; they will 'stand by their country,' the two 'Back-woods-men' of the Brick Desart!" (184). Carlyle would include Johnson (along with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Robert Burns) in "The Hero as Man of Letters," in *On Heroes*.

102.25. **Talfourd Copyright Bill:** See note to 59.1 and Carlyle's petition for Talfourd's Bill, "Petition on the Copyright Bill" (above).

102.30-31. **half-mad inflammable Rousseaus:** Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), French philosopher, novelist, and political theorist, whose treatises and novels inspired the leaders of the French Revolution and the Romantic generation. Carlyle looks upon Rousseau with suspicion, as he did other French enlightenment thinkers, such as Voltaire and Diderot. The contrast between Rousseau and Johnson is repeated in "Hero as Man of Letters" in *On Heroes*, where they, together with Burns, illustrate the man of letters hero.

102.32-34. **Society contrived to pay Philippe d'Orléans not yet Egalité three hundred thousand a-year and odd, for driving cabriolets through the streets of Paris:** Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc d'Orléans (1747-1793), although a cousin of King Louis XVI, was at odds with him and became a supporter of the revolution. After the fall of the monarchy in 1792, he renounced his title of nobility and accepted the name Philippe Égalité (Philip Equality). In *The French Revolution,* Carlyle had written: "Not now *D'Orléans:* for, Feudalism being swept from the world, he demands of his worthy friends the Electors of Paris, to have a new name of their choosing; whereupon Procureur Manuel, like an antithetic literary man,

recommends *Equality,* Égalité" (3:1.7.493). In the same place, Carlyle estimates his pre-revolutionary income as three hundred thousand pounds a year (1:3.3.71); here he ironically suggests that Orleans was paid this vast income merely to display himself in his cabriolet, a light two-wheeled chaise drawn by one horse (see the description in 1:2.6.49-50).

102.36-38. **whose brain in consequence, *too* 'much enforced' for a weak brain, uttered hasty sparks, *Contrat Social* and the like:** Rousseau (see note to 102.30-31), *Du Contrat social, ou, Principes du droit politique* (The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right, 1762) argues that society was formed to protect property, which creates inequality; Rousseau opposes this social contract to an ideal contract in which men would receive in exchange for their independence a better kind of freedom, namely true political, or republican**,** liberty. The quotation is from *Julius Caesar* 4.3.110-13: "O Cassius, you are yoked with a lamb / That carries anger as the flint bears fire; / Who, much enforced, shows a hasty spark, / And straight is cold again."

103.1-2. **Copyright Bill continued to eternity instead of sixty years:** As indicated in the note to 59.1, Talfourd's bill proposed to set the term of copyright to sixty years after the author's death; although Carlyle implies that an eternal copyright would be in line with the principle of laissez-faire, the separate legal argument for a "perpetual" copyright was of long standing.

104.1. **a 'new Era':** As Carlyle suggests, many books and pamphlets describing the present as a "new era" were published in the early nineteenth century; this was topical, for the phrase does not appear in titles before then.

104.10. **Cromwell Rebellion:** See note to 95.11-12.

104.10-11. **'striking on the Horologe of Time':** Carlyle quotes himself from "On History": "Our clock strikes when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the Horologe of Time peals through the universe, when there is a change from Era to Era" (*Historical Essays* 7). He had previously quoted this passage in "The Death of Goethe" (*Essays on German Literature* 364) and *The French Revolution*, where he refers to it in relation to the passing of an old era: "Thus, in any case, 'with a sound absolutely like thunder,' has the Horologe of Time struck, and an old Era passed away" (1:1.4.25).

104.13-19. **'History of the Teuton Kindred (*Geschichte der Teutschen Sippschaft*),' . . . the Herr Professor Sauerteig:** Herr Gottfried Sauerteig is a fictitious author that Carlyle had previously "quoted" in "Biography" and "Count Cagliostro"; he would appear again in *Past and Present*. Sauerteig is the German for "sourdough" (Carlyle has in mind its leavening qualities). Carlyle had, of course, frequently written about, and translated, works by German authors, and *Sartor Resartus* is presented as a translation of a fictitious German book and fictitious author. While the historical narrative presented here draws on a number of sources, it relies in particular on Thierry (see note to 106.26-28). It parallels in several respects the history of English and German literature Carlyle had given in his lectures on the history of literature in April to July 1838 (see *History of Literature* 124-67).

104.24-105.1. **Tribe of Saxons, fashioned in the depths of Time, "on the shores of the Black Sea" or elsewhere, "out of Harzgebirge rock":** Carlyle apparently derived this notion during his researches for his 1838 lectures on the history of literature. The eighth lecture begins with a discussion of the origin of the English, which he describes as a "tribe of the Teutonic race": "One tribe was made out of the mould of the valley of the Danube, another out of water, but the *Saxons* out of the Saxa or rock of the Hartz Mountains" (*History of Literature* 146, 148; see also *On Heroes* 162). Carlyle states that his source for this myth was Mascou or Luden, but it does not appear in either. Mascou states that the myths of origin of the Saxons are "various and strange" and sets forth the generally accepted notion that the Saxons were Germans "who took their Appellation from those Knives or Swords, which they made Use of, and were, in the Language, called *Sachs*" (6:242).

105.6. **twenty million Saxon men:** A rough estimate of the population of England at the time of writing. The 1841 census figure for England, Scotland, and Wales is 18,534,332. The First Annual Report of the Registrar-General (1839), presented to Parliament in July 1839, estimated the population of England and Wales to be 15,324,720 as of January 1, 1838.

105.8. **the Tribe of *Theuth*:** According to the legend that Carlyle alludes to above (see note to 104.24-105.1), the Saxons left the tribes of Theuth and migrated across Europe to England. In his lectures on the history of literature, Carlyle claimed that the ancient Teutons "worshipped the earth—*Thorth* or *Teuth*—from whom they themselves claimed to be descended" (125). "Theuth" is an early form of "Teuton" or "Teutsch."

105.12. Long-Acre carriages: Longacre was the center of the carriage-building trade in London; in this context, Long-acre carriages differ from spring-vans and dray-wagons only in being more expensive and elegant.

105.12. **railway trains:** See note to 6.13.

105.14. **West-India Docks:** The West India Docks were opened in 1802 to enable ships to discharge directly into guarded quays, where goods could be stored in secure warehouses quickly and without loss to pilfering.

105.22. ***White-cliff*, Albion so-called:** As Carlyle suggests, Albion, the earliest known name for the island of Britain, means white land and has been assumed to refer to the white cliffs on its coasts.

105.22-23. **Cassiterides *Tin Islands*:** The Cassiterides, Greek for Tin Islands, was the name given in ancient writings to a group of islands they believed to be situated somewhere near the west coasts of Europe. The sources of tin, however, were Spain and Cornwall.

105.24. **Romans are dead out, English are come in:** Julius Caesar invaded Britain in 55 or 54 B.C., and the Romans colonized a large portion of the island. They remained until the fifth century, when their power began to decline, and by the end of the sixth century the Anglo-Saxons were dominant, the Romans having withdrawn and the Britons (whom the Romans had found as the native population) having been driven to the peripheries of the island. See also next note.

105.28-29. **Hengst and Horsa mooring on the mud-beach of Thanet, on that spring morning of the Year 449:** Hengst (d. 488?) and his brother Horsa (d. 455) were traditionally considered the Jute leaders of the first Anglo-Saxon invasions of England, in Thanet, in southeastern England. Carlyle had referred to this history in "On History Again," where his source was Milton's *History of Britain* (1670), which Carlyle quotes below (see note to 106.4-5): "Neither was that an unimportant wassail-night when the two black-browed Brothers, strongheaded, headstrong, Hengst and Horsa (*Stallion* and *Horse*), determined on a man-hunt in Britain, the boar-hunt at home having got over-crowded" (*Historical Essays* 22). Although the date is now considered to be closer to 430, Carlyle's sources put it at 449 (see, for example, Henry 3:1).

105.30. **New York, Calcutta, Sidney Cove:** As the passage cited in the

previous note indicates, Carlyle sees the colonization of Britain by the Angles and Saxons as one in a series of migrations, culminating in the more recent migrations to North America (New York), India (Calcutta), and Australia (Sidney Cove).

105.31-32. **Wellingtons, Washingtons, Shakspeares, Miltons, Watts, Arkwrights, William Pitts and Davie Crocketts:** Accomplished men who were British, or Americans of British origin. Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), general and victor at Waterloo and later Prime Minister; George Washington (1732-1799), commander in chief of the American armies during the revolution and first president of the United States; William Shakespeare (1564-1616), English poet and playwright; John Milton (1608-1674), English poet and prose writer; James Watt (see note to 13.7-9), inventor of the steam engine; Richard Arkwright (1732-1792), inventor and developer of industrial processes for textile production; William Pitt the Elder (1708-1778) and William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806), both statesmen and leaders in Parliament; and Davy Crockett (1786-1836), American frontiersman and politician. In a November 10, 1837, letter Carlyle requested books by or about Davy Crockett, apparently with a writing project in mind (see *Letters* 9:350), but in a September 15, 1838, letter, he rejects this possibility, stating that whatever he writes, "it must be infinitely nearer the heart than *Crocket*" (see *Letters* 10:176-180).

105.34. **leather-boats of Hengst's:** Milton's *History of Britain* (1670) records: "Their ships of light timber wickered with osier between, and covered-over with leather, served not therefore to transport them far; and their commodities were fetched-away by foreign merchants: their dealing, saith Diodorus, was plain and simple without fraud" (2.40-41).

105.36. **An Epic Poem was there:** Carlyle frequently treats history as national epic, and he used Homer as a model for *The French Revolution*. In "Biography," he writes that "All Mythologies were once Philosophies; were *believed:* The Epic Poems of old time, so long as they continued *epic* . . . were Histories, and understood to be narratives of *facts*" (*Essays on Literature* 135). He would elaborate this conception in *Past and Present* (2.17.132).

106.4-5. **Milton names it, the "flocking and fighting of kites and crows":** *The History of Britain* (1670): "Such bickerings to recount met often in these our writers, what more worth is it then to chronicle the wars of

kites and crows, flocking and fighting in the air?" (4.161). Carlyle had noted this and other phrases from Milton's history in his journal in April 1822 (*Note Books* 23) and quoted the same passage in "On History Again," *Historical Essays* 22. See also note to 105.28-29.

106.5-6. **the Heptarchy or Seven Kingdoms:** The seven English kingdoms from the sixth to the ninth centuries: Northumberland, East Anglia, Essex, Mercia, Wessex, Sussex, and Kent. Carlyle's reference to six centuries alludes to the period from the beginning of the Saxon invasions in the fifth century to the Norman invasion in the eleventh. In "On History Again" in which, like this essay, Carlyle quoted Milton's *History of Britain* (1670), Carlyle wrote: "the whole Saxon Heptarchy, I say, is summed up practically in that one sentence of Milton's, the only one succeeding writers have copied, or readers remembered, of the 'fighting and flocking of kites and crows'" (*Historical Essays* 22; see 469).

106.10-11. **Venerable Bede had got a language which he could now not only speak, but spell and put on paper:** Bede the Venerable (672?-735), theologian and historian, best known for his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the English People), considered to be the first important account of British history. Bede wrote his history in Latin; under the auspices of Alfred the Great (849-899), it was translated into Old English.

106.16-17. ***Castra,* Caesters or Chesters, Dons, Tons (*Zauns,* Inclosures or *Towns*):** The OED derives "chester" from Old English "ceaster, cæster," and "cæstra" and in turn from Latin "castra," meaning "camp." It also notes that it "was often applied to places in Britain which had been originally Roman encampments. . . . This is one of the best ascertained of the Latin words adopted by the Angles and Saxons during the conquest of Britain. Still existing as the proper name, or part of the name, of many places." The OED records that "town" derives from Old English "tuun, tún," Old and Middle High German "zûn" (German "Zaun"): "The sense in Old High German was 'fence, hedge,' as in German *zaun* . . . In Old English the sense 'fence, hedge' does not occur, only that of 'enclosed place.' . . . The modern sense . . . is later than the Norman Conquest, and corresponds to French *ville* 'town, city,' as similarly developed from L. *villa* 'farm, country-house.'"

106.26-28. **M. Thierry has written an ingenious Book, celebrating with considerable pathos the fate of the Saxons fallen under that fierce-heart-**

ed *Conquistator*, Acquirer or Conqueror: Augustin Thierry, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (1825), which was translated as *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans* (1825). Thierry's history depicted the Norman conquest as limiting the freedoms established by the Anglo-Saxons and lamented their overthrow by the Norman king, William the Conqueror (1028-1087). At the conclusion of book 1, Thierry writes:

> He was subdued by other strangers from beyond the ocean, who, in their turn, imposed on him the same hard yoke of conquest which he had himself imposed; but neither his defeats nor his enslavement were of any advantage to the refugees in Wales. The recital of the misfortunes of the Anglo-Saxon people, subjugated and oppressed by a people of different language and origin, is now to be commenced. That race of men, therefore, will now claim the interest of the historian, for it will be the suffering race; in the same manner as the suffering race of the Britons has interested him in the preceding pages . . . Without being the less impartial, and without in any degree perverting the truth of facts, we may be allowed to pity the fate, in past ages as well as in the present, of men and of nations become victims of injustice and violence. This is no more than is due to equity and humanity; and if the unfortunate are sacred to their contemporaries, they are equally so to history. (1:97-98)

"Conquistator" appears to be an error for, or variant spelling of, "conquistador," Spanish for "conqueror." As Carlyle suggests, the term's root indicates acquisition.

106.29-31. **the fate of the Welsh too moves him; of the Celts generally, whom a fiercer race swept before them into the mountainous nooks of the West:** Thierry (see preceding note) writes:

> Thus disappeared from the whole island of Britain, excepting only the small and barren country of Wales, the race of the Celts, Cambrians, Lœgrians, and Britons, properly so called, . . . These feeble remains of a great people had the glory of keeping possession of their last corner of territory, against the efforts of an enemy immensely superior in numbers and resources; often vanquished,

> but never subjugated, and bearing through the course of ages the unshaken conviction of a mysterious eternity reserved for their name and their language. (1:94-95)

106.36-37. **the cause which pleased the gods has in the end to please Cato also:** An allusion to Lucan's first-century epic *Pharsalia*: "Victrix causa diis placuit sed victa Catoni" (The conquering cause pleased the gods, but the conquered cause pleased Cato). Cato the Younger, Marcus Porcius Cato (95-46 B.C.), was a Roman statesman and a political opponent of Julius Caesar.

107.2-3. **Whose land *was* this of Britain? God's who made it:** See note to 80.7-8.

107.5-6. **The Celt, "aboriginal savage of Europe," as a snarling antiquary names him, arrived, pretending to have a better right:** An allusion to John Pinkerton, who in his *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths* (1787) describes the Celts as "the most ancient inhabitants [of Europe] that can be traced; and who were to the other races what the savages of America are to the European settlers there" (17). Pinkerton further insists that the Celts "are savages, have been savages since the world began, and will be forever savages while a separate people; that is, while themselves, and of unmixt blood" (92). Pinkerton also refers to the Celts as savages throughout his *An Enquiry into the History of Scotland* (1794). Carlyle read Pinkerton early in his life and held a low opinion of him. In an 1822 letter, he writes, "There are some 'histories of Scotland' which relate to periods with which perhaps you would like to become acquainted. Laing is a sensible, hard-hearted man: Pinkerton has the most hateful mind of any living author—but his 'house of Stewart' is worth looking into. The 'early history' cannot be read, by any thinking creature; it is fit only for antiquarians" (*Letters* 2:10-13). Writing nearly thirty years later, Carlyle at least partially reversed his opinion of Pinkerton: "I wish I knew any other Book to send *you*, if you are in need of Books. Pinkerton's *Scotland before 1060* has well entertained, and considerably instructed me, for some days past; really a learned solid book (tho' sadly ill-written); the *best* of the antiquarian genus I have read for years. We (Scotch) are and were all Scandinavians '*Piks*,' he says, and the *Celts* are nothing or less" (*Letters* 26:73-75; see also 13:278-79). Carlyle frequently expressed disdain for Celts himself; a year after the publication of "Chartism" he would write of his pride that he was of Danish, not Celtic, descent: "The Annandale Scotch . . . are all Danes . . . stalwart Normans: terrible Sea-Kings are

now terrible drainers of Morasses, terrible spinners of yarn, coal-borers, removers of mountains. . . . The windy Celts of *Gallo*way meet us, not many miles from this, on the edge of Nithsdale: is it not a considerable blessing to have escaped being born a Celt?" (*Letters* 13:192). See also his discussion of Ireland in chapter 4 above. Carlyle's copy of Pinkerton's *History of Scotland* is at the Carlyle House (Tarr, "Carlyle's Libraries" 88).

107.9. **The bisons disappeared:** Sources in Carlyle's time noted that the European bison was on the road to extinction, having long disappeared from Britain and most of continental Europe, and now limited in range to the woodlands of far eastern Europe. See, for example, *Penny Magazine* 7 (April 21, 1838): 145.

107.10. **Celts took possession, and tilled:** The Celts are credited with developing agriculture in Britain. Thierry (see note to 106.26-28) associates agricultural practice with the lowland Picts, as opposed to the Scots, highland dwellers who were primarily hunters and shepherds (1:9).

107.22-26. **One proposition widely current as to this Norman Conquest is of a Physiologic sort; That the conquerors and conquered here were of different races . . . of the others:** As Clare Simmons has shown, Thierry derives his view of the "fundamental division between the ideals and temperament of the Saxon commonalty and the Norman military aristocracy" (92) from Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, adopting in particular the idea that these differences can still be perceived among the nineteenth-century poor in England, who retain Saxon characteristics according to this view. In the rest of this passage Carlyle offers a dissenting view, asserting that the Normans and the Saxons share the same Teutonic origin. As noted above, Carlyle draws on contemporary theories of race (see note to 98.32).

107.30-31. **Lurdanes, Jutes and Deutsch Pirates from the East-sea marshes:** Carlyle's use of "Lurdanes" is obscure. The OED identifies "lurdan" (also spelled "lurdane") as a "general term of opprobrium, reproach, or abuse, implying either dullness and incapacity, or idleness and rascality." Wehtje offers the following: "One supposed etymology, which Carlyle may have had in mind, traces the word to *Lorde Dane*, applied to Danish landlords because of their proud and disdainful treatment of their husbandmen" (234n1); it was so used by Chatterton in his "Battle of Hastings," where he glosses Lurdanes as "Lord Danes" (2:373). Thierry notes that "It appears that the men of the three ships came at this time to Britain as traders, not as pirates. Their national appellation was that of Ghetes or Jutes;

and their nation was leagued with a great mass of people inhabiting the marshy borders of the ocean, to the north of the Elbe, and calling themselves Saxons, or short-sword-men" (1:15).

107.34. **Thor and Wodan:** Germanic/Norse gods: Thor, the god of thunder and Wodan (Odin), the chief of the Norse gods, the sky god and god of war.

107.35-36. **says the Mythus, "from the rock of the Harzgebirge;" brother-tribes being made of clay, wood, water:** See the mythology that Carlyle had discussed above (notes to 104.13-19 and 104.24-105.1). In Norse mythology, Odin and his brothers created the first two humans—Ask (ash) and Embla (elm)—from pieces of wood.

107.38-108.1. **the cane-brake of Arkansas, . . . the Ghauts of the Himmalaya:** In the early to mid-nineteenth century, Arkansas was depicted as rugged, remote, and inaccessible due to its stands of canebrake (thick stands of cane), swamps, and floodplains. The Ghats (Carlyle's spelling is nonstandard) are mountain ranges in India that Carlyle mistakenly associates with the Himalaya region well to the north.

108.17-18. **Delolmish, Benthamee, or other French or English answers:** See note to 11.15-16.

108.28-29. **Barons of Runnymead . . . Your Great Charter:** In 1215, rebellious Barons forced King John to agree to the "Articles of the Barons," effectively limiting his power. The formal record of the agreement has become known as Magna Carta (Great Charter).

108.31-32. ***Magna Charta,*—nigh cut in pieces by a tailor, short of measures, in later generations:** A copy of Magna Carta (see preceding note) was supposedly rescued from imminent destruction by Sir Robert Cotton (1570-1631), the prodigious collector of books and manuscripts, who discovered that his tailor was about to cut up the document "for measures." The story has no basis in fact but is recounted in Isaac D'Israeli's 1791 *Curiosities of Literature* (1.72) and Richard Thomson's 1829 *An Historical Essay on the Magna Charta of King John* (424). Carlyle echoes an earlier allusion in *Sartor Resartus*, the title of which translates as the tailor retailored: "Nay, farther art not thou too perhaps by this time made aware that all Symbols are properly Clothes; that all Forms whereby Spirit manifests itself to Sense, whether outwardly or in the imagination, are

Clothes; and thus not only the parchment Magna Charta, which a Tailor was nigh cutting into measures, but the Pomp and Authority of Law, the sacredness of Majesty, and all inferior Worships (Worth-ships) are properly a Vesture and Raiment" (3.9.198).

108.38-109.1. **as the dumb man, seeing the knife at his father's throat, suddenly acquired speech:** Not identified.

109.11-12. **a real House of Commons has come decisively into play,—much to the astonishment of James First:** James I of England (1566-1625), who had ruled Scotland as James VI, assumed the English Parliament would be as pliant as the Scottish one. Instead, early in his reign, Parliament refused to grant him the full amount of subsidies he requested; he then enacted a custom tax to raise revenue without consulting Parliament.

109.16-17. **red-deer in the New and other Forests been got preserved and shot:** In 1079, William the Conqueror proclaimed the New Forest, in the south of England, a royal hunting ground. Forest Laws preserved deer, particularly red deer, for the use of the monarch; penalties for transgressing the Forest Laws were initially quite severe and included blinding, death, and mutilation. Several clauses of Magna Carta sought to scale back the scope of the Forest Laws.

109.17-18. **treacheries of Simon de Montfort, wars of Red and White Roses, Battles of Crecy, Battles of Bosworth:** Simon de Montfort (1208-1265), 6th Earl of Leicester, led the baronial revolt against Henry III, defeating Henry and his forces at the Battle of Lewes in 1264; in 1265, at the Battle of Evesham, his forces were defeated and Montfort himself was killed. A struggle between the House of York (symbolized by the white rose) and the House of Lancaster (symbolized by the red rose) over control of the monarchy resulted in the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485), which concluded with the Battle of Bosworth Field (1485), in which Henry Tudor's Lancastrian forces defeated those of the Yorkists under Richard III. At the Battle of Crecy (1346) during the Hundred Years' War between England and France, the outnumbered forces of Edward III defeated those of Phillip VI of France.

109.23-25. **Sheffield had taken to the manufacture of Sheffield whittles; Worstead could from wool spin yarn, and knit or weave the same into stockings or breeches:** As early as the fourteenth century, Sheffield was well known for its production of knives (whittles) and other cutlery. By

the twelfth century, Worstead became famous as a weaving center, due in large part to the influx of Flemish weavers; the cloth known as "worsted" takes its name from the village.

109.30-32. **The seven incorporated trades, with their million guild-brethren, with their hammers, their shuttles and tools:** Merchant and trade guilds, many dating to the medieval era, were numerous throughout England and Scotland. In Scotland, Aberdeen, Stirling, and Dumfries are notable for having seven incorporated trades; the seven in Aberdeen were hammermen, weavers, bakers, wrights and coopers, tailors, shoemakers, and fleshers.

109.36-37. **Shakspeare, a woolcomber, poacher, or whatever else at Stratford in Warwickshire:** In the absence of documented evidence regarding Shakespeare's occupational activities in his hometown of Stratford-upon-Avon prior to 1592, numerous speculative stories have circulated, among them that he was a woolcomber, a job also attributed to his father. Among the many stories accounting for Shakespeare's departure from Stratford, perhaps the most often repeated one alleges that Shakespeare was forced to flee after poaching deer on the land of Sir Thomas Lucy.

110.2. **Sarmat:** An occupant of the ancient territory of Sarmatia northeast of the Black Sea. Pinkerton's *History of Scotland* (see note to 107.5-6) asserts that "in ancient Europe [there were] only four Grand Races of men," the Celts, the Iberians, the Sarmatae, and the Scythians (2:17-18).

110.12. **"Glorious Revolution":** See note to 101.15-16.

110.16-17. **no more can Gentry in Long Parliament; no more can Commonalty in Parliament they name Reformed:** The "Long Parliament" is the 1640-1648 Parliament that opposed the rule of Charles I and passed an act that required Parliament's consent to its own dissolution, thus prolonging its active status. For "Reformed" Parliament, see note to 72.14.

110.17. P**rynne's bloody ears:** William Prynne (1660-1669), Puritan polemicist, author of *Histriomastix: The Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragedy* (1632), an attack on the professional theater, which landed him in prison where his ears were "cropped." Continuing his pamphleteering from prison, Prynne was sentenced again in 1637; this time the remainder of his ears was removed and his cheeks were branded with the initials S. L. (seditious libeler).

110.27. **ship Mayflower, of Delft-Haven:** It was the Speedwell, not the Mayflower, that in 1620 sailed from Delft-Haven, Holland, to Southampton, England, where it joined the Mayflower, but it was the Mayflower alone that completed the journey, transporting the Puritan colonists to New England.

110.29-31. **Argo . . . Golden fleeces:** In Greek mythology, Jason and the Argonauts traveled on the ship Argo to Colchis in order to obtain the Golden Fleece—the fleece of the winged ram Chrysomallos—which was guarded by a dragon. In the most common versions of the myth, the Argo was said to have been built by Athena, who is not a sea god; after the journey the Argo was consecrated to Poseidon, god of the sea.

110.32. **Promethean spark:** In Greek mythology, the titan Prometheus stole fire from the gods and gave it to humans.

110.36-37. **Saul the son of Kish, seeking a small thing, . . . found this unexpected great thing:** A reference to 1 Samuel 9-10. One day Saul and a servant set out to look for the wayward asses belonging to his father, Kish. After a fruitless search, the servant suggests they visit a seer in a nearby town. The seer, Samuel, had previously been instructed by God to expect a visit from a man who would become the first king of Israel. Samuel anoints Saul and tells him of his destiny. See also note to 3.23-24.

111.16. **from Valmy to Waterloo, to Peterloo:** At the Battle of Valmy, on September 20, 1792, French forces held off the advancing Prussian army, thus assuring the continuation of the French Revolution. At Waterloo (in present-day Belgium) on June 18, 1815, Napoleon's forces were defeated by the British and Prussian armies, leading to Napoleon's abdication and exile. For Peterloo, see note to 94.8.

111.19. **Parliamentary eloquence:** Carlyle frequently deprecates parliamentary eloquence for substituting speech for action (see note to 117.14-15). Carlyle began using the phrase "bursts of Parliamentary eloquence" soon after the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. In a letter of March 1833, he imagined Cobbett, newly elected to the reformed Parliament and a longtime critic of that institution, addressing it: "Gentlemen you [can] make what pretty Laws you like, and produce bursts of parliamentary eloquence till your tongues weary: but the melancholy fact is, the people cannot get any victuals, and cannot (and also will not) do without

some" (*Letters* 9:393; see also 6:350). See also *On Heroes* 170 and *Past and Present* 1.2.17.

111.30. ***un*spoken Constitution:** The constitution of Great Britain, which does not have a single constitutional document, consists of the accumulated acts of Parliaments, court judgements and conventions.

111.30-31. **Privilege of Parliament, Money-Bill, Mutiny-Bill:** Parliamentary privilege means that members of Parliament are entitled to certain freedoms, such as freedom of speech when addressing Parliament and freedom from arrest (except on criminal charges) when at Westminster. Money Bills were acts of legislation that raised funds through taxation. The Mutiny Act of 1689 was designed to be renewable annually as a check on the power of the monarch: if Parliament decided it was in danger from Britain's standing army, it could refuse to renew the act, thus severing the legal relationship between the government and the army.

112.3. **Sydneys, Raleighs, Bacons:** All three were multitalented, influential individuals with ties to the court of Elizabeth I: Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), soldier, courtier, and poet; Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618), explorer, courtier, and writer; Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), lawyer, philosopher, and statesman.

112.16-17. **Watts, Arkwrights, Brindleys:** Important figures whose technological advancements helped to usher in the industrial revolution: James Watt (see note to 105.31-32); Richard Arkwright (1733-1792), the inventor of the spinning frame and the water frame; James Brindley (1716-1772), an engineer who oversaw the design and construction of the Bridgewater Canal and the Trent and Mersey Canal.

112.17-18. **Prospero evoked the singing of Ariel:** In Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, the magician Prospero controls the spirit Ariel, whose singing has a captivating effect on the other characters in the play.

112.22-23. **Manchester, with its cotton-fuz, its smoke and dust, its tumult and contentious squalor:** Manchester was the center of the British textile industry in the nineteenth century, with a high concentration of cotton mills. The train routes between London and Scotland passed through Manchester, and Carlyle had visited his sister Janet there in October 1838. On cotton-fuz, see note to 83.21.

112.34-37. **Goethe, looking at cotton Switzerland, . . . Kanzler von Müller, in search of the palpable picturesque, could not but stare wide-eyed:** Friedrich von Müller, a statesman and diplomat, was a close friend of Goethe who became Kanzler (chancellor) of the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach in 1815. Carlyle's parenthetic "I am told" suggests that he heard this secondhand; we have not been able to trace anything in Goethe's works describing industrial Switzerland. Wehtje suggests that the source may be Goethe's rapturous descriptions of Switzerland's natural beauty in volume 2, book 23 of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1812), but there is no reference to cotton.

113.3-8. **Richard Arkwright, it would seem, was not a beautiful man; . . . stationed by the community to shave certain dusty beards, in the Northern parts of England, at a halfpenny each:** Arkwright (see note to 105.31-32) was born to a poor family in Preston, Lancashire, and with little to no formal education he embarked on a career as a barber and was known to shave beards for a halfpenny. Only in his mid-thirties did he turn to the invention and improvement of machinery for industrial production. See also note to 114.11-12.

113.15-19. **he had to fly, with broken washpots, scattered household, and seek refuge . . . packed her out of doors:** This oft-repeated anecdote may have its basis for Carlyle in the first volume of Gravenor Henson's *The Civil, Political, and Mechanical History of the Frame-work Knitters in Europe and America* (1831): "Customer after customer left the shop unshaved, and so intent was Arkwright, that he frequently refused to obey the mandate to attend to his waiting customers, till at length the patience of Mrs. Arkwright was quite exhausted; one Sunday morning, our projector being absent, for the purpose of 'pumping' his friend Hayse, his shop being full of long-bearded customers, and never a shaver, she, in an evil hour for herself, took the fatal resolution to burn what she thought was the source of all her disquietudes; this was scarcely done when Arkwright entered, and saw the wreck of all his studies in the destruction of his model" (366-67). Rather than throwing her out of doors, in this account, Arkwright tells his wife she will "never benefit by his invention," and so when he became wealthy, he "only allowed her four shillings weekly" (367).

113.33. **Berlin Royal Academy:** Most likely a reference to the *Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Royal Academy of Sciences) formed in Berlin under the reign of Frederick the Great in 1744.

113.36. **Tees-water and other breeding-world:** Teeswater is a breed of sheep from Teesdale, in the north of England.

114.6. **Prometheus, Tubalcain, Triptolemus:** On Prometheus, see note to 110.32. Tubalcain is mentioned in Genesis 4:22, where he is associated with metalworking: "And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, an instructer of every artificer in brass and iron." In Greek myth, Triptolemus, having been taught by Demeter how to plant and harvest crops, brought agriculture to the Greeks.

114.11-12. **Voltaire is but one choragus, where Richard Arkwright is another:** In ancient Greece, the "choragus" was the person who funded (and thus made possible) the chorus; the term thus came to indicate a leader of a group. Carlyle's fourth lecture on "Revolutions in Modern Europe," delivered in May 1839, was entitled "English Restoration, Europe till 1789, Voltaire, and Arkwright"; see "Lectures of Mr. Carlyle on the Revolutions of Modern Europe," *Examiner* (May 26, 1839): 326.

114.13. **like Arachne, we shall still spin:** In Greek and Roman mythology, Arachne is famous for her weaving skills.

114.14-15. **Sword-dance, with all its sorrowful shufflings, Waterloo waltzes, Moscow gallopades:** Dances with military themes. The "Waterloo Waltz" commemorates the Battle of Waterloo. The gallopade, also called the "galop dance" or simply the "galop," was a brisk form of ballroom dancing, related to the waltz, and popular in nineteenth-century Europe; we have not traced a "Moscow gallopade" but presumably this is another reference to the Napoleonic Wars, in this case Napoleon's invasion of Moscow.

114.19-20. **Robert Clive:** Known early in his life for his writing skills, Robert Clive (1722-1774) began his career with the East India Company as a "writer," the company's term for a low-level clerk. Switching from civil to military service, Clive rose rapidly through the ranks; his forces recaptured Calcutta in January 1757, and his victory at the Battle of Plassey later that year was a decisive contribution to the British East India Company's control of Bengal and British control of India.

114.24. **Nawaubs:** A variant spelling of *nawab*, from the Urdu, meaning "governor." The Nawabs were viceroys or provincial governors of regions within the Mughal Empire in India. Among Robert Clive's military

successes (see preceding note) was the defeat of Siraj ud-Daulah, Nawab of Bengal.

114.26. **Leadenhall Street:** The headquarters of the British East India Company were located on Leadenhall Street, London, in a building known as the East India House.

114.34-36. **The Staffordshire coal-stratum, and coal-strata, lay side by side with iron-strata, quiet since the creation of the world:** Staffordshire is a region in the West Midlands of England known for its rich coal and iron ore deposits.

114.36-37. **Water flowed in Lancashire and Lanarkshire; bituminous fire lay bedded in rocks there too:** Lancashire in the northwest of England and Lanarkshire in south-central Scotland were known for their coal deposits ("bituminous" describes a kind of coal). The Monklands canal in Lanarkshire and the Lancashire canal were both designed to transport coal from the mines.

114.37. **fighting Stanleys:** At the Battle of Flodden Field in 1513, Sir Edward Stanley (1460?-1523), 1st Baron of Monteagle, and his Lancashire men formed part of the English defense against the Scottish invaders of James IV. He and his men played a decisive role in the defeat of the Scots.

114.38. **black Douglases:** Presumably Sir James Douglas (1286?-1330), known as the Black Douglas, an ally of Robert the Bruce, who fought in many battles for Scottish independence, including the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314; possibly the entire line known as the Black Douglases, many of whom served in the wars.

115.2-4. **Coal and iron, so long close unregardful neighbours, are wedded together; Birmingham and Wolverhampton, and the hundred Stygian forges:** Neighboring towns in the West Midlands, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton were industrial centers in the nineteenth century, as both were situated close to rich coal and iron ore deposits. Stygian refers to the underworld (from the mythological river Styx, which formed the border between the living world and the world of the dead).

115.5-6. **Wet Manconium stretched out her hand towards Carolina and the torrid zone, and plucked cotton there:** Manchester (Latin name Mancunium), the center of the textile industry in Britain, relied on the

import of raw cotton from warmer climes, in particular the southern United States.

115.7-8. **Fish fled thereupon from the Mersey River, vexed with innumerable keels:** Carlyle alludes here to the intensity of shipping on the Mersey at the port city of Liverpool, which facilitated the transport of Lancashire manufacturing goods.

116.1-2. **Reform-Bills, French Revolutions, Louis-Philippes, Chartisms, Revolts of Three Days:** Carlyle groups together various reforms and revolutions from the late eighteenth century to the present time: for "Reform Bills," see note to 72.14; for the French Revolution, see the note to 4.10; for Louis-Philippe and Revolts of Three Days, see note to 56.11; for Chartism, see note to 63.4-5.

116.6. **Enceladus, who in his pain, if he will complain of it, has to produce earthquakes:** In Greek mythology, the titan Enceladus, severely wounded during the titans' war against the Olympian gods, is buried under Mt. Etna, where his turning over in pain was said to cause earthquakes and volcanic activity. Carlyle previously referred to Enceladus metaphorically in *The French Revolution*, where he functions as an emblem of violent social upheaval and rebellion: "O mad Sansculottism, hast thou risen, in thy mad darkness, in thy soot and rags; unexpectedly, like an Enceladus, living buried, from under his Trinacria?" (1:2.3.39).

116.17. **Ducal *Duces***: "Duces" the plural of "dux," Latin for "leader," is the root from which the title duke (and its adjectival form "ducal") is derived.

117.5-6. **corn-laws, currency-laws, free-trade, protection, want of free-trade:** One of the principal arguments made by the opponents of the Corn Laws (see note to 90.12) was that they were a restraint on free trade and the principle of laissez-faire, enunciated by Adam Smith (see note to 73.25), dictating that the government should not interfere with the law of supply and demand. From this perspective, the Corn Laws are a form of protectionism leading to a want of competition, hence the high price of bread for the working classes. Thus, free trade was the rallying cry of Whigs/Liberals Richard Cobden and John Bright and the Anti-Corn-Law League.

117.14-15. **'twenty-thousandth part of a master of tongue-fence to National Palaver':** "National Palaver" is Carlyle's derogatory nickname for

the House of Commons; it turns on the similarity between "Parliament," derived from the French "parler," meaning "to speak," and "palaver," derived from a word first used in the eighteenth century to denote a colloquy between European traders and the native peoples in Africa. Carlyle had alluded to this derivation in *The French Revolution*: "Oh, if in National *Palaver* (as the Africans name it), such blessedness is verily found, what tyrant would deny it to Son of Adam!" (2:1.4.26). He had used the word palaver in his letters as early as 1823 (*Letters* 2:308). Carlyle refers to the fact that a member of Parliament represents a district of about twenty thousand residents (he has in mind its total population, not the actual electorate). An article in *Tait's* from 1837 estimated that "in England, now, a member of the House of Commons represents (dividing the total population by the number of members) 30,000 souls" ("The French Electoral System, and Approaching Elections," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* new series 4 [1837]: 731). In *Past and Present*, Carlyle would write: "The notion that a man's liberty consists in giving his vote at election-hustings, and saying, 'Behold now I too have my twenty-thousandth part of a Talker in our National Palaver; will not all the gods be good to me?'—is one of the pleasantest!" (4.13.216). See also *French Revolution* 2:1.4.245, 5.2.376, *Latter-Day Pamphlets* 100. See also note to 111.19 and "tongue-fence" (above 27.8 and note).

117.38. **Time-bill, Factory-bill, Corn-bill:** "Time-bill" and "Factory-bill" refer to various acts of Parliament, usually known as the Factory Acts, that regulated the length of the working day and other working conditions in the textile industry. The 1833 Factory Act, for example, prohibited the employment of children under nine in the textile mills, and it also regulated the hours of work per day permissible for children between the ages of nine and eighteen. In an 1833 letter, Carlyle expressed his horror at the plight of children working in textile mills: "When one reads of the Lancashire Factories and little children labouring for sixteen hours a day, inhaling at every breath a quantity of cotton *fuz*, falling asleep over their wheels, and roused again by the lash of thongs over their backs, or the slap of 'billy-rollers' over their little crowns . . . one pauses with a kind of amazed horror, to ask if this be Earth the place of Hope, or Tophet where hope never comes!" (*Letters* 6:354-7). "Corn-bill" refers to the efforts to repeal the Corn Laws (see note to 90.12).

118.3. **Nosology:** See note to 38.5.

118.7. **a feast of the Barmecide:** An imaginary meal, specifically a meal

where the prospective diners have been fooled into thinking they will sit before a sumptuous banquet, when in fact they are served empty dishes. The term derives from a story in the *Arabian Nights* and refers metaphorically to any illusory promise of benefits to come.

118.9-11. **Cheap Justice, Justice to Ireland, Irish Appropriation-Clause, Ratepaying Clause, Poor-Rate, Church-Rate, Household Suffrage, Ballot-Question 'open' or shut:** "Cheap Justice" was a slogan referring to efforts to establish a system of local courts, associated with Henry Brougham, the Scottish lawyer and politician who served as Lord Chancellor from 1830 to 1834. "Justice to Ireland" is a slogan associated with the Irish nationalist and M.P. Daniel O'Connell, whose political efforts in the 1830s and 1840s were directed toward the dissolution of the 1800 Act of Union. "Appropriation Clause" refers to the attempts to change the laws concerning tithing in Ireland (see note to 56.10), the primary sticking point of which was the "appropriation clause," a feature of the bill that redirected any surplus revenue from the Church of Ireland to secular needs; in 1838, an Irish Tithe Act was finally passed, without the appropriation clause. The "Ratepaying Clause" refers to a clause in the Reform Bill of 1832 (see note to 72.14) that made voter eligibility dependent not only on the value of one's property, whether owned or leased, but also on the timely payment of all assessed rates and taxes; in the 1830s, radicals tried unsuccessfully to repeal what they considered the *disenfranchisement* clause. Poor rates and Church rates are taxes gathered on behalf of paupers and the established church, respectively. "Household Suffrage" refers to efforts, also in the 1830s, to enfranchise more voters by extending the vote to the male heads of all households. The "Ballot-Question" was one of the Chartists' demands, that voting be conducted by secret ("shut") ballot (see note to 63.4-5).

118.30. ***Girondins***: See note to 95.8-10.

118.36-37. **'masses,' mere 'explosive masses for blowing down Bastilles with':** From Carlyle's *French Revolution*: "Most cold, on the other hand, most patronizing, unsubstantial is the tone of the Girondins towards 'our poorer brethren';—those brethren whom one often hears of under the collective name of 'the masses,' as if they were not persons at all, but mounds of combustible explosive material, for blowing down Bastilles with!" (3:3.2.123).

119.11-12. **Rebel, without due and most due cause, is the ugliest of**

words; the first rebel was Satan: On the rebellion and fall of Satan or Lucifer, see note to 91.9-10.

120.5-6. **to gird thyself up for actual doing:** Job 38:3: "Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me."

120.6-7. **as the Irish say, 'come out of that!':** Irish expression meaning to stop what you are doing, especially to stop talking about something.

120.9. **Who is he that says always, There is a lion in the way?:** Proverbs 26:13: "The slothful man saith, There is a lion in the way; a lion is in the streets."

120.17-23. **It was proved by fluxionary calculus, . . . moist paper-demonstration to dry itself at leisure:** In short, the argument in theory was proved wrong in practice. When Isambard Brunel and other investors in the Great Western Steamship Company proposed sailing a direct route from Liverpool to New York, Dionysius Lardner, who wrote widely on steam power, declared in a lecture that "he had no hesitation in saying, [the project was] perfectly chimerical, and they might as well talk of making a trip from New York or Liverpool to the moon" ("Steam Communication with America," *Caledonian Mercury* [Jan. 4, 1836]: 4). In his *The Steam Engine Familiarly Explained and Illustrated* (1836), Lardner repeated the substance of his lecture, though without this dismissive comment, arguing that the properties of coal and forces of nature such as currents, wind and so on, set a limit of two thousand miles, far short of the three thousand miles from Liverpool to New York. However, he did suggest a route that could achieve the journey by refueling along the way, using as its longest leg the journey from the west coast of Ireland at Valentia to St. John's, Newfoundland, though it too would come "very near the point which we have already assigned as the probable present limit of steam navigation" (317). He was proved wrong, however, when in 1837, the *Great Western* sailed directly from Bristol to New York, a feat achieved by making the ship of immense size on the principle that the carrying capacity of a ship increases as the cube of its dimensions, whilst the water resistance only increases as the square of its dimensions. See also note to 82.11-12.

121.1-2. **"Impossible?" cried Mirabeau to his secretary, "*Ne me dites jamais ce bête de mot*, Never name to me that blockhead of a word!":** Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau (1749-1791), moderate leader during the early phase of the French Revolution. Carlyle quotes this statement

in his *French Revolution* (2:3.7.140), citing as his source Pierre Etienne Louis Dumont's *Souvenir sur Mirabeau* (331). He had also quoted it in his review of Mirabeau's memoirs (*Historical Essays* 191) and would allude to it again in *Past and Present* 1.3.25.

121.6. **sea of troubles:** See Hamlet's "To be or not to be" soliloquy: "Or to take arms against a sea of troubles / And, by opposing, end them" (3.1.67-68). Carlyle had quoted the soliloquy above (72.13).

121.8. **'time and general laws':** Not identified; probably meant to indicate a commonplace phrase.

121.11. **cry, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace:** Jeremiah 6:14: "They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace."

121.18-20. **'All evil, and this evil too, is as a nightmare; the instant you begin to *stir* under it, the *evil* is, properly speaking, gone':** In "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again," Carlyle had phrased this quotation somewhat differently: "'Evil,' says he, 'is like a nightmare; the instant you begin to strive with it, to bestir yourself, it has already ended'" (*Essays on German Literature* 356). Carlyle's essay attributes the quotation to Richter's *Wahrheit aus Jean Pauls Leben* (Biography of Jean Paul, 1826-1828). The differences between the two quotations may indicate that Carlyle is paraphrasing as well as translating; thus, while we have not been able to locate a passage with the same wording, it may paraphrase, "Das Uebel verfliegt, wenn ich nach ihm nichts frage" (Evil evaporates if I don't ask for it) (*Wahrheit* 3:296).

121.30. **Universal Education:** Universal education—also called national education—refers to government-supported education for everyone, but more particularly, for the working classes who could not afford it. Various efforts, parliamentary and otherwise, toward the establishment of universal education took place in the 1830s. Disagreements over who would control such a system (the Church of England or Dissenters) had prevented establishment of such a system. In 1833, the government did begin contributing toward the building of schools that were run by various religious organizations, and in 1839 Lord John Russell, a member of the Whig cabinet, proposed a system that would require school inspections by a government committee, but Church of England clergy had agitated against it, because it would fund schools for Dissenters as

well. In the first week of February 1835, Carlyle wrote a short paper entitled "National Education," in which he advocated the formation of an Educational Association in London to address the need for educating the populace, perhaps through the establishment of a "Metropolitan Normal School" (*Letters* 8:29-36). A letter of February 16, 1835, elaborates: "My only new scheme, since last Letter, is a *Hypothesis* (little more yet) about National Education. The Newspaper had an Advertisement about a 'Glasgow Educational Association,' which wants a man that would found a Normal School, first going over England and into Germany to get light on that matter. I wrote to that Glasgow Association; afar off, inquiring who they were, what manner of man they expected; testifying myself very friendly to their project and so forth. No answer as yet. It is likely they will want, as Jane says, a Chalmers-and-Welsh kind of character; in which case: *va ben, felice notte*. If otherwise, and they (almost by miracle) had the heart, I am the man for them!" (*Letters* 8:49-50). Carlyle would return to the topic of universal education in *Past and Present* (4.3.261-62). On the contemporary response to Carlyle's discussion of education and emigration as cures for social ills, see the introduction.

121.31. **Emigration:** In the 1830s and 1840s, Carlyle was one of many proponents of emigration as a mechanism for reducing the laboring population of Britain and thus alleviating the living and working conditions of the poor, prompted in part by Malthus's arguments about population (see note to 127.26-27). As early as 1833, Carlyle conceived of general emigration as a preventative measure against social upheaval, with North America as the country best able to absorb such emigrants. In an April 18, 1833, letter he writes: "I venture also on a prediction: America may prove the safety-valve of England, of our old overcrowded Europe: farther unless some extensive far-reaching system of Emigration be organised, the result in few years must be a rebellion fearful to contemplate; the fierce implacable rebellion of Hunger and Ignorance against Wealth and Idleness, whose very imbecillity has become tyrannous, deadening and killing. This idea has long had deep hold of me" (*Letters* 6:373). In addition, Carlyle was acquainted with Thomas Frederick Elliot, who in 1837 was named agent-general for emigration and as such oversaw governmental efforts at assisted emigration. He was also well acquainted with parliamentary proponents of emigration, such as Charles Buller and William Molesworth (see the Durham Report, which advocated emigration, note to 65.22). In the latter half of the 1830s, there was much discussion within the Carlyle family concerning the possibility of Thomas's brother Alexander emigrating to North America. Alexander and his family finally

did eventually emigrate in 1843, settling first in upstate New York, before resettling permanently in Ontario. Carlyle would return to the topic of general emigration in *Past and Present* (4.3.262-63). On the contemporary response to Carlyle's discussion of education and emigration as cures for social ills, see the introduction.

122.5. **Sons of Adam:** The descendants of Adam and Eve, that is the human race.

122.16-18. **bills of rights, emancipations of black slaves into black apprentices, lawsuits in chancery for some short usufruct of a bit of land:** The British bill of rights, established by an act of Parliament of 1689, established a set of rights that limited royal power and protected the rights of Parliament as well as establishing individual rights, such as freedom of speech. On slave emancipation, see note to 65.23. In Britain, Chancery was a court system that adjudicated equity cases (i.e., cases based on common law), often having to do with property and thus with wills and estates; a dispute about the right to profitably use land that one does not own (i.e., a usufruct) is a case likely to be heard in the court of chancery.

122.18. **'seedfield of Time':** See note to 88.22.

122.24-25. **'My inheritance, . . . to Time I'm heir!':** See note to 88.22.

122.30-32. **it is a debate whether a small fraction . . . be laid out on it, or not laid out on it:** On June 24, 1839, Lord John Russell moved that £30,000 be granted toward public education. As reported in the *Examiner* on June 30, 1839, the debate that followed focused on sectarian objections to the proposal (408-9). The motion ultimately carried by a vote of 275-273.

122.34. **What is an Overseer of souls, an Archoverseer, Archiepiscopus?:** "Bishop" derives from Greek *ἐπίσκοπος* meaning "overseer." Archiepiscopus is the Latin term for archbishop.

123.5-6. **The intellect of a Bacon, the energy of a Luther:** For Bacon, see note to 112.3; for Luther, note to 17.6. On May 21, 1838, Carlyle's seventh lecture on the history of literature had dealt with Luther and the Reformation (*History of Literature* 118ff.).

123.15. ***fiat lux***: Latin for "Let there be light," from Genesis 1:3.

123.25-27. **Dissenters call for one scheme of Education, the Church objects; . . . difficulties on every side:** See note to 121.30 on the sectarian debates over who would control a system of national education.

124.8. **thirty-nine or other articles:** A reference to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, adopted in 1563, the foundational statement of Church of England doctrine.

124.12-13. **Albertus Magnus had a leather man . . . Martinus Scriblerus' Nürnberg man:** According to legend, Albertus Magnus (1200?-1280), a learned Dominican friar, had constructed a mechanical man of brass; such inventions were attributed to a number of medieval scholars. On the Nürnberg man, see note to 10.13-16.

124.17. **Votes of two millions in aid of the church:** Parliament's Church Building Acts of 1818 and 1824 allocated a total of £1.5 million toward Anglican church building and expansion.

124.24. **'Church-extension':** "Church extension" is the term used to refer to Parliamentary financial subsidies allocated for church building. Nine Church Building Acts were passed between 1818 and 1839. See also note to 8.4-5.

124.25. **Ye blind leaders of the blind:** See Matthew 15:14 and Luke 6:39.

124.25-26. **Are we Calmucks, that pray by turning of a rotatory calabash with written prayers in it?:** According to the OED, a Kalmuck (Calmuck is a variant spelling) is a "member of a Mongolian people living on the north-west shores of the Caspian Sea." A "rotatory calabash" is a prayer wheel made from a gourd and used by the Buddhist Kalmucks who wrote prayers on pieces of paper that were inserted into the wheel, which was spun to deliver them. Carlyle may have learned of this practice from Richter's *Life of Quintus Fixlein*, which he translated in *German Romance* (see next note): "In truth, if among the Calmucks, the turning of a calabash stands in the place of Prayer, a slight movement of the purse may be as much as if you supplicated in words." A footnote adds: "Their prayer-barrel, Kürüdu, is a hollowed shell, a calabash, full of unrolled formulas of prayer; they sway it from side to side, and then it works. More philosophically viewed, since in prayer the feeling only is of consequence, it is much the same whether this express itself by motion of the mouth or of the calabash" (2:220). Carlyle had previously referred to the calabash in "Parliamentary

History of the French Revolution" (*Historical Essays* 237) and would refer to it again in *Past and Present* 2.17.131 and *Letters* 12:318.

124.27-28. **Is God, as Jean Paul predicted it would be, become verily a Force; the Æther too a Gas:** From Richter (see note to 45.27-29), *Levana; oder Erziehungslehre* (Levana; or the Doctrine of Education; 1807): "aus der Welt wurde uns ein Weltgebäude aus dem Aether ein Gas, aus Gott eine Kraft, aus der zweiten Welt ein Sarg" (*Sämmtliche Werke* 36:49). Carlyle had previously quoted this passage in the last paragraph of "Novalis": "'The day will come,' said Lichtenberg, in bitter irony, 'when the belief in God will be like that in nursery Spectres'; or, as Jean Paul has it, 'Of the World will be made a World-Machine, of the Æther a Gas, of God a Force, and of the Second-World—a Coffin'" (*Essays on German Literature* 337); see also "Diderot," (*Essays on Literature* 265).

125.23. **Hornbooks:** Primers, so called because they were mounted on a thin, transparent plate of horn.

125.24-25. **Collective Wisdom:** See note to 66.10.

125.37-38. **grants of a half-day's revenue once in the thirteen centuries:** See note to 121.30.

126.4. **Oxford or Hoxton:** The University of Oxford, along with Cambridge University, one of the two principal English universities, and Hoxton, a working-class area in east London, with a possible reference to the Haberdashers' Schools founded in the seventeenth century. In any case, Carlyle contrasts the elite national university with the local undistinguished town and school.

126.5-8. **in Prussia, that a penalty, civil disabilities, . . . on every man who had not been taught to read:** The Prussian educational system was often referenced in the debate about national education in Britain in the 1830s, particularly after the publication of Victor Cousin's *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne et particulièrement en Prusse* (1833), which was translated into English by Sarah Austin under the title *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* (1834). Primary education was compulsory in Prussia, and recalcitrant parents faced fines or imprisonment for withholding their children from school.

126.27. **Castle-spectres:** Depictions of the supernatural in Gothic novels,

particularly in the ethereal form of castle ghosts. One of the masters of the genre, Matthew Lewis, was the author of a popular stage play entitled *The Castle Spectre, a Dramatic Romance* (1797). *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis, author of "The Monk," "Castle Spectre," &c.* had just been published in 1839.

126.36. **Buckingham House and St. Stephens:** Buckingham Palace, formerly known as Buckingham House, became the London residence of the British monarchs upon the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. For St. Stephen's, see note to 65.14.

127.8. **'new wealth which the old coffers will not hold':** Carlyle quotes his own "Characteristics": "Nay, if we look well to it, what is all Derangement, and necessity of great Change, in itself such an evil, but the product simply of *increased resources* which the old *methods* can no longer administer; of new wealth which the old coffers will no longer contain?" (above 50).

127.9. **'over-population!':** See note to 127.26-27.

127.15. **'tide of population':** See note to 127.26-27.

127.20-23. **'Good Heavens! a white European Man, . . . one would say!':** A slightly altered quotation from *Sartor Resartus*: "Good Heavens! a white European Man, standing on his two Legs, with his two five-fingered Hands at his shackle-bones, and miraculous Head on his shoulders, is worth, I should say, from fifty to a hundred Horses!" (3.4.170).

127.26-27. **Malthus and the 'Population Principle,' 'Preventive check' and so forth:** Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), which theorized that the human population, if unchecked, would grow at a geometric rate, while the means of sustaining that population would grow at a lesser, arithmetical rate. As a result, famine (along with war and disease) would serve as a "check" on overpopulation. In subsequent revised editions of his work, Malthus divided population "checks" into two categories: positive and preventive. The positive checks (famine, war, disease) are largely out of the individual's control. A more voluntary effort, such as "moral restraint," by which Malthus meant chastity, he termed a "preventive check." Malthus reasoned that both kinds of checks combine to inhibit population growth, but the relative stability and development of a society determines which check predominates. Carlyle, like other contemporaries, saw in Malthus a pessimistic emphasis on the

economic inevitability of population disasters that leads to the positive checks and had little faith in the efficacy of the preventive checks. He had parodied Malthus's theory in the "Helotage" chapter of *Sartor Resartus* (3.4.167-69). See also "Characteristics" above 36.

127.30-31. **Anti-Malthusians quoting their Bible against palpable facts:** In his *Of Population, An Enquiry Concerning the Power of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind, Being an Answer to Mr. Malthus's Essay on that Subject*, William Godwin asserts that Malthus's "creed" is in "diametrical opposition" to "the religion of the Bible" (623).

127.31-34. **how often have we read in Malthusian benefactors of the species: 'The working people . . . the remuneration will increase!':** Carlyle summarizes the typical (albeit reductive) view of Malthusian enthusiasts—that the populace must exercise "moral restraint" to reduce their numbers. Here, for example, is Thomas Chalmers in 1832: "The people, collectively speaking, have their circumstances in their own hands—it being at the bidding of their collective will, whether the remuneration for their work shall be a scanty or a sufficient one" (514). Thus, writes Chalmers, "There is a moral preventive check, which, if put in steady operation throughout the laboring classes, would keep wages high . . . this they can only do effectively by refraining from over-population" (515).

128.4. **Saint Francis of Assisi:** Giovanni Francesco Bernardone (1181/82-1226), founder of the Franciscan order, was the son of a wealthy merchant who lived a rather carefree life in his youth but later renounced his former life, rejecting all worldly goods and taking a vow of poverty.

128.7-8. **the latter end of that country is worse than the beginning:** See 2 Peter 2:20: "For if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning." See also Matthew 12:45: "Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation." See also Luke 11:26.

128.20-23. **valley of Jehosaphat, . . . Let these bones live!:** In Joel 3:2 and 12, the valley of Jehoshaphat is a place of judgment (the name means "God judges"). Carlyle's imagery, though, is indicative of the valley of the dry bones described in Ezekiel 37:1-3: "The hand of the Lord was upon

me, and carried me out in the spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones, And caused me to pass by them round about: and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live?"

128.23-26. **Dante's *Divina Commedia* is called the mournfullest of books: . . . protest against the world:** Dante Alighieri (1265?-1321), *Divina Commedia* (1320), the first part of which, *The Inferno* (to which Carlyle alludes above 83), depicts the variety of punishments meted out to sinners. Dante was the subject of the fifth of Carlyle's lectures on the history of literature, delivered on May 14, 1838, in which he contended: "In seeking the character of Dante's poem, we shall admire first that grand natural, moral depth, that nobleness of heart, that grandeur of soul which distinguish him. Great in all directions, in his wrath, his scorn, his pity. Great above all in his sorrow!" (*History of Literature* 90). Dante, Carlyle goes on to suggest, "has opened the deep, unfathomable oasis of woe that lay in the soul of man" (92). Dante would be, along with Shakespeare, the exemplar of "The Hero as Poet," in *On Heroes*.

128.26-28. **in Holywell Street, not long ago, we bought, for three-pence, a book . . . the "Demon Author":** Carlyle refers to *The Book of Murder!: Vade-Mecum for the Commissioners and Guardians of the New Poor Law Throughout Great Britain and Ireland, Being and Exact Reprint of the Infamous Essay On the Possibility of Limiting Populousness, by Marcus, One of the Three, With a Refutation of the Malthusian Doctrine. Printed by John Hill, Black Horse Court, Fleet St., And now Re-printed for the Instruction of the Labourer, by William Dugdale, No. 37, Holywell Street, Strand. Price Three-Pence. 1839*. The "poor Chartist editor" was William Dugdale (1800?-1868), a well-established publisher of radical and pornographic literature. This pamphlet, which republished two works by the pseudonymous Marcus—purportedly a pseudonym for one of the Poor Law commissioners (thus, "One of the Three"), but who has never been identified—was meant to expose the inhumane views of the Poor Law Commission and the authors of the New Poor Law. The original pamphlets—*An Essay of Populousness* and *On the Possibility of Limiting Populousness* (1838)—advocated among other things infanticide and killing the excess population. The extremity of the views and the obvious evocation of Swift's "A Modest Proposal" has led some to speculate that the original pamphlets themselves were anti-Poor Law satires. The introduction, entitled "To the Reader of the Following Diabolical Work," refers to Marcus as the "Demon Author"

and purports to expose that while these "conspirators against humanity" have pretended to provide for the "safety and peace of society, they have actually plotted, and schemed, and prepared the means of perpetrating the MURDER OF MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF THE CHILDREN TO BE BORN INTO THE WORLD!" (1).

128.28-30. **This *Marcus* Pamphlet was the book alluded to by Stephens the Preacher Chartist, in one of his harangues:** Joseph Rayner Stephens (1805-1879), a Methodist minister well known for his incendiary rhetoric in support of Chartist agitation. In the introductory section to *The Book of Murder*, the editor remarks that "for having branded and denounced them in language alleged to be too strong, the Rev. Mr. Stevens is already committed for trial at the next Assizes." Carlyle likely learned of this event from the January 6, 1839, *Examiner*, which featured a lengthy article on Stephens's arrest and examination, as well as his activities after being released on bail, which included a sermon recounting the horrors of infanticide as advocated by *The Book of Murder* (10). The report of Stephens's sermon prompted a refutation from Edwin Chadwick, whose letter was printed in the next issue (January 13) of the *Examiner* (22-23).

128.34-35. **We hoped he would turn out to have been in sport:** As noted above (128.26-28), some later commentators have suggested that the works were satires.

129.2-3. **recommend that all children of working people, after the third, be disposed of by 'painless extinction':** In *On the Possibility of Limiting Populousness*, Marcus recommends a limit of three children (8) and in *An Essay of Populousness* refers to his plan to murder children with poisonous gas as the "Theory of Painless Extinction" (17-25).

129.6. **'beautiful cemeteries with colonnades and flower-plots':** The editor of *The Book of Murder* writes: "He [Marcus] proposes to reconcile *Mothers* to the MURDER OF THEIR INFANTS, by presenting them with gay and lively images. They are to be impressed with the idea that it is for the benefit of the world that they are to submit to the sacrifice, and above all, the murdered infants are to be interred *in* beautiful colonnades decorated with plants and flowers, which are to be called the *Infants Paradise,* and which are to be the scenes of the chastened recreations of all classes!" (4). The editor refers to *An Essay of Populousness*: "Imagine then a colonnade, closed and gently warmed in the winter, fresh in summer, verdant always, yet not expensive in exotics; not too distant for the daily disport of all

classes, yet silencing vulgarity by an amiable and religious formality. Let this be the infants' paradise; every parturient female may be considered as enlarging or embellishing it" (14-15).

129.31-32. **an Emigrant host larger than Xerxes' was:** Xerxes (519?-465 B.C.), king of Persia, invaded Greece in 480 B.C.; according to Herodotus, his army numbered five million men.

130.1-14. **'True thou Gold-Hofrath,' exclaims an eloquent satirical German of our acquaintance, in that strange Book of his, . . . Preserving their Game!':** The "satirical German" is the fictional Herr Diogenes Teufelsdröckh in his equally fictional *Philosophy of Clothes* (see notes to 68.20-22 and 130.1-14). Gold-Hofrath Heuschrecke is in turn also a fictitious character; he provides the biographical materials from which the editor reconstructs the life of Teufelsdröckh. This passage is from the last paragraph in the "Helotage" chapter of *Sartor Resartus* (3.4.170), which discusses Heuschrecke's Malthusian "Institute for the *Repression of Population*" (3.4.167). On preserving game, see note to 65.23.

Notes to "Dr. Francia"

131.title. **DR. FRANCIA:** José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia (1766-1840), the dictatorial leader of the newly independent nation of Paraguay from 1814 to his death in 1840. Born in the Spanish colonial Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata—an administrative region that encompassed much of what is now the separate nations of Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay—Francia was educated first in theology and then in the law before turning his attention to politics; a supporter of independence from Spain, he took part in the revolutionary coup d'état of May 14-15, 1811. An on-and-off member of the junta negotiating the separation from Spain and the establishment of a nation independent from both Spain and Argentina, Francia became one of two consuls leading Paraguay into independence in 1813 before being elected the sole consul in 1814, first for three years and then in 1817 for life. During his dictatorship, Francia largely isolated Paraguay from foreign commerce and interference of any sort, becoming to Europeans a mysterious presence in a largely unknown region, to many no more than a despot. Carlyle's review essay, drawing on the works listed at the start of the review, mounted a thoughtful if controversial defense of a complex man.

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131.1-5. ***Funeral Discourse delivered on occasion . . .* March 19, 1842:** See note to 165.5-6.

131.6-7. ***Essai Historique . . . Par* MM. RENGGER ET LONGCHAMP . . . 1829:** See note to 140.33-35.

131.8-11. ***Letters on Paraguay . . . Francia's Reign of Terror . . . Letters on South America . . .* 1843:** See note to 141.34-36.

131.12. ***Travels in Chile and La Plata. . . .* 1826:** See note to 133.16.

131.13-14. ***Memoirs of General Miller, . . .* 1829:** See note to 133.11.

131.16-17. **The confused South American Revolution, and set of revolutions, like the South American Continent itself, is doubtless a great confused phenomenon:** As Carlyle's opening sentence suggests, the movement for independence from Spain and Portugal of their colonial territories in South America was not a single, contained revolution but rather a series of conflicts over roughly two decades in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the closing decades of the eighteenth century, there was increasing discontent among South American criollos, those born in the colonies but of full or near full Spanish descent; they lacked the social status—and political power—of Peninsulares, who lived in the South American colonies but were born in Spain. As late as 1807, all of Spain's holdings in Latin America and South America remained under Spain's colonial control, but in the next fifteen years of repeated conflicts, the colonial viceroyalties were fractured one by one, as regions across South America established local governments and declared independent nationhood. During the same time period, Brazil declared independence from Portugal, in 1822.

131.22. **Cis-Atlantic:** "On this side of the Atlantic"—that is, for Carlyle, the eastern (European and African) side of the Atlantic Ocean.

131.23-132.2. **Iturbide, 'the Napoleon of Mexico' . . . the thrice-celebrated 'Plan of Iguala' . . . Emperor of Mexico, most serene 'Augustin I.' . . . banished to Leghorn, to London:** Agustín de Iturbide (1783-1824), Mexican army general who played a leading, though conservative, role in the revolt against Spain. His "Plan de Iguala" of 1821 asserted immediate independence from Spain, equality for Spaniards and Creoles, and the supremacy of Roman Catholicism. After turning against his more radical

allies, in 1822 Iturbide—like Napoleon—placed an imperial crown on his own head and declared himself Agustín I, emperor of Mexico. Opposition to his arbitrary rule forced him from the throne in 1823. Following a brief exile in Italy ("Leghorn" is an Anglicization of "Livorno") and England, Iturbide returned to Mexico, where he was captured and executed in July 1824.

132.7. ***vate caruit sacro*:** Horace, *Odes* 4.9.28: "carent quia vate sacro" (because they lacked a sacred bard). In context, Horace notes that there were many strong and courageous men before Agamemnon, now forgotten because they lacked a poet to sing their lives.

132.8. **Bolivar, 'the Washington of Columbia,' Liberator Bolivar:** Simón Bolívar (1783-1830), born into a Criollo family in what is now Caracas, Venezuela, earned the nicknames "the Washington of Columbia" and "the Liberator" for his military and political leadership of the wars for independence from Spain in the northern and western regions of South America. Strongly influenced by Enlightenment ideas and the French Revolution, Bolívar headed the struggles between 1808 and 1830 that resulted in what are now the independent nations of Venezuela, Bolivia (named for him), Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, and Panama. Successful in separating these regions from Spain, he was unable to forge a unified Spanish America out of the remnants of colonial Spain. He died in 1830, having accomplished much but with many of his hopes disappointed.

132.9. **lithographs represent to us:** Carlyle probably refers to the portrait of Bolívar in Miller (2:315), the source for much of what follows in the paragraphs below. See plate 7.

132.18-19. **War of Liberation 'to the death':** Following the collapse of the First Republic of Venezuela in July 1812, and in an attempt to counter Spanish reprisals against those who had supported independence from Spain, Bolívar issued the *Decreto de Guerra a Muerte* (Decree of War to the Death) in June 1813, on his return to Venezuela from exile. The decree authorized the killing of all soldiers and residents in Venezuela who had been born in Spain who did not actively support independence, but it also exonerated those of Spanish descent born in South America who may have hitherto supported Spanish royalist government. The decree resulted in atrocities on both sides and remained in effect until the sides agreed to return to more conventional tactics in 1820.

132.19-20. **Clad in blankets, *ponchos* the South Americans call them:** According to the OED, the word "poncho" to describe the blanket-garment Carlyle describes entered the English language in the early eighteenth century.

132.25-26. **through ice-chasms beyond the curve of perpetual frost:** Carlyle's poetic phrasing is his own, but the term "perpetual frost" is used by climatologists to refer to regions where the mean monthly temperature never rises above freezing. Carlyle may be referring to the glaciers in the high Andes that Bolívar and his armies traversed.

132.26-27. **more miles than Ulysses ever sailed; let the coming Homers take note of it:** In Homer's *Odyssey*, owing to the enmity of the gods and other misadventures, the Greek hero Odysseus—to the Romans, Ulysses—wanders throughout the Mediterranean Sea on his ten-year journey to return home to the Greek island of Ithaca following the Trojan War.

132.28. **a feat analogous to Hannibal's:** The Carthaginian general Hannibal (247-183/81 B.C.) famously led his army, including elephants, across the seemingly impassable Alps and into the Italian plains, where his troops defeated the armies of Rome, though not the city of Rome itself.

132.30-31. **in the Cumana regions the 'immortal victory' of Carababo and several others:** The Battle of Carabobo, between Bolívar's forces and the Spanish royalist army, on June 24, 1821, was crucial to the cause of independence from Spain. "Immortal victory" is a commonplace epithet, but see also 1 Corinthians 15:54: "So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory."

132.31-32. **the finishing 'immortal victory' of Ayacucho in Peru:** The victory over the Spanish army at Ayacucho in December 1824 assured the independence of Peru and what is now Bolivia. The commander of the revolutionary forces at Ayacucho was not Bolívar himself but his talented general, Antonio José de Sucre.

132.34-35. **Some three times over did he, in solemn Columbian parliament, lay down his Dictatorship with Washington eloquence:** In 1796, George Washington (see note to 105.31-32) had refused to be made king and, in an eloquent farewell to the nation, voluntarily relinquished the

presidency after two four-year terms. Bolívar's resignation was a more complicated matter. Although he fought for the establishment of a republic, he was repeatedly tempted to assume dictatorial powers. However, finally recognizing the impossibility of establishing a unified nation out of the newly independent South American countries, Bolívar did voluntarily step down from the presidency of Gran Colombia in January 1830, announcing his decision in an eloquent speech to the nation in which he repudiated the charge that he wished to be king.

132.36-133.3. **Thrice, or at least twice, did he, in different places, painfully construct a Free Constitution; consisting of 'two chambers, and a supreme governor for life with liberty to name his successor':** Carlyle quotes from the Bolivian constitution that Bolívar had written and that was ratified in 1826. Bolívar sought to include many of the same elements in an 1828 constitution for Gran Colombia, but failed owing to opposition from those who feared a strong, centralized government and an overstrong president. In the speech relinquishing his dictatorship (see preceding note), he refers to convening four constitutional congresses.

133.6. **He has shone in many a gay Parisian *soirée*:** In 1804, before his revolutionary career in South America, the young Bolívar traveled to Paris, where he read widely in Enlightenment political philosophy but also became a participant in the Parisian salons—Carlyle's "gay Parisian *soirée*," or evening party—especially the liberal salon hosted by Fanny Dervieu du Villars.

133.7-8. **Potosi and the fabulous Inca Cities:** Carlyle appears to conflate two different episodes in Bolívar's 1825 journey (see Miller 2:304-305). Potosí, a city in the high Andes of what is now Bolivia, had been the center of silver mining in South America since the sixteenth century, a major source of Spain's great wealth during the colonial era. The most famous Inca cities—Cuzco, Huánuco Pampa, and Machu Picchu—are located hundreds of miles north of Potosí, in what is now Peru.

133.9-10. **'as the famed *Cerro*, metalliferous Mountain, came in sight, the bells all pealed out, and there was a thunder of artillery':** Carlyle's version is a very loose, more extravagant rendering of Miller (see next note), which reads: "When the Liberator came within a full and clear view of the far-famed Cerro of Potosí, the flags of Peru, Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Colombia were . . . unfurled upon its summit. On his excellency's entering the town, twenty-one camaretas or large shells, placed on the

summit of the Cerro, were fired off . . . The bells of every church and convent rang with an almost deafening peal" (2:306). The Cerro Rico—rich mountain—of Potosí in Bolivia is a 15,800 foot volcanic peak rising a mile above the town of Potosí at its foot and containing the largest known silver deposit in the world.

133.11. **General Miller:** William Miller (1795-1861), English soldier during the Napoleonic Wars and in North America during the War of 1812. In 1817 he took his military skills and ambition to South America, where he made a name for himself—as Guillermo Miller—in the wars of independence from Spain, particularly in the future Chile and Peru, where he became a friend of Simón Bolívar and attained the rank of general of division and commander in chief of the cavalry. In 1826 he returned to Europe and published this account of his experiences.

133.11-12. **a Ulysses, Polytlas and Polymetis, a much-enduring and many-counselled man:** Carlyle continues the parallel with Homer's *Odyssey* (see note to 132.26), which employs the epithets "much-enduring" (polytlas) and "many-counselled" (polymetis) to describe its hero.

133.14-15. **General San Martin . . . when we last saw him, twenty years ago or more:** José de San Martín (1778-1850), born in the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata to Spanish parents, between 1807 and 1811 fought for royalist Spain against Napoleon in the Peninsular War. In 1811, however, he abandoned Spain and the royalist cause to fight for South American independence, proclaiming the independence of Peru in July 1821. The book by John Miers (see notes to 131.12 and 133.16) that Carlyle is relying on for information was published in 1826 and recounts events of 1819-1825, some twenty years before the writing of "Dr. Francia." See also next note.

133.16. **Mr. Miers:** John Miers (1789-1879), a highly regarded British botanist, engineer, and businessman who spent years in South America, studying and documenting its flora and pursuing business ventures, published *Travels in Chile and La Plata* following his return from Chile in 1825.

133.17-18. **'his own portrait, as I remarked, hung up between those of Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington':** See Miers 1:159-60.

133.19-20. **'with its shady public-walk well paved and swept':** Miers 1:154-55. Though Carlyle treats this phrase as a quotation, he is condensing

in his own words Miers's long description of the alameda (1.154-55; see note to 134.7-9).

133.21-22. **the Rock-chain, *Cordillera* they call it, of the sky-piercing Mountains: "**Cordillera"—a Spanish word for a mountain chain or ridge, derived from "cordilla," a string or rope—is commonly used to describe the high ridge of the Andes mountain range, some forty-three hundred miles long, averaging thirteen thousand feet in elevation.

133.26-28. **San Martin's march over the Andes . . . comparable, most likely, to Hannibal's march over the Alps, while there was yet no Simplon or Mont-Cénis highway:** When Napoleon, inspired in part by Hannibal's march (see note to 132.28), sought to facilitate the movement of military matériel across the Alps between France and Italy, he had his engineers build the Simplon and the Mont Cénis roads. In January 1817 San Martín led his army across the Andes—through passes some ten to twelve thousand feet above sea level—from the city of Mendoza to the Chilean coast, defeated the royalists at Santiago, and in April 1818 assured the independence of Chile.

133.30. **Buenos-Ayres:** Now usually spelled "Buenos Aires," the capital and largest city of Argentina.

133.36. **'at the Fort of San Carlos by the Aguanda river':** Miller 1:92.

134.1. ***Palaver*:** See note to 117.14-15 and Miller 1:94.

134.5. **horses' blood with ardent spirits *ad libitum*:** Miller states that the Pehuenche people "open a vein in the [mare's] neck, whence they sometimes suck the blood, in which operation the women and children take precedence"; once the horses are flayed, the hides are used to line a pit, into which "wine and brandy ["ardent spirits"] are indiscriminately poured" (1:96). Miller's *Memoirs* do not suggest that the horses' blood is mixed with the ardent spirits, as Carlyle's phrasing seems to imply. The Latin phrase "ad libitum" means "as one pleases" or "at will."

134.7-9. **'five or six of these poor women, taking it by turns, were always found in a sober state, watching over the rest':** Miller 1:96. Here, as throughout the essay, Carlyle's quotations contain many variations from the original texts and often amount to paraphrase. The extent of these variations is unusual for Carlyle and suggests that he has in this essay

worked from memory or rough notes without bothering to consult the originals. Note also that Carlyle's footnotes give only the author, not a page citation and not, in the case of the Robertsons, the particular title, again not his usual practice.

134.30-31. **men are stationed with lassos, to gin you dexterously:** Though now common in English, the word "lasso" is derived from the Spanish and entered English usage in the early 1800s through narratives such as the one Carlyle is reviewing. The word "gin," used as a verb, means to catch or snare.

134.32-33. **San Iago:** "San Iago" (Saint James) is a variant of Santiago, since colonial times the capital and largest city in what is now Chile.

134.34. ***sorras*, sledges, canoe-shaped boxes, made of dried bull's-hide:** Almost an exact quotation of Miller 1:107.

135.4. **'store of onions, of garlic':** Miller 1:106.

135.5. **Paraguay tea:** "Paraguay tea" is another name for yerba mate—that is, "mate herb"—a caffeinated drink made by steeping in water the leaves of an evergreen shrub or tree in the holly genus. In June 1844, a year after writing "Dr. Francia," Carlyle decided "to make an infusion of [yerba mate] this Night, and try whether it does resemble the taste of incidental 'twine chewed in the mouth,' or some more exhilarating substance!" (*Letters* 18:79).

135.12. **night-leaguers:** A leaguer is a military camp, especially used of a siege encampment. Carlyle uses the compound "night-leaguer" to indicate that the camps are temporary night stops as the army crosses the Andes.

135.15. **Canopus and the Southern Cross:** Canopus is the brightest star visible in the Southern Hemisphere. The Southern Cross is a constellation visible in the Southern Hemisphere; two of its stars form an axis that points toward the celestial South Pole.

135.20. **these rugged *Guachos* of his:** When Carlyle wrote this essay the term "gaucho" was still unfamiliar in English, having come into use only in the early nineteenth century, and its meaning was somewhat indefinite. Dictionary definitions are thus not helpful; instead we offer the description that Carlyle would have found in one of his sources, Miller:

> The gauchos are a well grown race of people, and handsome faces are frequently seen amongst the women. The men are bold, sociable, and unembarrassed in their deportment. They are good-natured and obliging; but so high spirited, that the infliction of a blow on a gaucho is perilous to the aggressor, be he who he may; for the knife is instantly drawn to avenge the indignity. The children of intermarriages between white and Indian parents possess an interesting cast of countenance. The gauchos have enjoyed from time immemorial a degree of individual liberty not to be seen perhaps amongst any other people. Thinly sprinkled over immeasurable plains, they were scarcely within the control of a local magistracy, and they set at open defiance the viceregal authority whenever it trenched upon personal freedom. In an unadvanced state of civilization, they retain more of the noble traits of the Spanish character, in the brightest era of the monarchy, than is to be found in the mother country, or in any part of what were once her colonial possessions. Inheriting the abstemiousness of their forefathers, they are surrounded by an abundance more than sufficient for their wants, and they pass their days in cheerful indolence, or in roaming over their treeless savannahs in the pursuit of business or pleasure. (1:152-53)

The newness of the term probably also explains the variant spelling used throughout by Carlyle, though it is difficult to explain given that his sources—the Robertsons, Miers, and Miller—all use the spelling "gaucho" (Miers once has guacho [1:60], but that is probably a misprint).

135.24-27. **defeat on the 'Plains of Maypo,' and again . . . on the Plains or Heights of 'Chacabuco;' and completed the 'deliverance of Chile,' as was thought, forever and a day:** The Battle of Chacabuco in February 1817 and Battle of Maipú in April 1818—both royalist defeats—were important steps in the attempt to "deliver" Chile from Spain, but although Chile's independence was declared on February 12, 1818, the war to ensure its independence dragged on until 1821. Note that Carlyle reverses the chronological order of the battles, possibly confusing the battle of Maipú with the crossing of the Maypo River in 1817. However, he may be echoing Miller's statement in a retrospective passage that we have seen how San Martín formed the "army, which, on the heights of Chacabuco,

and the plain of Maypo, gave to Chile her political existence" (1:424). For Miller's accounts of the battles, see 1:131-32, 184-87. Miller does not use the phrase "deliverance of Chile," but he does write of the "emancipation of Chile" (1:76).

136.3-7. **General O'Higgins . . . hampered by 'class-legislation' . . . 'natural son of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, formerly the Spanish Viceroy of Chile':** As Carlyle notes, Bernardo O'Higgins Requelme (1778-1842) was the illegitimate ("natural") son of Ambrosio O'Higgins (1720-1801), who was born in Ireland before emigrating to Spain and then Peru, where he served as Spanish colonial administrator and eventually became the military governor of colonial Chile and then viceroy of colonial Peru. "Class-legislation" was a contemporary commonplace referring to legislation that favors a particular social (usually upper or middle) class; here it possibly refers to Spanish colonial law forbidding Ambrosio from marrying Bernardo's wealthy criollo mother (note, however Carlyle's use of the phrase in a different context below 137.18-19). Educated in England and exposed to revolutionary ideas, O'Higgins returned to South America in 1802 and joined the struggle for Chilean independence in 1810. In 1817, the forces of José de San Martín and O'Higgins defeated the royalists at the battle of Chacabuco, following which O'Higgins served as Supreme Director of Chile from 1817 until he was deposed in 1823.

136.8-9. **A most cheery, jovial, buxom countenance, radiant with pepticity, good humour, and manifold effectuality in peace and war:** In this passage and the description that follows, Carlyle is undoubtedly drawing on the portrait of O'Higgins on the title page of volume 2 of Miller. See plate 8.

136.10-11. **we Foreign Reviewers:** Carlyle is both a "foreign reviewer" writing about another country and a "Foreign Reviewer"—that is, a writer for the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, in which the essay "Dr. Francia" was published, as were a number of his earlier essays.

136.13-14. **from Panama to Cape Horn:** That is, from Panama at the far northern limit of South America to Cape Horn at the far southern tip of Chile and South America.

136.17-18. **From San Iago to Valparaiso:** The distance from inland Santiago (see note to 134.32-33) to the city of Valparaiso on the coast of Chile is roughly sixty-three miles, though Miers marks the distance as ninety miles (1:425).

136.25. **'iron boxes'**: Miers states only "lockers and cases" (1:304).

136.33-34. **Had you seen this road before it was made, / You would lift both your hands, and bless General Wade!:** General George Wade (1673-1748), an Irishman in the service of George I, fought against the Jacobites in 1715 and in the 1720s was sent to Scotland, where he was charged with the construction of roads and bridges to tighten security in the north. Supposedly the lines Carlyle quotes—attributed to William Caulfield, Wade's successor—were engraved on a stone at the start of one of General Wade's roads.

136.36-37. **It affects one with real pain to hear from Mr. Miers, that the War of Liberty has half ruined these O'Higgins *casuchas*:** "Formerly every casucha was supplied with a wooden door, but immediately upon the first removal of the Spanish authority in Chile these useful edifices were neglected, the first blow being given by the small piquets of patriot soldiers stationed along this pass, who, rather than give themselves the trouble of foraging for brushwood, wantonly consumed not only the doors and the door frames, but the lintels; the consequence is, that the brick-work, loosened in removing the wood-work, is going rapidly to decay" (Miers 1:303).

137.4. **'for fifteen days together':** See Miers 1:304. Again, this is a paraphrase, not a direct quotation (see note to 134.7-9)

137.18-19. **almost no success whatever as a governor; being hampered by class-legislation:** Modern accounts of Bernardo O'Higgins as Supreme Director of Chile (1817-1823) describe him as a largely successful leader, creating a working independent government and maintaining peace and civic order. However, his military skill appears to have exceeded his political ability: his proposed liberal reforms, including the abolition of noble titles, alienated the Catholic Church and powerful aristocratic families, hence the reference to "class-legislation" (see note to 136.3-7). He was forced to resign his position during a conservative coup in January 1823.

137.21-22. **like that Pope elect, who showing himself on the balcony, was greeted with mere howls, "*Non piacemmo al popolo?*":** The Italian phrase means "Do we not please the people?" We have not been able to identify the source of this anecdote or the pope involved.

137.26-28. **Their government has altered its name, says the sturdy Mr.**

Miers, rendered sulky by what he saw there: altered its name, but its nature continues as before: Of the changes following liberation from Spain, Miers writes, "The president and captain general have been changed for a supreme director and captain general; the royal audiencia has been converted into a senate or junta of privileged individuals; the outer forms of the courts of laws have received some alteration; but to all intents and purposes the functions of the operative parts remain unchanged" (2:129; see also 2:112).

137.35-36. **the old Acapulco Ship:** From the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century, Spanish trade between the Americas and what is now the Philippines was monopolized by two ships: the Manila ship that sailed east once a year from Manila to the Americas, and the Acapulco ship that sailed west once a year from Mexico to Manila.

137.38. **clipping of the enormous bat-wings of the Clergy:** The phrase "bat-wings" serves a double purpose: the priestly cassock or soutane (an ankle-length black garment that flares beneath the waist, and sometimes has a "simar" or shoulder cape attached) could be said to resemble the wings of a bat, a metaphor explained when Carlyle claims below that "the South American clergy had grown to be as a kind of bat-vampires," a blood-sucking nemesis of the people. "Clipping the wings" of the clergy, like clipping the feathers on a bird's wingtips, would hobble the clergy.

137.38-138.1. **emancipating of the Slaves:** The abolition of slavery in the various South American countries occurred in stages over the first half of the nineteenth century. In Chile, for example, the slave trade was outlawed in 1811, but slavery itself was not abolished until 1823. Peru outlawed the slave trade in 1821 but then relegalized it in 1835. Slavery was not abolished in Peru—as in Argentina—until 1853, with Venezuela following suit in 1854.

138.2-4. **a kind of bat-vampires:—readers have heard of that huge South American bloodsucker, which fixes its bill in your circulating vital-fluid as you lie *asleep*, and there sucks:** Carlyle's knowledge of the bats' behavior is limited. Vampire bats do not have a bill, nor do they suck the blood of their hosts; rather, the bats use their front teeth to make a small incision in the skin of the host and then use their tongues to lap the blood flowing from the cut, and they do not drain so much of the blood of the host that the animal dies.

138.8-9. **melted the superfluous church-plate into piastres:** The term "church-plate" refers to gold or silver vessels that are used in services of the Catholic Church. A piastre is a Spanish or Spanish American coin of gold or silver.

138.14-15. **Volney, Raynal and Company:** Constantin François de Chasseboeuf, Comte de Volney (1757-1820) and Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (1713-1796)—more commonly referred to as "Abbé Raynal"—were eighteenth-century *philosophes,* writers and thinkers who advocated for liberal Enlightenment reforms to monarchical rule.

138.15. **gospel of Social Contract and the Rights of Man:** See note to 36.18-20. Both phrases emphasize the agency of the people, as opposed to the arbitrary authority of a monarch; both argue that monarchical authority is not limitless but depends on the consent of the governed.

138.17: **they do possess 'universities':** See Miers 1:247, 2:254-57.

138.19-21. **our friend Miers, repeatedly knocking at all doors of the Grand Chile National Library, . . . looking in through the windows:** See Miers 2:256-57; Carlyle exaggerates the incident but captures Miers's tone of grievance.

138.22-23. **Miers, as already hinted, desiderates unspeakable improvements in Chile;—desiderates, indeed, as the basis of all, an immense increase of soap-and-water:** See Miers 2:228, 233, 235, 367.

138.31-32. **He says also ('in his haste,' as is probable, like the Hebrew Psalmist), that all Chileno men are liars:** Miers 2:243. Carlyle's parenthetic remark alludes to Psalm 116:11: "I said in my haste, All men *are* liars."

139.2. **Dr. Francia and his Dictatorship in Paraguay:** See note to 131.title.

139.3. **Francia and his 'reign of terror':** Carlyle refers to the title of one of the books he is reviewing, the Robertson brothers' *Francia's Reign of Terror*, but he (like the Robertsons) is also referring by analogy to the so-called Reign of Terror in France (see note to 90.35). Carlyle devoted Book Five of the third volume of his *French Revolution* to the phenomenon of the Terror (see especially 3:5.1.202-207).

139.14. **Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse:** Dionysius I (430?-367 B.C.),

also called Dionysius the Elder, made himself tyrant of the city of Syracuse in Sicily in 405 B.C., expanding his power by means of brutal and ruthless measures during the years that followed; he was thus regarded by the ancients as the worst kind of despot.

139.19-20. **bursts of parliamentary eloquence, something like a real National Palaver:** On "National Palaver," see note to 117.14-15. Carlyle uses the term "bursts of parliamentary eloquence" (*Letters* 9:393, *Past and Present* 1.2.17) or merely "parliamentary eloquence" (*French Revolution* 1:3.6.90, "Chartism" above 111, *On Heroes* 170) on more than one occasion to emphasize his view of Parliament as all about speaking, not action.

139.22. **Hitherto, and no farther:** Job 38:11: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

139.24. **Practitioner of Law, and Doctor of Divinity:** Francia became a doctor of theology and a master of philosophy in 1785 after four years at the University of Córdoba, in what is now Argentina.

139.25. **stretch out his rod:** A phrase repeated with variations in the book of Exodus when God commands Moses and Aaron to bring plagues to Egypt. See, for example, Exodus 8:16: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt."

139.32-33. **M. Aimé Bonpland; how Francia seized him, descending on his tea-establishment in Entre Rios:** Aimé Bonpland (1773-1858), French botanist, spent the years 1799-1805 traveling, collecting, and classifying plant specimens in South America with Alexander von Humboldt (see next note). In 1816, he returned to South America and set up a colony, in territory contested between Argentina and Paraguay ("Entre Rios"—between the rivers—lies along the Paraguayan-Argentinian border, between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers), devoted to the cultivation and trade of yerba mate, "Paraguay tea" (see note to 135.5). Because Bonpland's efforts with yerba mate interfered with Francia's aspirations for Paraguay, Bonpland's colony was destroyed and Bonpland himself was detained as a spy. He remained in Paraguay under a loose form of house arrest from 1821 to 1829.

139.35. **Humboldt:** Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), German naturalist, explorer, and polymath, who is a major figure in the history of

science and in the disciplines of physical geography and ecology. Humboldt financed the scientific expedition to Central and South America from 1799 to 1804, accompanied by Bonpland. Humboldt along with others intervened to seek Bonpland's freedom (see preceding note).

139.38-140.1. **and indeed has never returned:** Following his release by Francia in 1829, Bonpland spent the remainder of his life in Argentina, where he died in 1858.

140.2. **law-fiscals:** According to the OED, in Spanish colonies fiscal is a "title given to legal officials of various ranks having the function of public prosecutors."

140.2. **executed, in his time, 'upwards of forty persons':** The Robertsons accuse Francia of the "execution of . . . forty of the most respectable individuals of Assumption" (*Reign of Terror* 393). Carlyle implies that this is the total, but following the attempted coup against Francia in 1820-1821, upward of two hundred people were arrested, and most were executed.

140.12-13. **Breughel paints his sea-storm:** Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1525?-1569), *The Storm at Sea* (1569) .

140.22. **chimera:** See note to 63.15-16.

140.28-29. "**Here or nowhere is the thing for me to write of:** An allusion to Lothario's discovery, in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship), that "hier, oder nirgend ist Amerika!" (Here or nowhere is America!) (*Werke* 20:20; *Apprenticeship* 2:11). Carlyle explains in *Sartor Resartus*: "May we not say, however, that the hour of Spiritual Enfranchisement is even this: When your Ideal World, wherein the whole man has been dimly struggling and inexpressibly languishing to work, becomes revealed, and thrown open; and you discover, with amazement enough, like the Lothario in *Wilhelm Meister*, that your 'America is here or nowhere?'" (2.9.145).

140.33-35. **a little Book, the Second on our List, set forth in French some sixteen years ago, by the Messrs. Rengger and Longchamp:** Johann Rudolph Rengger (1795-1832), a Swiss physician and naturalist, and Marcelin Longchamp, a Swiss physician about whom we know nothing besides what we learn from their book, spent six years (1819-1825) in Paraguay during the dictatorial reign of Francia. During this time, the two men

were not allowed to cross the border into surrounding countries without express permission from Francia: although they were not, strictly speaking, captives, they were largely isolated from the outside world. Upon their return to Europe in 1826, great public curiosity about the largely unknown Francia, and circumstances in Paraguay led the two men to write *Essai Historique sur la Révolution de Paraguay, et le Gouvernement Dictatorial du Docteur Francia* (Historical Essay on the Revolution in Paraguay, and the Dictatorial Government of Doctor Francia), the volume Carlyle considers here. As Carlyle suggests below, despite the dual authorship announced on the title page, it seems likely that Rengger wrote the majority of the volume (the title page of the English translation notes that the book is "translated from the French of J. R. Rengger"), that Rengger "alone of the two . . . speaks and writes" (141). In a letter of May 12, 1843, Carlyle urged his friend John Forster to send him *The Reign of Doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderick de Francia in Paraguay; Being an Account of a Six Years' Residence in That Republic*, the English translation of the book by Rengger and Longchamp: "The Book upon Dr Francia which is indispensable for me, that of Rengger and Longchamp, was translated into English, and published as I find by 'Hurst and Chance, St Paul's Churchyard, 1827.' It is a small Book, that may have cost originally 5 shillings. I make no doubt your people will be able to rake up a Copy;—and the sooner the better!" (*Letters* 16:163). Once he had the 1827 English translation, however, Carlyle found it hopelessly inadequate, as he explains below (140-41). However, similarities in choice of words between Rengger's English translation and Carlyle's own prose suggest that Carlyle did in fact use the translation, if only to check his own. For that reason, in the notes below, citations to Rengger's book also include page references for the English translation.

141.7-8. **Rengger and Longchamp were, and we hope still are, two Swiss Surgeons:** See note to 140.33-35; as indicated there, Rengger had died recently and we do not know when Longchamp died.

141.9. **'natural history':** See note to 17.33-34. Rengger traveled the country widely as he conducted research on the flora and fauna of the region.

141.28. **brevity is the soul of wit:** Proverbial phrase made famous as one of Polonius's maxims in *Hamlet* (2.2.90).

141.34-36. **The Messrs. Robertson, with their *Francia's Reign of Terror*, and other Books on South America, have been much before the world**

of late; and failed not of a perusal from this Reviewer: Between 1838 and 1843, John Parish Robertson (1792-1843) and his younger brother William Parish Robertson (1795-?), Scottish merchants, published three books—in six volumes—of their letters and observations on Paraguay and Argentina (see headnote above 131); much of the material in the later volumes is recycled from the earlier ones. In 1806, J. P. Robertson accompanied his father, assistant secretary of the Bank of Scotland, to Montevideo, now the capital of Uruguay. Beginning in 1808, he spent three years as a clerk in Rio de Janeiro. In late 1811, following the coup d'état that overthrew the Spanish colonial government, Robertson and his younger brother William sought to open up trade with Paraguay, traveling as mercantile agents to Asunción, where they soon discovered that Dr. Francia opposed opening Paraguay to international trade. Both Robertsons were compelled by Francia to leave the country in 1815; with Buenos Aires as their new base of operations, the two brothers established a lucrative trade in cattle hides with contacts in Paraguay. In the 1820s, the Robertsons gained—and then lost—a fortune as trade representatives for several South American republics. Back in England in the 1830s and needing to rebuild their finances, the Robertsons—with J. P. Robertson taking the lead—capitalized on new interest in Paraguay as Francia's dictatorship moved toward its end, publishing in quick succession in 1839 two books of letters and observations on Francia and Paraguay and in 1843 a third book on their broader South American experiences.

142.5. **Jesuits' bark:** The bark of the Cinchona tree, native to South America, from which quinine is derived for the treatment of fever. Its informal name credits the Spanish Jesuit missionaries in Peru who first made it known in Europe, though it was the indigenous people of Peru who had used the bark for centuries and instructed the missionaries in its existence and its benefits against malaria.

142.10-11. **River Plate, to the city of the Seven Streams or Currents (*Corrientes* so-called), and higher even to Assumpcion:** The River Plate (Rio de la Plata) is the large estuary that is formed by the confluence of the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers and that flows into the Atlantic Ocean between the cities of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Montevideo, Uruguay. Corrientes, the city of the seven currents, lies hundreds of miles up the Paraná River, near the southwestern tip of Paraguay. Assumpcion (Asunción) is now the capital city of Paraguay, some two hundred miles up the Paraguay River from Corrientes.

142.16. **the De la Plata, Parana or Paraguay country:** Broadly speaking, the western watershed of the Paraná River, including Paraguay and parts of Argentina.

142.32. **Tucuman:** Tucumán may refer to either a province or a city (San Miguel de Tucumán) in what is now Argentina. See note to 146.34 for further discussion of Carlyle's reference.

142.32. **Laswade:** A small village in Midlothian, in Scotland, nine miles south of Edinburgh. John Parish Robertson was schooled at Dalkeith Grammar School a few miles to the northeast.

143.8-9. **a cheerful, eupeptic, social spirit:** The word "eupeptic"—pertaining to or resulting from good digestion—is the opposite of "dyspeptic"—subject to or suffering from indigestion. Whereas "dyspeptic" connotes depression of spirits or morbid gloom, "eupeptic" suggests a vigorous, healthy demeanor. The OED several times cites Carlyle's use of the terms "eupeptic" and "eupepticity." Carlyle used these words to describe both physical states and metaphorical extensions of such states.

143.15. **'with one eye shut and the other not open':** The humorous phrase derives from George Darley (1795-1846), an Irish poet, dramatist, mathematician, and friend of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle, whom Thomas met in London in the 1820s and who visited the Carlyles at their home in Chelsea with some frequency in the 1830s. The saying stuck with the Carlyles and became part of the coterie speech they used with each other and with close friends. Jane first quoted the phrase in a letter of April 1836, noting that ingratitude "is [now] so common in the world people are getting into the way of regarding it, I suppose, as they do other fashionable vices *"with one eye shut and the other not open"* (as an Irish author said to me the other day in describing his manner of reading a certain journal)" (*Letters* 8:330). Carlyle described Darley as "an honest pure-washed kind of creature, with delicacy, with insight, with the extreme of sensitiveness. . . . I am to see him again (*Letters* 8:151). The phrase recurs in Jane's letters in the 1840s (*Letters* 13:121, 22:164).

143.22. **Castile soap:** A fine soap made from olive oil and soda that was originally made in the province of Castile, in Spain.

143.28. **Leading-Article philosophy:** A leading-article (or leader) in the

nineteenth century was a long article in a newspaper, appearing as the expression of the paper's editorial opinion on a given subject.

143.35-36: **craftsmen of no great eminence who will undertake to write it in one sheet:** Carlyle is suggesting that what is original in the three volumes could be reduced to one published "sheet," the term for the large sheet of paper that was folded typically into sixteen pages for a review article.

144.5-6. **M. de la Condamine, about a century ago, . . . went into those equinoctial countries:** Charles Marie de La Condamine (1701-1774), French mathematician, geographer, and explorer, who spent a decade in South America, where he measured the length of a degree of latitude at the equator and later prepared the first map of the Amazon region based on astronomical observations. Following his return to France in 1745, he published the book Carlyle cites in the footnote, *Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique Méridionale* (Brief Narrative of Travels through the Interior of South America, 1745).

144.7. **From Quito to Cuença:** Quito is the capital city of what is now the nation of Ecuador; Cuença, the capital of Azuay province, lies three hundred miles south of Quito.

144.8. **wild Creoles:** Though the word "creole" or "criollo" now is commonly used to refer to a person of mixed race, in Spanish South America it formerly referred to a person of full or almost full Spanish descent who was born in the colonies, as opposed to "Peninsulares," who were born in Spain proper. See also notes to 131.16-17 and 132.18-19.

144.14. **narrow Pongo rapids:** A pongo is a narrow river canyon or gorge, often with powerful whitewater rapids, that cuts through the rainforests on the eastern slopes of the northern Andes and flows into the Amazon basin.

144.19. **Adam's sinful posterity:** In accord with the story of Adam's original sin, in Genesis, all humanity are the descendants of Adam and Eve.

144.21-22. **Madame Godin's passage down the Amazons, and frightful life-in-death amid the howling forest-labyrinths:** Isabel Godin des Odonais (1728-1792), an intrepid woman born in Peru, was separated from her husband for more than twenty years because of French and Spanish colonial politics. Her husband, a cartographer and naturalist who accompanied de

La Condamine (see note to 144.5-6) through the Amazon, was stranded in Cayenne, French Guiana, on the Atlantic coast. Isabel Godin rejoined him in 1770 after a harrowing ten-month journey across the Andes and through the Amazon basin, during which all other members of her party died. An English translation of her experience—*Account of the Adventures of Madame Godin des Odonais in Passing Down the River of the Amazons in the Year 1770*—appeared in 1827.

144.21. **life-in-death:** See note to 49.23.

144.25. **octavo volume:** A book made of printed sheets folded three times, a process that results in a section of eight pages, each eight to ten inches tall.

144.27-29. **the Messrs. Robertson talk repeatedly, in their last Volumes, of writing still other Volumes on Chile, 'if the public will encourage':** In the preface to *Letters from South America* (the "last Volumes"), the Robertsons write: "We have to plead, that what we have already given has not been unacceptable to the public; and some kind friends, moreover, having persuaded us that we may reckon on a favourable hearing for what we have yet to say touching the infant republics of the New World, we have ventured to publish another series of Letters on South America" (1:ix). We do not find the phrase that Carlyle uses, but it and similar phrases were in common use in advertising copy for books. Carlyle is also hyperbolic, as we do not find any other such statements in these works.

144.34-35. **it is a sin, good reader, though there is no Act of Parliament against it; an indubitable *male*faction or crime:** A malefaction is an act of wrongdoing (a sin), even if not specifically outlawed by a criminal code; Carlyle's italics emphasize the root meaning "evil."

145.4-5. **with reap-hook, with rake, with autumnal steel-and-tinder:** A reap-hook is a curved, sharp-edged cutting tool used for reaping by hand; "steel-and-tinder" refers to the striking of steel and flint to create sparks that light the inflammable tinder, used in the autumn after harvest to clear the field.

145.6. **downbeard:** This is the only instance of the word cited in the OED, and we have not been able to locate any others. It seems likely, therefore, that Carlyle has simply constructed a compound of the familiar "down" and "beard," both of which refer to the hairlike tufts found on various plants.

145.9-11. **the Author-corps in Great Britain, . . . is now supposed to be about ten thousand strong:** Ten years earlier, in "On History Again," Carlyle had cited the same figure (*Historical Essays* 17). We do not know where Carlyle found this figure, but he may have in mind the *Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland* (1816), which was advertised as notices of "nearly ten thousand authors."

145.11-14. **the reading-corps . . . amounts to twenty-seven millions:** The census of 1841 numbered the population of the United Kingdom as 26,730,929. In his recently published *Past and Present*, Carlyle had written of "this English Nation," "Is there sense enough extant, discoverable anywhere or anyhow, in our united twenty-seven million heads" (1.2.12). Of course, many Britons were illiterate, so this is only the potential number of readers.

145.12. **with one eye shut and the other not open:** See note to 143.15.

145.30. **Drain out the swamps:** Beginning with the recently published *Past and Present*, Carlyle had depicted productive labor as draining swamps: "Blessed is he who has found his work . . . How, as a free-flowing channel, dug and torn by noble force through the sour mud-swamp of one's existence, like an ever-deepening river there, it runs and flows;—draining off the sour festering water gradually from the root of the remotest grass-blade; making instead of pestilential swamp a green fruitful meadow with its clear-flowing stream" (3.11.196; see also 4.5.275).

145.35. **running shriek:** See note to 139.3.

145.36. **'sanguinary tyrant':** As elsewhere, Carlyle does not quote precisely (see note to 134.7-9), but the Robertsons do accuse Francia of "blood-thirsty tyranny" (*Reign of Terror* 10); "sanguinary" means "attended by bloodshed."

146.8. ***chacra*:** A Spanish word, derived from the indigenous South American Quechua, meaning a small farm on the outskirts of a town or city.

146.10. **seems to have evoked him into being some time in the year 1757:** Though Carlyle does not list it as a source, an obituary in the September 1838 *Gentleman's Magazine* states that Francia was born in 1757. The Robertsons, in *Letters on Paraguay*, estimate that Francia was born "about the year 1758" (2:189). J. P. Robertson describes him, upon their first meeting

in 1812, as "a gentleman of about fifty years of age, dressed in a suit of black, with a large scarlet capote, or cloak, thrown over his shoulders" (1:331); that time frame would place the birth in 1762. In fact, Francia was born in 1766 and so was in his mid-forties in 1812. As Carlyle notes throughout his essay, in England little was known about Francia, even in 1843. The biographical information contained in the essay—depending almost entirely on the inadequate sources of Rengger's book and the Robertsons' multiple volumes—is frequently inexact.

146.18. **good brown lady:** Francia's mother was Maria Josefa de Velasco, of criollo parentage. Though Francia's ancestry is somewhat murky, his political enemies took delight in asserting, with no regard for evidence, that Francia's parents were of mixed race and Francia therefore a mulatto. In using the phrase "good brown lady," Carlyle may be misled by the word criollo, which did not invariably imply mixed-race origins. See notes to 144.8 and 146.26-28 as well as Carlyle's description of the Francias as "adust" (146.26-28 and note).

146.19-20. **the twenty-fifth parallel of Southern Latitude:** The twenty-fifth parallel of latitude south of the equator crosses through Paraguay just to the north of Asunción.

146.24. **the Divine Offices:** The Divine Office of the Catholic Church is an authorized form of worship, a daily, non-Eucharistic service comprising prayers for each of the seven canonical hours.

146.26-28. **The Francias, with their adust character, and vehement French-Portuguese blood, had perhaps all a kind of aptitude for madness:** According to Rengger, Francia's father was born in France and as a young man emigrated to Portugal and then to Brazil—hence Carlyle's "vehement French-Portuguese blood" (*Essai historique* 7-8; English translation 5). The word "adust," deriving from a Latin word for burnt or scorched, was an old medical term used to designate any of the humours of the body considered to be abnormally concentrated and dark in color and associated with a pathological state of hotness and dryness of the body. Adust humours, especially adust melancholy, were believed to be the source of mental and emotional symptoms as well as physical illness. The word would have been rare if not obsolete by Carlyle's time, but he uses it on a number of occasions; see *Letters* 6:192, *Sartor Resartus* 1.11.56, *French Revolution* 2:1.7.40-41, 2:5.7.240, "Baillie the Covenanter," *Historical Essays* 250.

146.29. **adust 'men of genius':** As early as 1825, in the *Life of Schiller*, Carlyle notes that for Friedrich Schiller, "Genius, even in its faintest scintillations, is 'the inspired gift of God'; a solemn mandate to its owner to go forth and labour in his sphere, to keep alive 'the sacred fire' among his brethren, which the heavy and polluted atmosphere of this world is forever threatening to extinguish" (201; see also *Letters* 2:132). Just prior to the writing of "Dr. Francia," Carlyle developed this idea in "The Gifted," a late chapter in *Past and Present*, where he overtly credits Milton: "O Maecenas Twiddledee, hast thou any notion what a Man of Genius is? Genius is 'the inspired gift of God.' It is the clearer presence of God Most High in a Man. . . . So says John Milton, who ought to be a judge" (*Past and Present* 4.7.286; see also *Letters* 2:132). Carlyle quotes a passage in *The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty* (1642), in which Milton asserts that poetic abilities, whether deployed in secular or sacred contexts, are "the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some . . . in every nation" (preface to book 2). "Men of genius," however, does not derive from Milton, and genius in the sense indicated here (intellectual or creative power of an exceptional type), was of more recent vintage. Carlyle could also be using the phrase ironically, hence the use of quotation marks as well, perhaps, as the adjective adust. See, for example, *Sartor Resartus,* in which he writes: "By degrees, those same established men, once partially inclined to patronise him, seem to withdraw their countenance, and give him up as 'a man of genius;' against which procedure he, in these Papers loudly protests" (2.4.95; see also 2.5.108 and *Past and Present* 4.1.244).

146.33. **hornbooks:** See note to 125.23.

146.34. **the University of Cordova in Tucuman:** This phrasing comes from the Robertsons, who refer to "the University of Cordova in Tucuman" (*Paraguay* 2:189), but they mean in the diocese of Tucuman, not the city of San Miguel de Tucumán (see note to 142.32), as Carlyle seems to suggest. The university is in the city of Cordova, some 350 miles south of Tucumán.

147.3-4. **Mithridateses, able to *live* on poison:** According to such ancient writers as Pliny, Justin, Cassius Dio, and Celsus, throughout his life Mithridates VI Eupator (see note to 85.19-21) feared that his adversaries would poison him and so concocted and then ingested small amounts of a universal antidote compounded of multiple ingredients. See Pliny, *Natural History* 29.24-25; Justin, *Epitome* 37.2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 37.13; Celsus, *De Medicina* 5.23.3.

147.19-20. **Ignatius Loyola, Friar Ponderoso, Don Fatpauncho Usandwonto:** Ignatius of Loyola (see note to 16.34-35), founder of the Jesuit order, which sent missionaries to South America in the late sixteenth century; they founded what would become the University of Cordoba in 1610 and remained in charge of the university until 1767. "Friar Ponderoso" and "Don Fatpauncho Usandwonto" are satiric Carlylean inventions, similar to "Diogenes Teufelsdröckh" and "Gottfried Sauerteig." "Ponderoso" is the Spanish equivalent of the English "ponderous," thus suggesting someone unduly grave and weighty; "Don Fatpauncho Usandwonto" is a pseudo-Spanish name (hence the "o" endings), derived, of course, from "fat paunch" and the phrase "use and wont," a chiefly Scottish phrase meaning "according to custom or established practice." In short, they are self-satisfied, pedantic scholars.

147.27-28. **Jesuit skullcap:** The zuchetto, a small skullcap worn by Catholic clergy, not just Jesuits.

147.35. **Acherontic:** The Acheron is one of the rivers of Hades, the Greek mythic underworld, over which Charon ferried the souls of the dead, thus in this adjectival form, meaning "hellish."

148.1-3. **Some say it was in Divinity . . . the Robertsons, likelier to be incorrect, call him Doctor of Laws:** Carlyle is right to be skeptical of the Robertsons' claims. Francia earned his degree in theology and for a time held a professorship in that subject, but he then turned to law, though only the Robertsons claim that "he took his degree of Doctor in the faculty of law" (*Paraguay* 1:189).

148.11-13. **That round Globe put into that round Drum, to touch it at the ends and all round, it is precisely as if you clapt 2 into the inside of 3:** Carlyle's knowledge of geometry is evident here, for the ratio of the volume of a sphere placed in a cylinder whose ends and the whole of whose perimeter touch the sphere is 2:3. See next note.

148.14-15. **Archimedeses, Pythagorases, dusky Indians, old nearly as the hills, detected such things:** Archimedes of Syracuse (287?-212? B.C.), ancient Greek mathematician, physicist, and engineer, published a proof of the ratio of the sphere to the cylinder (225 B.C.). Pythagoras of Samos (570?-500-490? B.C.), ancient Greek philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician for whom the "Pythagorean theorem" is named; this theorem

antedates Pythagoras, however and was known to ancient Indian thinkers (roughly 1900-1500 B.C.), to whom Carlyle here alludes.

148.18-20. **paths which are conceivable . . . as Sections of a Cone . . . an Ellipsis, the Almighty Maker has set his Planets to roll in that:** The First Law of Planetary Motion formulated by Johannes Kepler states that planets revolve around the sun in an elliptical orbit; Isaac Newton (1642-1727), English physicist and mathematician, reformulated Kepler's law to state that the orbit of any planet is a conic section, one of whose foci is at the center of the sun.

148.25. **shot rubbish:** Rubbish that has been dumped (shot) out in a pile.

148.27. **French vocables; bodily garment:** A "vocable" is the name of a thing; in this case, the French language, which is the "bodily garment" of the ideas of the Enlightenment (see next note). Carlyle uses it to distinguish the word from the thing itself, as in a letter of August 1843, shortly after writing this essay: "Last night . . . there arrived, unpaid, this horrid mass of vocables from W. Grahame, which now for thy sins I doom thee also to read:—no, I will not; I will retain the document for pipe-matches" (*Letters* 17:28). A letter to the Prime Minister, Robert Peel, in June 1846 is even more direct: "Loud-sounding clamour, and rhetorical vocables, not grounded on fact, not even on belief of fact,—one knows from of old whither all that, and what depends on it, is bound!" (*Letters* 20:212). See also *Latter-Day Pamphlets* for Carlyle's hatred of mere "vocables" (192).

148.28. ***Encyclopédie* and Gospel according to Volney, Jean-Jacques and Company:** The *Encyclopédie* (see note to 56.10) is one of the great achievements of the French Enlightenment; Rousseau (see note to 102.30-31) was one of its chief authors, while Volney (see note to 138.14-15) was one of its lesser lights. See also note to 138.15.

148.32-33. **Lethean stupefactions:** In Greek myth, Lethe is one of the rivers in Hades, the water of which produced, in those who drank it, forgetfulness of the past.

148.34. **farthing rushlight:** See note to 17.2; rushlights were cheap, a farthing being a quarter of a penny.

149.14. **Advocates:** "Advocate" is a technical title in countries with legal systems based on Roman civil law, such as Scotland; Carlyle uses the

word to mean "lawyer" or "barrister," though he may wish to indicate a lawyer of superior classification, as in Scotland.

149.19. **friend-of-humanity:** The phrase "friend of humanity" was used to describe—by themselves and by their opponents—supporters of the French Revolution; the Jacobin Club, for example, required that its members swear to recognize "as my brother any just man, any true friend of humanity, whatever his color, his stature, and his land." However, Carlyle probably has in mind an earlier instance. In his *French Revolution*, the phrase "friend of humanity" never appears, as one might expect, given its apparent ubiquity, but the similar phrase "Friend of Men" does appear in a number of instances, as a self-denominated epithet by Victor Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau, father of the revolutionary leader Gabriel Honoré Mirabeau (see 1:2.2.35). In his "Memoirs of Mirabeau," in which the epithet also appears several times, Carlyle would tellingly refer to "the Friend of Humanity, since so many Knife-grinders have no story to tell him" (*Historical Essays* 160; see 166). Carlyle was alluding to "The Friend of Humanity and the Knife-Grinder" (1797), an antirevolutionary satire by George Canning in which "The Friend of Humanity" addresses an impoverished knife grinder: "Tell me Knife-grinder, how came you to grind knives? . . . Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids, / Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your Pitiful story." The knife grinder replies that he was locked up for being drunk and disorderly and offers to drink to the health of the Friend of Humanity, if he will give him sixpence, upon which the Friend replies, "I give thee sixpence: I will see thee damn'd first—Wretch! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance" and then kicks the knife grinder, who "exit[s] in a transport of Republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy" (16-17). It is worth noting that in "Count Cagliostro" Carlyle quotes an epigraph describing that quack as "*l'Ami des Humains*" (the Friend of Humans) (*Historical Essays* 67). For other instances of Carlyle's use of "friend of humanity," see "Sir Walter Scott" (*Essays on Literature* 287), "Chartism" (above 73).

149.25-27. **it is not given to this or as yet to any editor, till a Biography arrive from Paraguay, to shape out with the smallest clearness, a representation of Francia's existence as an Assumpcion Advocate:** Compare with *Sartor Resartus,* in which the Editor concludes that he cannot fully understand Diogenes Teufelsdröckh's philosophy until he has received promised biographical materials from Germany (see 1.2.9-10, 1.8.41, 1.11.58-60).

149.28-29. **Assumpcion City, near three hundred years old now, lies in free-and-easy fashion, on the left bank of the Parana River:** Carlyle's geography, derived from the Robertsons' sometimes confusing narrative, is mistaken. Asunción (Assumpcion City)—founded in 1537—is on the Paraguay River, not the Paraná.

149.31. **defence too against the Indians:** See *Paraguay* 1:275.

149.35-38. **Mr. Parish Robertson, advancing on horseback, met one cart driven by a smart brown girl, . . . articulate-speaking thing whatever:** Robertson's account of his arrival into Asunción does not mention a "smart brown girl, in red" (see note to 134.7-9), so Carlyle may be conflating it with another episode. Robertson writes: "It was something more than picturesque to see the elegant, lightly-clothed female, with her full bust, roundly turned arms, small hands, and small feet, short petticoat, embroidered tepôi, braided hair, and black eyes . . . Clothed in pure white, she glided, like a sylph, through the green foliage" (*Paraguay* 1:276).

150.5-7. **at three in the afternoon, you will find the entire population just risen from its siesta; slipshod, half-buttoned; sitting in its front verandahs:** The Robertsons describe a version of this scene, observing that the "inhabitants, male and female, in all the luxury of dishabille, were seated at the entrances of their respective dwellings . . . with their feet in slippers" (*Paraguay* 1:199).

150.7-9. **eating pumpkins with voracity,—sunk to the ears in pumpkins; imbibing the grateful saccharine juices, in a free and easy way:** This assertion has its source in the Robertsons' *Letters on Paraguay*: "The natives were either smoking cigars, sipping maté (the Paraguay tea) through a tube, or eating water-melons. Some of them were engaged alternately in all three operations. The streets were strewed with the rinds of their favourite fruit" (1:199-200). Curiously, in paraphrasing John Robertson's description, Carlyle substitutes "pumpkins" for "water-melons" and adds to the source description the gratuitous phrases "with voracity" and "sunk to the ears in pumpkins." Carlyle may substitute pumpkin for watermelon simply because it is the more familiar term, as at one time it referred generally to all kinds of squashes; although what we now call pumpkin is a New World plant, the word pumpkin derives from the Old World name ("pompion") for various squashes (see Ott 21-23, 35). Two decades later, in 1864, he would use "pumpkin" in this sense, glossing pumpkin parenthetically as "vegetable-marrow" (*Letters* 40:208). Carlyle may also

have preferred "pumpkin" because of its mocking use to denominate a person who is stupid or self-satisfied (see note to 156.33). The mention of "saccharine juices" indicates that he does really have watermelon in mind, in that unlike watermelon, squashes are neither sweet nor juicy. Finally, as noted above, Carlyle seems to have written from rough notes and his quotations throughout are inexact (see note to 134.7-9). Nonetheless, the depiction of eating from the rind makes more sense with watermelon, which is often eaten that way, than pumpkin, which is usually cooked with only the pulp eaten, and, of course, it anticipates the racist stereotype that became common after the civil war in the United States (see Black). Indeed, already by the early nineteenth century, there was an existing stereotype associating the eating of watermelon with profligacy, though this was in Africa, where watermelon originated. In 1803, for example, Charles Doyle had described Egyptians "greedily snatching up and swallowing fragments of water-melon, cucumbers, &c. &c. &c., that may lay about the street" (36). Already in *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle was depicting "pumpkins, reedgrass, and ignoble shrubs" as choking out the "flower-tree" (1.3.81), thus associating it with forces that stifle industrious labor. Pumpkin plants were widely reputed to be prolific and easy to grow; by implication its cultivators could be regarded as lazy. Thus, Carlyle would notoriously repeat, almost verbatim, the description of the Santa Fé pumpkin eaters in "The Negro/Nigger Question," this time attaching the demeaning description to enslaved black people in the Americas: "Far over the sea, we have a few black persons . . . sitting yonder with their beautiful muzzles up to the ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices; . . . the pumpkins cheap as grass in those rich climates . . . while the sugar-crops rot round them uncut . . . , beautiful Blacks sitting there up to the ears in pumpkins, and doleful Whites sitting here [in Ireland] without potatoes to eat" (*Essays* 4:350-51). For Carlyle it had become a symbol of the very opposite of the industriousness underlying his gospel of work: "that no Black man who will not work . . . has the smallest right to eat pumpkin, or to any fraction of land that will grow pumpkin . . . ; but has an indisputable and perpetual *right* to be compelled, by the real proprietors of said land, to do competent work for his living. This is the everlasting duty of all men" (*Essays* 4:355).

150.10. **thanks to Nature and the Virgin:** Carlyle mimics a stereotype of Hispanic speech patterns that frequently references the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus. See also 150.24-25.

150.11-13. ***tertulias*,—a kind of *'swarrie,'* as the Flunkey says, 'consisting**

of flirtation and the usual trimmings: *swarrie* on the table about seven o'clock': As Carlyle implies, a "tertulia" is an evening party similar to a French soirée, "swarry" being a Cockney approximation of the latter. Carlyle alludes to Dickens's *Pickwick Papers,* in which the Cockney servant Sam Weller receives the following invitation: "A select company of the Bath footmen presents their compliments to Mr. Weller, and requests the pleasure of his company this evening, to a friendly swarry, consisting of a boiled leg of mutton with the usual trimmings. The swarry to be on table at half-past nine o'clock punctually" (chap. 37). A "flunkey" is a male servant in livery (often a footman). The word is often used as a contemptuous reference to a lackey; see *Past and Present*: "A heroic people chooses heroes, and is happy; a valet or flunkey people chooses sham-heroes . . . and is not happy" (2.7.79).

150.17. **Andalusian eyes:** "Andalusian eyes"—dark brown, almost black—is an old stereotype for women of Andalusia in Spain.

150.27. **bed-tester:** A "tester" is a canopy over a bed, supported on the posts of the bedstead or suspended from the ceiling.

150.28. **Canopus in his infinite spaces:** See note to 135.15.

150.29. **rosy-fingered Morn:** A translation of the Homeric epithet for the dawn; it appears three times, for example, in Pope's translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

150.37-38. **The Guacho population, it must be owned, is not yet fit for constitutional liberty:** See note to 135.20.

151.1-2. **one shade, and but one, above a dog's life, which is defined as 'ease and scarcity':** We do not find the phrase "ease and scarcity," but "a dog's life, hunger and ease" appears in many collections of proverbs dating from the early nineteenth century.

151.5. **lasso, bolas:** For lasso, see note to 134.30-31. A bolas (from the Spanish word for ball) is a type of weapon widely used by the Gauchos on the Pampas of southern South America consisting of two or more balls or stones tied together with strong cord that was swung round the head and then hurled toward the animal to be captured, with the goal of entangling the animal's legs.

151.6-7. **General Artigas:** José Gervasio Artigas (1765-1850), soldier and revolutionary leader, who played a major role in the struggle for independence in what is now Uruguay.

151.8-9. **'dictating to three secretaries at once':** The Robertsons, *Reign of Terror* 101-2; Artigas is dictating to *two*, not three, secretaries, another example of Carlyle's imprecise quotation (see note to 134.7-9).

151.11-12. **Astley's and Ducrow's:** Philip Astley (1742-1814) and Andrew Ducrow (1793-1842) were British circus performers who specialized in skilled horsemanship, performing at Astley's Amphitheatre, which Astley established in 1770 and of which Ducrow became the proprietor and chief performer from 1824 to 1841. Ducrow was famed for riding around the ring with a foot on each of two horses, while a third horse galloped between his legs, a feat Carlyle refers to below.

151.12. **Newmarket and Epsom:** Newmarket, northeast of London, has long been the center of thoroughbred horse breeding, training, and racing in England. Epsom, a few miles southwest of London, is the site of Epsom Downs Racecourse, where the Derby, the most prestigious horse race in Britain, is held each June.

151.14. **Centaurs:** In Greek mythology, centaurs are creatures with the torso and arms of a human and the lower body and four legs of a horse.

151.29. **They have stoicism, though ignorant of Zeno:** Zeno of Citium (335?-263? B.C.) was a Hellenistic philosopher who asserted that humans can find happiness only by living a life of virtue that accords with nature—that is, by refusing to be controlled by the pursuit of pleasure or the fear of pain. By the nineteenth century, stoicism (especially written in lowercase) had come to mean conduct conformable to the principles of Zeno's followers, the Stoics—that is, austerity of manner, repression of emotion, and fortitude.

151.34. **Corpus-Christi ceremonies:** The Feast of Corpus Christi is a Roman Catholic celebration of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine of the eucharist; it is a movable festival, which falls in May or June on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday and includes an outdoor procession with pageantry, music, and singing. Most Protestant denominations, no longer accepting the real presence, suppressed this feast during the Reformation.

151.35. **These men are fit to be drilled into something:** See notes to 197.17.

152.3-5. **the seven devils have first to be put out of you: Idleness, lawless Brutalness, Darkness, Falseness:** See Mark 16:9: "he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils" (see also Luke 8:1-2).

152.9-10. **like Quintus Fixlein, had 'perennial fire-proof joys, namely employments':** Carlyle borrows the phrase, slightly altered, from his translation of Richter's *Leben des Quintus Fixlein* (Life of Quintus Fixlein, 1796). In this passage, the eccentric Fixlein's "fireproof" joy is the act of writing "little works, of the twelfth part of an alphabet in size, which in their manuscript state he got bound by the bookbinder in gilt boards" (*German Romance* 2:215).

152.13. **'interrogate Nature':** See note to 7.24-27.

152.14. **star-glasses:** "Star-glass" may refer to a telescope fitted to a sextant to measure the angle of a star's location above the horizon, or it may simply be another word for a telescope. The Robertsons mention using a "night-glass" to observe a bombardment (*Paraguay* 1:97).

152.19. **burnt, . . . like anthracite, in a somewhat ardent manner:** A hard, nonbituminous type of coal consisting of relatively pure carbon, anthracite burns hotter than other common forms of fuel.

152.23-26. **As for that light-headed, smart, brown girl whom, twenty years afterwards, you saw selling flowers on the streets of Assumpcion, . . . Dr. Francia's daughter:** In *Francia's Reign of Terror*, the Robertsons impugn Francia for his alleged treatment of his illegitimate children:

> Have you not, in your early years, been repeatedly guilty of seduction, and have you ever provided for any of your victims, or for one of your illegitimate progeny? I have seen them walking about the streets of Assumption, in destitution and in beggary. I have seen a woman, who attended you assiduously for eight years, languishing in penury, and dying of slow disease. I have seen your beautiful daughter patrolling the streets of Assumption, at once with her person exposed, and on her head, for sale, a bundle of cigars; this, too, while her father was

> first consul of the republic of Paraguay. Where are your bowels of compassion? (395)

As Carlyle implies by his questions, the Robertsons provide no corroborating evidence for the identity of the women.

153.1-154.10. **'It has been already observed that Francia's reputation, . . . extended far and wide':** Robertsons, *Paraguay* 2:29-31.

153.4. **cast a covetous eye upon a Naboth's vineyard:** In 1 Kings, the Israelite King Ahab covets the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite; when Naboth refuses to trade Ahab the land inherited from his father, Ahab follows the advice of his wife Jezebel and has Naboth killed (see 21:1-16).

153.16. **the houses of Montagu and Capulet:** The feuding families in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

154.14. **'money matters':** The phrase does not appear in Carlyle's sources, and the Robertsons, in mentioning the quarrel, give no indication of its cause (*Paraguay* 2:297).

154.15. **acquitted of loving money, even by Rengger:** See *Essai Historique* 10; English translation 7.

154.17. **'the height of fair play!':** The phrase does not appear in Carlyle's sources; Carlyle may be indicating a commonplace.

154.20. **'hypochondria':** Rengger adds that it sometimes became "demence" ("madness") (11; English translation 7). "Hypochondria" originally referred to a form of melancholia generated (in the theory of humors) by an excess of black bile and vapors in the hypochondrium, characterized by low spirits and complaints of physical symptoms, including dyspepsia; only in the twentieth century was hypochondria definitively classified as not a physical but a mental disorder. See also notes to 154.28 and 154.36-37.

154.22-23. **Abbé-Raynal philosophies:** See note to 138.14-15.

154.28. **atrabiliar:** A word with roots in the theory of humors (see notes to 154.20 and 154.36-37), "atrabiliar" means affected by black bile or "choler adust" and, by metaphoric extension, melancholy or hypochondriac. The

OED cites Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1.9.47) as the first recorded English use of the word "atrabiliar," the more common adjective being atrabilious.

154.29-31. **he might have made an excellent Monk of St. Dominic, fit almost for canonization; nay, an excellent Superior of the Jesuits, Grand Inquisitor:** The Order of St. Dominic—the Dominicans—was founded in the thirteenth century as a teaching order of preachers, but it gained a feared reputation as an arm of the Catholic Church that battled heresy, schism, and paganism. The Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, led by the grand inquisitor, was established in Spain in 1478 to maintain Catholic doctrinal orthodoxy by identifying and punishing heretics throughout Spain and its colonies. The Jesuits were another nonmonastic Catholic religious order, founded in Spain during the Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century, that was associated with vigorous defense of Catholic doctrine and attempts to propagate the faith throughout the world (see also note to 147.19-20).

154.36-37. **fiery splenetic humours:** A term derived from the theory of humors (see notes to 154.20 and 154.28), referring to a disorder of the spleen that produces melancholia or hypochondria; the word "splenetic" has come to refer to an irritable, morose, or peevish disposition—that is, to an irascible person exhibiting frequent bad temper.

154.37-38. **A post on the Bench, in the municipal *Cabildo*:** A cabildo was a town or city council that not only governed the municipality but also (in colonial times) served as legal representative for the municipality before the Crown. Francia was named to a provincial cabildo in 1807, and by August 1809 had risen to head of the cabildo in Asunción, the colonial administrative center and soon-to-be capital of independent Paraguay.

155.6-9. **Federations of the Champ de Mars: guillotines, portable-guillotines, and a French People risen against Tyrants; there has been a *Sansculottism*, speaking at last in cannon-volleys and the crash of towns and nations over half the world:** All these terms refer to places or events of the French Revolution. The Champ de Mars is a large public space in Paris, on which the grand Fête de la Fédération was celebrated in July 1790 to mark the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille prison. For "Sansculottism," see note to 52.24. The principles of the revolution inspired revolutionary movements in the Western Hemisphere, notably in Haiti in 1791.

155.9. **Sleek Fatpauncho Usandwonto, sleek aristocratic Donothingism:** For Fatpauncho Usandwonto, see note to 147.19-20. "Donothingism" is Carlyle's satiric name both for aristocratic laziness and governmental laissez-faire attitudes and policies, a refusal to act on the part of the ruling classes when action is required. In "Chartism," for example, Carlyle had traced the sources of Chartist unrest to the fact that "self-cancelling Donothingism and *Laissez-faire* should have got so ingrained into our Practice" and insisted that "Parliament will absolutely, with whatever effort, have to lift itself out of those deep ruts of donothing routine" (above 101). In *Past and Present*, he decried, in the chapter "Gospel of Dilettantism," "impotent, insolent Donothingism in Practice, and Saynothingism in Speech" (3.3.152). See also "Count Cagliostro" (*Historical Essays* 48), "Sir Walter Scott" (*Essays on Literature* 298, 302), *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (37).

155.11-12. **Sleep no more, Donothingism; Donothingism doth murder sleep!:** *Macbeth* 2.2.35-36: "Methought I heard a voice cry, 'Sleep no more! Macbeth does murder sleep.'"

155.13. **Tartarus:** See note to 39.10-11.

155.15-18. **Napoleonisms, Tamerlanisms; and then as a branch of these, 'Conventions of Aranjuez,' soon followed by 'Spanish Juntas,' 'Spanish Cortes;' and, on the whole, a smiting broad awake of poor old Spain itself, much to its amazement. And naturally of New Spain next:** Carlyle links Napoleon Bonaparte (see note to 27.21) and Timur (1336-1405)—better known as Tamerlane or Tamburlane—as military conquerors with imperial ambitions and refers to the history of Spain during the Napoleonic Wars. The Conventions of Aranjuez (1801) confirmed a treaty between France and Spain that ceded the Louisiana Territory to France in exchange for territory in Italy. In 1808, after French armies occupied Spain, the Spanish government collapsed into rival juntas (administrative councils). A movement to create a central junta resulted in the establishment in 1810 of the Cortes of Cadiz, the first national assembly in Spain, which had representatives from the entire Spanish empire. The term junta was also used in "New Spain" (the Spanish colonies in South America) to describe the governments established in 1809, 1810, and 1811 in reaction to the developments in Spain (see note to 131.16-17).

155.20-21. **armed gatherings in Santa Marguerita Island, with Bolivars and Invasions of Cumana; revolts of La Plata:** Miller recounts that on Margarita Island in 1816 Bolívar (see note to 132.8-9) was proclaimed

"supreme chief" of the republic of Venezuela (2:322). The revolts of La Plata are the revolutions discussed above (see 131.16-17) in the region of the Spanish colonial Viceroyalty of the Rio de La Plata, an administrative region that encompassed much of what is now the separate nations of Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

155.24. **Had Rodriguez Francia three ears, he would hear:** See *Macbeth* 4.1.78: "Had I three ears, I'd hear thee."

155.24-25. **as many eyes as Argus:** A commonplace phrase; on Argus see note to 19.24.

155.33. **General Belgrano:** Manuel José del Corazón de Jesús Belgrano y González (1770-1820), a military leader in the Argentine war for independence, who as a member of the ruling junta in Río de la Plata led a small army in an unsuccessful attempt to force what is now Paraguay to submit to rule from Buenos Aires. See Rengger 1-3 (English translation 1-3).

156.7. **'compiled chiefly out of Rollin's Ancient History':** Rengger 20; English translation 15. Charles Rollin (1661-1741), author of the popular compilation *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Medes et des Perses, des Macedoniens, des Grecs* (The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians, 1730-1738).

156.8-11. **Don Fulgencio Yegros, . . . for *President*, and two Assessors with him, called also *Vocales*, or Vowels, whose names escape us; Francia, as *Secretary*, being naturally the Consonant:** Fulgencio Yegros (1780-1821), the leading military figure of the revolution of 1811 that resulted in Paraguay's independence from the Spanish crown and subsequently from Argentina. According to Rengger, the ruling junta comprised Yegros as president, two unnamed assessors, and Francia as secretary (Rengger and Longchamp 5, 13-14; English translation 4, 9-11). The Spanish word "vocales" (plural of "vocal") has as its first meaning "vowel," but in the context of a junta or council or tribunal, it can also mean "member."

156.29-30. **as Miers said in his haste, mendacious every soul of them:** See note to 138.31-32.

156.33. **some huge temporary Pumpkin, saccharine, absinthian:** Carlyle draws on the use of "pumpkin" (see note to 150.7-9) as a term for a person

who is stupid or self-important. As above, he describes the pumpkin as saccharine (sugary) but then opposes it to absinthian (bitter).

156.35. **Thucydides:** Thucydides (460?-400 B.C.), famed ancient Greek historian, author of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, which recounted and analyzed the war between Athens and Sparta.

157.7-8. **"Adieu, Senhores; God preserve you many years!":** Carlyle's fictional rendering of Francia's resignation from the junta in August 1811 because of its incompetence. Carlyle chooses the Portuguese rather than the Spanish spelling of the word "sir," perhaps because of Francia's Brazilian/Portuguese father.

157.9-10. a pleasant country-house in the woods of Ytapúa not far off: Carlyle draws the anecdote detailing the first meeting between Francia and John Parish Robertson from the Robertsons' *Letters on Paraguay* (1839) 1:330-36. Carlyle is following the Robertsons in mentioning Ytapúa; however, Ytapúa is not near Asunción but rather some two hundred miles southeast. The Robertsons' account suggests (without specifying) that another place named Ytapúa may have been an area just beyond the city of Asunción.

157.16-32. **'On one of those lovely evenings in Paraguay, . . . other than Dr. Francia':** *Paraguay* 1:330-31, 332; Carlyle does not indicate that he has omitted the sentence that begins the second paragraph. Carlyle follows the Robertsons in incorrectly adding an acute accent on "mate."

158.3: ***ad libitum*:** See note to 134.5.

158.5-16. **'He introduced me to his library, . . . one spot to another':** Robertsons, *Paraguay* 1:333-34.

158.21. **suppurations and diseased concretions:** A suppuration is an abscess or boil, a localized collection of pus; a concretion is a morbid mass that forms in a body.

158.25. **Rengger says that Francia withdrew 'more than once' to his *chacra*:** Rengger 16; English translation 11.

158.33. **'shot in market-places':** Quotation not identified, but both Rengger and the Robertsons include references to the public execution by

shooting of failed conspirators both against the governing junta and later against the Francia regime. See, for example, Rengger 17, 92-96; English translation 12, 64-69.

158.34. **the Banda Oriental:** The "Banda Oriental des Uruguay" (East Bank of the Uruguay) was the name given to the region that is now the nation of Uruguay, of which General Artigas (see note to 151.6-7) is considered a founding national hero.

158.35. **'dictating despatches from cow-skulls':** See 151 and note to 151.8-9.

159.11. **'by insidious manœuvring,' by 'favour of the military':** These are not quotations from Rengger but give the gist of his narrative (27-29; English translation 19-20); on Carlyle's inexact quotations, see note to 134.7-9).

159.13. **'for three years':** Rengger 27; English translation 20.

159.15. **the constitutional palladiums:** In Greek mythology, the Palladium was an image of the goddess Pallas Athena, the presence of which guaranteed the safety of the city of Troy, which fell only after Diomedes and Odysseus stole the statue. In Roman tradition, Aeneas takes the Palladium to Rome, where it becomes a revered object. By metaphorical extension, the word "palladium" has come to mean something that is a source of protection for an institution or nation.

159.17-18. **It was indeed, say Rengger and the Robertsons themselves, such a Congress as never met before in the world:** "Jamais, assemblée chargée de jeter les bases d'un gouvernement et de donner des chefs à l'état ne fut plus mal composée" (Never was there a body [the Congress], upon which was devolved the duty of laying the foundation of a government, and furnishing ministers to a state, so inadequately constituted for that office) (Rengger 21; English translation 14).

159.19. **which knew not its right hand from its left:** See note to 28.5-6.

159.20-21. **partridge-shooting:** Although Carlyle is referring to the passage cited above (159), he is also evoking his criticism of hunting as an idle aristocratic pursuit (see notes to 65.23 and 130.1-14).

159.38-160.2. **To no 'Congress of Lima,' 'General Congress of Panama,' or other general or particular Congress would Francia . . . offer the smallest recognition:** The "Congress of Lima"—officially, the Constituent Congress of Peru—was convened in the fall of 1822 and charged with the task of writing a constitution for the new nation (see Robertsons, *Paraguay* 1:71-75). The Congress of Panama, organized in 1826 by Simón Bolívar, was an attempt to forge among the new South American republics a unified policy toward Spain. Paraguay, already known as an isolationist nation under Francia, was not invited.

160.6. ***sanitary line*:** A guarded line between infected and uninfected regions, more commonly, in French, a "cordon sanitaire." Military usage more commonly refers to a "cordon" of military detachments at intervals around the perimeter of a region.

160.21. **'Plots':** Rengger 83; English translation 57.

160.25. **General Ramirez:** Francisco Ramírez (1786-1821) fought in the wars for independence from Spain and then took a leading role in the civil wars among various parts of the former Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.

160.31-32. **Conspiracy which seems the wider-spread the farther one investigates it:** Rengger devotes several pages to the narration of these conspiracies, and Carlyle labors to sort out the confusing chronology of his source (82-84, 87-91; English translation 57-58, 60-64).

160.33. **'two years,' . . . 'on Good-Friday next':** Rengger 83; English translation 57.

160.38. **glede-falcon . . . condor:** "Glede-falcon" is another name for a kite, a European bird of prey, but is sometimes applied to other birds of prey such as the falcon. The condor is a South American vulture.

161.9-10. ***Par Dios*:** A mild oath in Spanish, meaning "for God's sake" or "by God."

161.22. **'three ball cartridges':** Rengger 62; English translation 44. A ball cartridge is the paper or cloth packet containing not only the bullet but also the charge of gunpowder.

161.22-23. **your doom is Rhadamanthine:** In Greek myth, Rhadamanthus

was a king of Crete who, because of his stern integrity and inflexible severity, became one of the three judges of the dead in the underworld Hades.

161.36. **Dionysius:** See note to 139.14.

162.10. **'with evident advantages,' says Rengger:** Not a literal quotation, but a loose summation of Rengger's discussion of agricultural improvements (67-69; English translation 47-49).

162.19. **life-lease:** Following the alternating consulship with Yegros, Francia in 1814 was named sole consul of Paraguay, with absolute power for three years; in 1816 he was granted sole authority for life—a "life-lease" in accord with the metaphor of lease and contract above (161).

162.22-23. **the *Æsthetische Briefwechsel* of Herr Professor Sauerteig:** A reference to the fictional "Aesthetic Correspondence" of Gottfried Sauerteig (see note to 104.13-19), himself a fictional spokesperson through whom Carlyle pronounced in visionary language the aesthetic nature of reality and the poetic power of history rightly written. In the 1832 essays "Biography" and "Boswell's Life of Johnson," Carlyle "quotes" from Sauerteig's *Æsthetische Springwurzeln* (Aesthetic Picklocks). In chapter 8—"New Eras"—of "Chartism," Carlyle draws at length on Sauerteig's "strange rhapsodic 'History of the Teuton Kindred (*Geschichte der Teutschen Sippschaft*)'" (above 104). Sauerteig had also appeared in "Count Cagliostro" (*Historical Essays* 23-26) and would appear again in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (315) and *Frederick the Great* (1:1.1.17).

162.32. **what their newspapers call "tremendous cheers!":** Nineteenth-century accounts of parliamentary and other political speeches in British newspapers and journals commonly interjected in a formulaic manner, often within parentheses, the phrase "tremendous cheers" to indicate to readers the live audience's response to a speaker. See, for example, an account of September 27, 1841, noting that "tremendous cheers which lasted for several minutes" erupted for the queen dowager, whereas the health of Queen Victoria was drunk "with three times three and cheers," apparently a more tepid, customary response (Hansard 59: 827). Carlyle had at least twice previously used this phrase to indicate thoughtless enthusiasm; see "Goethe's Works" (*Essays on German Literature* 576); *Past and Present* (3.8.217).

162.36. ***Water-cure*:** The "water-cure" is a course of treatment that suppos-

edly bolsters health by immersing a patient in cold or warm or mineral water, by wrapping a patient in wet sheets, or by having a patient drink large quantities of mineral water. Hydropathy gained credence as a medical treatment in the early nineteenth century, first in Germany in the 1820s and then in Britain in the early 1840s. In a letter of July, 1849, Carlyle would refer to his experience at the water-cure establishment of Dr. Rowland East and would echo this passage (*Letters* 25:156). In the summer of 1851 Carlyle would befriend Dr. James Manby Gully, who promoted the water-cure at his clinic in Malvern; in an attempt to lessen his dyspepsia, he submitted to a monthlong course of treatment at Gully's clinic, about which he would express skepticism in a letter of August 25, 1851 (*Letters* 26:140-41).

162.37. **like Job, are made to curse your day:** Job 3:1: "After this opened Job his mouth, and cursed his day. And Job spake, and said, 'Let the day perish wherein I was born.'"

163.1-3. **Medea, when she made men young again, was wont (*du Himmel!*) to hew them in pieces with meat-axes; cast them into caldrons, and boil them for a length of time:** In Greek myth, when Jason seeks the Golden Fleece from the realm of the king of Colchis, the king's daughter Medea helps him seize the fleece and then sails with Jason to Thessaly. Having fallen in love with Jason and wishing him to replace his uncle Pelias on the throne in Thessaly, Medea uses her magical powers to persuade Pelias's daughters that if they were to cut up Pelias and boil him in a pot, he would be rejuvenated. The foolish daughters duly butcher their father and boil him, but he does not come back to life. The German idiom "du Himmel" is a mild oath or exclamation, meaning roughly "Great Heavens!"; as in other quotations of fictitious German authors (see note to 162.22-23), Carlyle pretends to translate from the German.

163.5. **surgical antiseptic liquid:** Carlyle is writing just as germ theory was emerging and probably does not refer to it (certainly not to the antiseptic methods developed two decades later by the pioneering surgeon Joseph Lister). The word sepsis, derived from the Greek in the seventeenth century, means putrefaction or decay, so that antisepsis (the word first appears in the eighteenth century) means not killing germs but preventing decay or rot. Carlyle probably refers to "septic acid" (nitrous acid).

163.15. **flunkies:** See note to 150.10-13.

163.29-30. **Your Mahomet cannot bear a rent cloak, but clouts it with his own hands:** In *On Heroes,* Carlyle had written of Mohammed (Mahomet): "They record with just pride that he would mend his own shoes, patch his own cloak. A poor, hard-toiling, ill-provided man . . . They called him Prophet, you say? Why, he stood there face to face with them; bare, not enshrined in any mystery; visibly clouting [patching] his own cloak, cobbling his own shoes" (61). To "clout" is to mend with a patch (clout). Although the word was unusual in his time, Carlyle uses it on a number of occasions; see "Diderot" (*Essays on Literature* 251), *Sartor Resartus* (3.3.164), *French Revolution* (1:5.1.159), *Past and Present* (4.6.281), "Trees of Liberty" (below 222); see also *Letters* 5:240-46.

164.1. **Spartan:** The ancient Greek city-state of Sparta was characterized by its devotion to physical hardiness.

164.11. **two ears of corn where one only grew:** The statement may be proverbial, but see the assertion by the king of Brobdingnag in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) that "whoever could make two Ears of Corn, or two Blades of Grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of Mankind, and do more essential Service to his Country than the whole race of politicians put together" (part 2, chap. 7). The saying became commonplace in discussions of agricultural practice in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Carlyle had previously cited the proverb in "State of German Literature" (*Essays on German Literature* 49).

164.12-13. **He introduced schools, 'boarding-schools,' 'elementary schools,' and others, on which Rengger has a chapter:** Rengger part 2, chap. 9, 261-64; English translation 185-87.

164.16-18. **Rengger . . . had left in his hands . . . a Print of Napoleon:** Rengger recounts this anecdote in the *Essai Historique* 55-56, 59-60; English translation 39-40, 42-43.

164.20. **a Nürnberg caricature:** During the Napoleonic Wars, Nuremberg became a center of anti-Napoleonic caricature. Following Napoleon's defeats during the German campaign of 1813, the publisher Friedrich Campe published numerous demeaning caricatures of Napoleon by Johann Michael Voltz (1784-1858) and the sculptor Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850).

164.26-27. **the born enemy of quacks:** Carlyle in the 1830s and 1840s repeatedly railed against cultural quacks who peddle nonsense. In "Count Cagliostro," he had sought to expose the sham "Count," and "the portentous extent of Quackery, the multitudinous variety of Quacks that along with our Beppo [Cagliostro], and under him each in his degree, overran all Europe during . . . the latter half of last century" (*Historical Essays* 41). See also "The Diamond Necklace," where Carlyle in the voice of the "Thaumaturgist, Prophet, and Arch-Quack" Cagliostro delivers a phantasmagorical prophecy of the revolution to come that will sweep away sham and quackery (*Historical Essays* 142-51). Throughout *On Heroes,* Carlyle attacks quackery, whether in religion, statesmanship, or literature. Finally, in the recently published *Past and Present*, he had written: "While we ourselves continue valets, how *can* any hero come to govern us?' We are governed, very infallibly, by the 'sham-hero,'—whose name is Quack" (1.4.22). This passage appears in his chapter "Morrison's Pill," which treats the medical nostrum as symptomatic of quackery.

164.37-38. ***Tevego* far up among the wastes, a kind of Paraguay Siberia:** Tevego was established on marshy ground in 1813 as a northern defense against the Guaycurú people but soon became a penal colony, hence the reference to Siberia, also a remote region used as a penal colony. The Robertsons describe Tevego as "a place, of which the atmosphere is one great mass of malaria, and the heat suffocating,—where the surrounding country is uninterrupted marsh,—where venomous insects and reptiles abound,—and where the fiercest and yet unsubdued tribes of Indians are making continual inroads" (*Reign of Terror* 306). See also Rengger 47-48; English translation 33-34.

165.1-2. **The main exiles, Rengger says, were drunken mulattoes and the class called unfortunate-females:** Rengger: "mulâtres et de femmes de mauvaise vie" (mulattos and abandoned women) (165; English translation 34).

165.5-6. **the Reverend Manuel Perez as he preaches, 'in the Church of the Incarnation at Assumpcion, on the 20th of October, 1840':** Carlyle cites the title of the Perez oration, as listed at the head of the essay. Carlyle knew nothing about Perez beyond what was on the title page of the oration, and we have not been able to further identify him. As noted, Carlyle read the funeral oration in an issue of *The British Packet, and Argentine News* (see note to 165.8-9). The words "at Assumpcion" do not appear in the title of the original (see next note).

165.8-9. **the *Argentine News* of Buenos Ayres:** *The British Packet, and Argentine News*, an English-language weekly newspaper published between 1826 and 1859 for the English-speaking community in Buenos Aires. Given that the *British Packet* was apparently produced for consumption by English speakers in South America (very few copies survive), one might conjecture that Carlyle saw it reprinted elsewhere. However, we have not been able to locate any such reprinting.

165.12. **the Able Editor:** Possibly a reference to the "able editor" of the *British Packet, and Argentine News*, Thomas George Love (1792?-1845), or to the editor of the *Foreign Review*, William Fraser (1805-1852), to whom Carlyle had referred as "able Editor" in "German Playwrights" (263). It should also be noted that while Carlyle does on occasion use the term to refer to himself, he does not always do so, and the term is not always flattering. It often refers not surprisingly to the press. In *Sartor Resartus*, Teufelsdröckh, writing of the newspaper press, comments: "Already this or the other Able Editor, or Combination of Able Editors, gains the world's ear" (1.6.34); however, Carlyle does not use the phrase to describe the "editor" of the book. It also refers to the "Fourth Estate" in *French Revolution* (1:6.5.235), where it refers to editors of documents (1:5.9.209). In "Corn-Law Rhymes," he refers to his fictitious mouthpiece "Smelfungus Redivivus" as an "able Editor" (*Essays on Literature* 200). In "Count Cagliostro," he suggests that Count Cagliostro if he had been born in England could have been, among other things, an "Able Editor" (*Historical Essays* 44). In *Past and Present*, he refers to himself as "the present Editor" and the "Able Editor," in part in his role as translator and paraphraser of the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond (1.6.40; see 2.1.43), but he also uses the phrase to describe "vituperative Able Editors" in clear reference to the press (3.5.160; see 4.3.255).

165.16-166.24. **'Amid the convulsions of revolution,' says the Reverend Manuel, . . . does not know that withal!:** Perez 1-2. Carlyle omits some passages and the wording varies considerably from that in the *British Packet*.

165.18-20. ***And when, in the words of my Text, the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them*:** Judges 3:9.

166.21-22. **God himself approved the conduct of Solomon in putting Joab and Adonijah to death:** In 1 Kings 1:1-27, 2:29-34, Solomon, with the approval of the Lord (God) puts his brother Adonijah and King

David's military commander, Joab, to death because they have plotted to usurp the throne from him.

166.29. **dyspepsia:** See note to 23.24-24.1; see also notes to 143.8-9 and 162.36.

166.31. **Twaddle in Exeter-hall:** Exeter Hall, which opened in 1831, was a large public building on the Strand in London that soon became a prime venue—and a by-word—for meetings of various religious and philanthropic societies, notably the Anti-Slavery Society. Throughout the 1840s, Carlyle railed against the "twaddle"—nonsensical, empty verbosity—of "Exeter Hall" philanthropists (e.g., *Letters* 20:53, 21:33). He would present the "Negro/Nigger Question," which repeats the watermelon stereotype (see 150.7-9 and note), as a speech at Exeter Hall (see also "Shooting Niagara," below 273).

166.32. **'till he become a bore to us':** "'Avec ton Etre Supreme,' said Billaud, 'tu commences m'embeter: With thy Etre Supreme thou beginnest to be a bore to me'" (*French Revolution* 3:6.4.268; see *Past and Present* 4.5.274).

166.32-35. **An Advocate in Arras . . . Maximilien Robespierre:** Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794), an "avocat" (advocate; see note to 149.14), who came from the town of Arras, became a leader of the Committee of Public Safety and the de facto leader of the revolutionary government. In his brief biographical sketch of Robespierre in *The French Revolution*, Carlyle records that after being appointed judge, Robespierre did "justice to the people: till behold, one day, a culprit comes whose crime merits hanging; and the strict-minded Max must abdicate, for his conscience will not permit the dooming of any son of Adam to die" (1:4.4.142).

166.36-37. **the sweetness of sugar of lead:** Lead acetate, a white crystalline toxic compound with a sweet taste.

167.1-35. **'His Excellency next directed his attention . . . caprice of their owners':** Perez 2-3. This passage follows immediately after the one that Carlyle quotes above (165.16-166); Carlyle continues to freely reword, omit passages, and, in this case, rearrange. The final paragraph in Carlyle's transcription appears between the second and third in the original.

167.25. **Climpo:** Carlyle correctly transcribes Perez, but the name is actually Olimpo.

167.32-33. **'The beauty, the symmetry and good taste displayed in the building of cities convey an advantageous idea of their inhabitants,' continues Perez: 'Thus thought Caractacus, King of the Angles':** Caratacus (as Tacitus spells it) was a first-century chieftain—Tacitus calls him a king—who led local resistance to the Roman conquest of Britain and was defeated by the Romans around the year 50 (Tacitus, *Annals* 12.37). Caratacus was famous for his resistance to the Romans and his speech in which he persuaded the Emperor Claudius to spare his life. Although it does not correspond exactly to the "thought" expressed here, Perez apparently refers to Dio's *Roman History,* in which Caratacus, after being freed, wandered the city of Rome and "after beholding its splendour and its magnitude he exclaimed: 'And can you, then, who have got such possessions and so many of them, covet our poor tents?'" (Epitome of Book LXI). Carlyle lets pass without comment Perez's incorrect identification of Caratacus as king of the Angles, a Germanic people that did not enter the British Isles until the fifth century, but he surely would have recognized the error. In "Goethe," Carlyle had alluded to an eighteenth-century play, William Mason's *Caratacus: A Dramatic Poem written on the model of the ancient Greek tragedy* (1759) (*Essays on German Literature* 196).

168.1-3. **'the deliverer whom the Lord raised up to deliver Paraguay from its enemies?' . . . a man 'sent by Heaven':** Carlyle refers to the text for Perez's oration from Judges 3:9, in which "the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel" (see note to 165.18-20).

168.7-8. **Oliver Cromwell, dead two hundred years, does yet speak:** Carlyle was at this time working on a history of Cromwell (see note to 95.11-12) and his era, because he felt that Cromwell could still speak to his own time. In the chapter "Two Centuries" in the recently published *Past and Present*, Carlyle had lamented that England had not had a proper government since Cromwell ruled as Lord Protector (3.6.167-70), and in an earlier chapter he had written: "In these last two centuries of Atheistic Government (near two centuries now, since the blessed restoration of his Sacred Majesty and Defender of the Faith, Charles Second), I reckon that we have pretty well exhausted what of 'firm earth' there was for us to march on;—and are now, very ominously, shuddering, reeling, and let us hope trying to recoil, on the cliff's edge!" (3.2.149). In the introduction to *Cromwell*, he would write: "We have wandered far away from the ideas which guided us in that Century . . . The last glimpse of the Godlike vanishing from this England; conviction and veracity giving

pace to hollow cant and formulism,—antique 'Reign of God' . . . giving place to modern Reign of No-God'" (1:1).

168.14. **'permanent hedges, the deposits of nuisance and vermin':** Perez 2: "Besides, permanent hedges intersected the town, and formed dangerous steeps, the depots of every description of nuisance and vermin."

168.19-21. **'taking observations with his theodolite':** This precise phrase does not appear in their account (see note to 134.7-9), but the Robertsons treat contemptuously Francia's hands-on efforts to improve Asunción, mocking his pretensions "as land-measurer and surveyor" and especially his use of the surveyor's theodolite (*Reign of Terror* 358; see 358-62).

168.27-28. **this cutting down of the luxuriant 'cross-hedges':** On Francia's paranoia that led him to take these measures, see Rengger 84-85; English translation 58-59; see also Robertsons, *Reign of Terror* 362-64. Perez describes how Francia "ordered the streets to be opened and made regular," presumably by removing intersecting hedges (2; see note to 168.14).

168.31. **growing ever squarer:** Perez writes "with this he entirely re-models the city, and leaves the foundations laid for posterity to build with regularity and beauty" and notes as well that he had built two "public squares" (2).

168.36-169.12. **One evening, for example, a Robertson being about to leave Paraguay for England . . . What say you, Mr. Speaker?":** Carlyle dramatizes the anecdote recounted in Robertsons, *Paraguay* 2:279-84. The Bar of the House of Commons—now a white line on the floor across the width of the chamber—marks the boundary beyond which guests and visitors may not pass when the members of Parliament are at work. Francia does request that Robertson seek "an audience at the bar" of the "House of Commons" (2:283).

169.15-16. **the English Nation; which Francia, idiot-like, supposed to be somehow represented, and made accessible and addressable in the House of Commons:** In accord with his disdain for Parliament (see note to 117.14-15), Carlyle extends the absurdity of Francia's request to the supposed absurdity of his belief that the House of Commons truly represents the people of the nation. See also Carlyle's chapter "Democracy" in *Past and Present* (3.13).

169.30. **casting out those Seven Devils:** See note to 152.3-5.

169.34-35. ***Debout, canaille fainéante,* as his prophet Raynal says; *Debout: aux champs, aux ateliers!*:** In a discussion of the privileges accorded the clergy, Raynal (see note to 138.14-15), in his *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies, 1770), comments: "Le vœu de chasteté répugne à la nature et nuit à la population ; le vœu de pauvreté n'est que d'un inepte ou d'un paresseux ; le vœu d'obéissance à quelque autre puissance qu'à la dominante et à la loi est d'un esclave ou d'un rebelle. S'il existait donc dans un recoin d'une contrée soixante mille citoyens enchaînés par ces vœux, qu'aurait à faire de mieux le souverain que de s'y transporter avec un nombre suffisant de satellites armés de fouets, et de leur dire: *Sortez, canaille fainéante, sortez: aux champs,* à l'agriculture, aux ateliers, à la milice!" (The vow of chastity is repugnant to nature and diminishes the population; the vow of poverty is only for the inept or lazy; the vow of obedience to a higher power is the law of a slave or a rebel. If there thus existed in a corner of a country, sixty thousand citizens fettered by these vows, what better could the sovereign do than to go there with a sufficient number of functionaries armed with whips, and to say to them: *Go out, lazy rabble, go out*: in the fields, in the workshops, in the army!) (10:140-41; emphasis added).

170.8. **doit:** According to the OED, a small Dutch coin, equivalent to half an English farthing—that is, a coin of negligible value.

170.10-12. **"O People of Paraguay . . . guard our frontiers!":** Rengger 288; English translation 204.

170.13. **the two Swiss Surgeons:** See note to 140.33-35.

170.14-15. **"Be of what religion you like . . . but don't be Atheists":** Rengger 288; English translation 204.

170.17. **like priest like people:** Hosea 4:9: "And there shall be, like people, like priest: and I will punish them for their ways, and reward them their doings." Carlyle had made the same allusion in the recently published *Past and Present* 1.5.34.

170.23-24. **Hodge-razors, . . . 'which were never meant to shave, but only to be sold!':** In one of his comic odes, the British satiric poet Peter Pindar, pseudonym for John Wolcot, tells the story of the rustic bumpkin Hodge, who thinks he is getting a bargain by purchasing "wond'rous cheap"

twelve razors for eighteen pence—only to discover that none of the razors actually works. Confronting the salesman, Hodge cries, "Sirrah! I tell you, you're a knave, / To cry up razors that can't *shave*," to which the seller replies, "Upon my soul I never thought / That they would shave." The poem concludes: "'Not think they'd *shave*!' quoth Hodge, with wond'ring eyes, / And voice not much unlike an Indian yell; / 'What were they made for then, you dog?' / 'Made!' quoth the fellow, with a smile—'to *sell*'" (1:151-54).

170.28. **Son of Adam:** See note to 122.5.

170.30-33. **"Thou wretched Fraction, wilt thou be the ninth part even of a tailor? Does it beseem thee to weave cloth of devil's-dust . . . endure every thing!":** Carlyle is following his practice of inventing speech that expresses, as he takes it, the view of an individual, in this case Francia, but also employs one of his own favorite motifs, the clothing metaphor. "Wilt thou be the ninth part even of a tailor?" invokes the proverb "Nine tailors make a man," to which he had alluded in *Sartor Resartus*: "And this is he, whom sitting downcast, on the hard basis of his Shop-board, the world treats with contumely, as the ninth part of a man!" (3.11.213; see also *Past and Present* 3.13.218). "Devil's-dust" is a word traceable to the early nineteenth century, with earliest written appearances in the 1830s, according to the OED. Manufacturers used a sharp-toothed machine called a devil to reduce old woolen cloth or rags to broken-down scraps, fibers, and dust, called devil's dust or shoddy, which was then respun into yarn and woven again into a cheap cloth also known as shoddy. In 1842, William Busfeild Ferrand, a Yorkshire M.P., dramatically ripped a piece of shoddy during a Parliamentary speech to show his contempt for the "adulterated" woolen material, after which the word "shoddy" came to refer to any worthless material, product, or even person masquerading as something or someone of superior quality. Carlyle's first attack on devil's dust and "shoddy" had appeared in the recently published *Past and Present*, in a passage alluding to Ferrand: "The Honourable Member complains unmusically that there is 'devil's-dust' in Yorkshire cloth. Yorkshire cloth,—why, the very Paper I now write on is made, it seems, partly of plaster-lime well smoothed, and obstructs my writing" (3.1.143). Later in *Past and Present* Carlyle railed against "Devil's-dust" as "accursed of God and Man!" (205). See also "Shooting Niagara" (below 288).

170.34. **'Workman's Gallows':** The Robertsons describe Francia's gallows at length: "Deeming now the dungeon and the gibbet to be the only means

of effecting reform, and that not in matters of political concernment alone, but of those which were merely mechanical, the Dictator had a special gallows erected for the intimidation of his workmen and artizans. . . . The '*Tradesmen's gibbet*' was the terror of them all, and a single peep at it, even in the distance, sent every man home to his respective calling, with a combination of alacrity, fear, and dexterity, which I doubt much if any other stimulus, however exciting, would have produced" (*Reign of Terror* 313, 316-17; on Carlyle's imprecise quotation, see note to 134.7-9).

171.4-30. **'In came, one afternoon, a poor Shoemaker, . . . retire to his stall':** Robertsons, *Paraguay* 3:314-16. Rengger also records a short version of this incident (70-71; English translation 49-50).

171.32. **sibylline enthusiasm:** In ancient Greece, Sybils were women reputed to possess powers of divination or prophecy; the word "sybilline" has been metaphorically extended to mean oracular or occult, mysterious.

172.1. **succedaneum:** See note to 35.1.

172.4. **Tenpound Franchisers:** The Reform Act of 1832 gave the vote—the "franchise"—to (among others) owners of land in copyhold whose property was worth ten pounds a year. See, for example, *Past and Present* 1.3.22, 1.5.34, 2.9.88, 4.2.249, 252.

172.18.-173.21 **'I have already said that Doctor Francia, . . . fastens all the doors himself':** Rengger 279-84; English translation 198-201.

173.23-25. **Francia banished this sister . . . errand of her own:** Rengger's version of this anecdote says that the sister had asked a "zelador" (a caretaker or guard) to chastise a slave (295; English translation 207).

173.26. **'strike men with the flat of their swords':** Carlyle again paraphrases (see note to 134.7-9); see Robertsons, *Paraguay* 3:18-19.

174.1-10. **One day, after many weeks . . . events such order cease:** Rengger 154-55; English translation 108-9.

174.12-13. **Francia's unforgivable insult to human Science in the person of M. Aimé Bonpland:** See note to 139.32-33.

174.26. **Royal-Society presidents:** The Institut de France, which includes

the Académie des sciences, sent a naturalist named Grandsire to Paraguay to seek Bonpland's release, but, as Rengger notes, the attempt did more harm than good, as Francia distrusted the French. For the full account of this episode, see Rengger (114-21; English translation 79-84).

174.33-34. **'thirty piasters a month till he died':** As indicated by the reference that follows (see next note), Carlyle's primary source here is Rengger, who, however, gives the figure of "32 piastres par mois" (thirty-two piastres a month) (89; English translation 61). Carlyle may recall the Robertsons' account, which records an allowance of "thirty dollars" (*Paraguay* 3:330).

174.36. **says M. Rengger, 'were instantly seized and shot':** Rengger 89; English translation 61.

174.37-175.4: **that anecdote of Francia's dying Father . . . "I will not come!":** Carlyle dramatizes the narrative found in Robertsons, *Paraguay* 2:297-98; it does not cite a source.

175.30. **Rhadamanthus:** See note to 161.22-23.

176.1-3. **Messrs. Robertson . . . had not been able to learn in the least whether, when their Book came out, he was living or dead. He was living then, he is dead now:** In the conclusion of *Francia's Reign of Terror*, the Robertsons write that since their departure from Paraguay, "there has been no means of obtaining detailed accounts of the latter years of Francia's government" (399) and state further that "we cannot help indulging a hope that he is not yet dead" (400).

176.7-8. **Three Excellencies succeeded him, as some 'Directorate,' '*Junta Gubernativa*,' or whatever the name of it is:** Following the death of Francia, who left behind no specified successor, a military junta seized power but proved incompetent; it was overthrown in January 1841. In March 1841, the congress selected Carlos Antonio López (1787-1862) as first consul of the government; in 1844 he would be named president of Paraguay, a position he held until his death almost twenty years later. Carlyle's reference to a "Directorate" compares the Paraguayan junta to the Directorate during the era of the French Revolution, a five-member governing committee that governed France dictatorially from 1795 to 1799.

Notes to "Louis Philippe"

177.title. **LOUIS PHILIPPE:** Louis-Philippe (1773-1850) was the constitutional king of the French from 1830 to 1848. Although he had been welcomed by the French after the Bourbons were deposed in 1830, his policies favored wealthy industrialists and bankers, while the middle and working classes became increasingly discontented. A popular uprising in Paris, beginning on February 22, 1848, forced Louis Philippe to abdicate, on February 24, and to flee to England. On March 4, Carlyle wrote in his journal: "Third French insurrection. Louis Philippe flung out; he and his entire pack, with a kind of exquisite ignominy, 'driving off in a street cab,' the fraternity arriving here in slow detail, dribbling in for a week past, all the young men without their wives. Louis Philippe himself, the old scoundrel, is since Saturday night safe at Claremont; came to England in an old P-jacket, like King Crispin" (Froude, *Life in London* 1:429).

177.2. **'tremendous cheers':** See note to 162.32.

177.10. **Sophist Guizot:** Francois Guizot (1787-1874), leader of the monarchist party from 1830 to 1848 who served in several key ministerial positions, including Foreign Minister, and whose resistance to popular demands for reforms contributed to the unrest that led to the overthrow of Louis Philippe. On the sophists, see note to 29.31. Guizot was also a historian whose *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre depuis l'avènement de Charles Ier jusqu'à la restauration de Charles II* (History of the English Revolution from the accession of Charles I to the restoration of Charles II, 1826-27) Carlyle had read for his Cromwell research (*Letters* 11:148). In 1840, Carlyle had met Guizot, then the French ambassador to England (*Letters* 12:80). On February 26, 1848, the day he learned of the revolution, Carlyle wrote: "Guizot, his minister, is much more despicable: a poor honourable Writer and teacher of the Public at one time; him, for a mess of pottage, they seduced from his honourable garret, and converted into a rich conspicuous Public Quack,—and now his light is quite snuffed out, and even his life (I fancy) is exposed to risk" (*Letters* 22:253-54). The *Examiner* of that date expressed a similar view, depicting Guizot as defending "the principle of constitutional freedom" but then turning his back on it (129).

177.10. **quacks:** See note to 164.26-27.

177.11. **spectral nightmares:** Carlyle had used this phrase in "Characteristics" (above 29).

177.13. **clamm:** Clamminess. Carlyle wrote "clamm" in the manuscript and the typesetter, either misreading or failing to recognize this unusual word, substituted another word (it is now illegible, but possibly "clamour"), then Carlyle restored clamm in proof. Although the word is unusual, it was familiar to Carlyle, who had used it previously ("clamm of the grave") in his translation of Jean Paul's *The Life of Quintus Fixlein* (*German Romance* 2:319) and ("the clamm of death") in *The French Revolution* (1:5.5.143).

177.15. **Nemesis:** Greek goddess of retribution.

178.2. **expensive courses of experiment, for sixty years back:** The three French Revolutions: the Revolution of 1789, which had begun fifty-nine years earlier, the Revolution of Three Days (1830; see note to 56.11), and the Revolution of 1848, about which Carlyle is writing.

178.16. **Bribery has flourished; scandalous corruption:** One of the chief complaints about Louis Philippe's government was its widespread corruption, in particular its reliance on bribery to secure support for government-backed candidates. The second paragraph of the leading article of the February 26, 1848, issue of the *Examiner* expressed pleasure in seeing the "discomfiture of all the scheming, building, bribing, tyrannizing, and diplomatising of Louis Philippe" (129). The list of offenses submitted by the reformers charged the government with "systematic corruption" and "of having trafficked for ministerial purposes in public offices" (*Times* [Feb. 25, 1848]: 8; *Examiner* [Feb. 26, 1848]: 136).

178.17-18. **parliamentary tongue-fencers:** See note to 117.14-15. Carlyle frequently depicted legislators as engaging in tongue-fence—that is fencing, or fighting, with words, rather than swords, speaking but failing to act.

178.18. **jobbers:** People who use a public office or position of trust for personal gain or political advantage.

178.19. **'source of honour':** The formerly widespread principle that a king is the source of honor, particularly of honors or social distinctions.

178.26. **wide roamings:** During the French Revolution, Louis Philippe

went into exile and between 1795 and 1815 traveled extensively, to Scandinavia, the United States, Cuba, and England.

178.30. **Spanish marriages:** In 1846, France, Britain, and Spain sought to promote advantageous marriages of Queen Isabella II and her sister Luisa Fernanda. The French interest won out over the British, and Isabella married her cousin Francis, Duke of Cadiz, and her sister married Antoine, Duke of Montpensier, the youngest son of Louis Philippe. These political maneuvers forced Louis Philippe into closer alliance with the conservatives, increasing popular discontent. The *Examiner* leader of February 26 stated that Guizot was "betrayed into the vile family intrigue of filching the Spanish crown" (129), and the *Times* leader of the same date complains that Louis Philippe "formed dynastic alliances" (5).

178.35. **Eumenides:** In Greek mythology, underworld deities dedicated to avenging crimes. See also 179.1-2.

178.36-37. **'drove off in a brougham,' or *coucou* street cab, 'through the Barrier of Passy':** The "Latest Intelligence," in the *Examiner* of Saturday morning, February 26, 1848, reported that following the eruption of violence Louis Philippe left the Tuileries Palace "'in (according to one account) a *brougham*,' and passed out of Paris through the barrier of Passy" (139).

178.38-179.1. **Egalité Fils, . . . has ended no better than Egalité Père did:** Carlyle calls Louis Philippe "Egalité Fils" (son of Equality) because his father, Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc d'Orléans, had taken the name Egalité during the French Revolution (see note to 102.32-34). Louis Philippe's end was not as unfortunate as that of his father, who was guillotined in 1793. At the time of writing, he had been deposed and gone into exile in England, where he would die two years later.

179.1-2. **tragedy equal to that of the sons of Atreus:** In Greek myth and in particular Aeschylus's trilogy, the *Oresteia*, a series of acts of revenge, spurred by the Eumenides (see note to 178.35), destroy the House of Atreus. The narrative begins with King Atreus, who is killed by Aegisthus, the son of his brother Thyestes, in revenge for himself having killed Thyestes's sons (and fed them to him). Atreus's son Menelaus marries Helen of Troy, leading to the Trojan war, and his other son, Agamemnon, sacrifices his daughter so that the goddess Artemis would allow his fleet to sail to Troy and, upon his return, his wife Clytemnestra kills him. Agamemnon's son Orestes in turn seeks revenge, which means killing his own mother.

179.7-8. **the *grandsons* of the Bastillers of '89 and the Septemberers of '92; the fathers fought in 1830:** The storming of the Bastille prison on July 14, 1789, by a crowd of Parisian artisans marked the first violent outburst of the French Revolution. Carlyle titled the first volume of *The French Revolution* "Bastille"; for his account of the taking of the Bastille, see 1:5.6. During the September massacres of 1792, Parisian mobs killed prisoners they feared would escape and join the enemies of the revolution; it represented the triumph of Jean Paul Marat and led to the Terror. Book 1 of volume 3 of *The French Revolution*, entitled "September," provides Carlyle's account of the massacres. The Revolution of 1830 (see note to 56.11) brought Louis Philippe to the throne (see note to 177.title).

179.12. **the voice of whirlwinds:** Job 38:1: "The Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind."

179.18-19. **'The throne was carried out by armed men in blouses; was dragged along the streets, and at last smashed into small pieces,' say the Journals:** Carlyle may refer to the proreform Paris paper *Le National*, which on February 26 reported, "On s'est emparé du fauteuil, qui a été porté tout le long des boulevards, et brûlé sur le soubassement de la colonne de juillet, en présence d'une foule immense" (They seized the chair, which was carried along the boulevards and burned at the base of the column of July, in the presence of an immense crowd) (4). The *Examiner*'s "Latest Intelligence," dated Saturday morning, February 26, reported that the "throne . . . was carried off" from the Tuileries Palace (139). An earlier article in this issue describes a large group of protesters dressed in blouses (136). The reports of these events frequently note that the protestors were dressed "en blouse," an indication that they are working men (or dressed as working men).

179.24. **'Throne of the Barricades':** The monarchy under Louis Philippe, so called because it was established by setting up barricades during the Revolution of 1830.

179.27. **Napoleon, the armed Soldier of Democracy as he has been called:** Carlyle first used this epithet for Napoleon in *The French Revolution* (3:7.3.680) and repeated it in "Memoirs of Mirabeau" (*Historical Essays* 159) and "Sir Walter Scott" (*Essays on Literature* 288). We have not been able to trace the source of the epithet.

179.29-30. **it was better even to go bare than "*clothed* with curses" by way**

of garment: "Clothed with curses" is a variant of Psalm 109:29: "Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame, and let them cover themselves with their own confusion, as with a mantle." Carlyle also invokes the clothing metaphor that is at the center of his *Sartor Resartus*.

179.30-35. **Napoleon, . . . attaching himself to Popes and Kaisers, . . . an immense explosion of magnificence at Notre-Dame, to celebrate his *Concordat* ('the cowpox of religion,' *la vaccine de la religion*, as he himself privately named it):** In July 1801, Napoleon negotiated with Pope Pius VII a concordat that regularized the relations between republican France and the papacy; its signing was celebrated at a mass at Notre Dame on Easter Sunday, 1802. According to Madame de Staël, Napoleon had said: "Savez-vous ce que c'est que le concordat que je viens de signer? C'est le vaccine de la religion: dans cinquante ans il n'y en aura plus en France" (Do you know what the concordat I have just signed is? It is the vaccine against religion: in fifty years there will be none in France) (*Considérations* 2:272). Carlyle quoted the passage again in *On Heroes* (206). In 1802, Napoleon signed peace treaties with Britain, Prussia, and Bavaria (all of which were monarchies).

179.35-38. **he said to Augereau, the Fencingmaster who had become Field-Marshal, "Is it not magnificent?"—"Yes, very much so," answered Augereau: "to complete it, . . . an end to all that":** Pierre-François-Charles Augereau (1757-1816), Duc de Castiglione, a commoner who for his exemplary service Napoleon elevated to the rank of marshal in 1804. Louis-Antoine Bourrienne reports: "The next day Bonaparte asked Augereau what he thought of the ceremony. 'Oh! it was all very fine, . . . there was nothing wanting, except the million of men who have perished in the pulling down of what you are setting up'" (*Memoirs* 2:75-76).

180.1. **"All fictions are *now* ended," says M. Lamartine at the Hôtel-de-Ville:** Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), a renowned poet, was appointed president of the provisional government established after Louis Philippe was deposed. Meetings of the government were held at the Hôtel de Ville (city hall) of Paris, where on February 24 Lamartine, speaking about how to proceed, stated, "In place of having recourse to these subterfuges, to these emotions, in order to maintain one of those fictions which have no stability, I propose to form a Government, not definite, but provisional" (*Times* [Feb. 28, 1848]: 5). Carlyle more likely has in mind, however, the editorial leader of March 1, in which the *Times* paraphrased Lamartine as declaring "that 'the time of fictions was past'" (5).

Notes to "Repeal of the Union"

181.title. **REPEAL OF THE UNION:** Although Ireland had been under British rule since the middle ages, the Acts of Union (1800-1801) formally united the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Calls for repeal of the Union began almost immediately and continued throughout the nineteenth century. The Irish M.P. Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), who established the Repeal Association in 1830, led the movement for repeal until his death, but his efforts were unsuccessful. By the 1840s, a group of Irish intellectuals and politicians, known as Young Ireland, who had grown impatient with O'Connell's campaign, broke with the Repeal Association and formed the Confederation Association (see note to 181.13-14; see also note to 78.29-33). With the onset of the potato famine, in 1845, demands for repeal intensified and some members of Young Ireland argued that if parliamentary repeal were not forthcoming, the Irish should resort to armed rebellion. The immediate occasion of Carlyle's article, published April 29, 1848, was a bill calling for repeal submitted by John O'Connell, son of Daniel, on April 11, 1848. For more details on Carlyle's interest in Ireland, in particular his relationship with members of Young Ireland, see the introduction. As discussed in the introduction, in addition to the weekly *Examiner,* to which the Carlyles had long subscribed, during the period following the revolution in France in February 1848, they subscribed to the daily *Times*; therefore, these newspapers are cited below. After he met Gavan Duffy (see note to 78.29-33), Carlyle also received the *Nation*, the paper that Duffy edited and that represented the views of Young Ireland (see *Letters* 19:68-69). For a detailed account of this context, see Kinealy.

181.2. **one thing wanting:** See note to 72.2-3.

181.6-8. **The Claddagh fishermen would straightway go out and catch herring, no gun-brig now needed to keep them from quarrelling, no Quaker deputation to furnish them with nets:** Claddagh was a fishing village outside of Galway in western Ireland; a gun brig had been stationed in the bay of Galway in response to quarrels arising from the Claddagh fishermen's claim of an exclusive right to fish in the bay (Lewis 1:327). The circumstance to which Carlyle refers was recorded in a report by his Quaker acquaintance William Edward Forster, which he had received on March 1, 1847. The report describes the shocking conditions Forster had observed during a tour of Ireland in late 1846 and early 1847, one circumstance being that in Claddagh "even the very nets and tackling

of these poor fishermen . . . were pawned, and unless they be assisted to redeem them," they would be unable to obtain food, and a living, by fishing (Forster 40). In forwarding the report to Gavan Duffy (see note to 78.29-33), Carlyle added: "The Quakers, some months ago, made a special Subscription for Ireland, and decided, like prudent people, on seeing with their own eyes their money laid out. Forster's father and self were of the Deputation for that end, or, for aught I know were the sole Deputation; and this is the Report they have given in" (*Letters* 21:167).

181.13-14. **Conciliation and Confederation halls:** Conciliation Hall in Dublin, which opened in 1843, was the meeting place for the Loyal National Repeal Association, headed by Daniel O'Connell (see note to 181. title). The Irish Confederation was founded in January 1847 by members of Young Ireland (see note to 181.title), who had left O'Connell's Repeal Association because they advocated more aggressive pursuit of repeal. There was no Confederation Hall. Rather, Carlyle uses "Conciliation and Confederation halls" as shorthand for the two organizations, just as he used Exeter Hall (see note to 189.20-21) as shorthand for the emancipation movement.

181.14-15. **sanhedrim of heroic sages; Jarlath a mount of Gospel prophecy, John of Tuam an Irish Paraclete:** The Sanhedrim was the court of justice in ancient Jerusalem, made up of members of the ecclesiastical aristocracy. The Paraclete is the Holy Spirit as counselor or advocate. Saint Jarlath was a sixth-century Irish priest who, according to tradition, was the founder of the archdiocese and School of Tuam, in western Ireland. John MacHale (1791-1881), archbishop of Tuam, had worked to secure Catholic Emancipation (see note to 4.31). A zealous advocate for poor Irish tenants, he was also a supporter of repeal known for the vigorous, some thought intemperate, expression of his views, though he opposed the violence advocated by some members of Young Ireland and the Confederation. A brief item in the April 15, 1848, issue of the *Examiner* reports his demand for more money from the government to address the potato famine (250).

181.16-17. **first flower of the earth and first gem of the sea:** From Thomas Moore's "Remember Thee" in *Irish Melodies* (1808-1834): "Wert thou all that I wish thee, great, glorious and free, / First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea." Daniel O'Connell and his followers often quoted these lines, and by this time they had become a cliché.

181.22. **finest peasantry in the world:** See note to 77.title; see also note to 189.29.

181.24. **A consummation devoutly to be wished:** See note to 72.13.

182.3. **M. Ledru Rollin could not desire a better Republic:** Alexandre Auguste Ledru-Rollin (1807-1874), French politician and a leader of the revolution of February 1848 that established the Second Republic (see note to 177.title); elections for a Constituent Assembly to establish a republic had been held on April 23, even as Carlyle was at work on this article, which appeared on April 29. In an April 10 commentary on caricatures of the leaders of the government, Carlyle described Ledru-Rollin as "an impudent loquacious voracious blackguard (if there be truth in physiognomy), with snub nose, big lips, large, deep-set, liquorish-looking eyes, and much hypocritical melancholy and solemnity, a very dangerous blackguard I should say,—like a male Mother Cole of the worst kind" (*Letters* 23:12). The *Examiner,* in which this essay appeared, had published a leading article on Ledru-Rollin and the republic on April 22 (257). Carlyle had published an article on the revolution ("Louis Philippe," reprinted above) on March 4, also in the *Examiner*; he had also drafted an article entitled "French Republic" for the *Examiner* but it was never published (see Vanden Bossche, "French Republic").

182.4. **Republic ready to fraternise with him:** Presumably a reference to the principle of fraternity, or brotherhood, as in the French revolutionary motto "liberté, fraternité, égalité," but presumably also a reference to the delegation of Young Ireland leaders (see note to 181.title) who traveled to Paris to congratulate the new Republic. See *Examiner* April 8, 1848 (226).

182.5. **starve it as the wicked Lord John Russell does:** Lord John Russell (1792-1878), Whig Prime Minister, pursued a laissez-faire policy of minimal intervention during the potato famine. In 1845, a blight attacked the potato crop, which provided the staple food for Ireland's poor; by the time of this article, the crop failure, and resulting famine, was in its fourth year. While Carlyle opposed repeal, he had long opposed the Corn Laws (see note to 90.12), which were partly responsible for the famine or at least for the failure to bring relief. In his March 1, 1847, letter to Gavan Duffy (see note to 181.6-8), he had written: "The aspect of Ireland is beyond words at present! . . . For it is not Ireland alone: starving Ireland will become starving Scotland and starving England in a little while . . . Your Irish Governing Class are now actually brought

to the bar; arraigned before Heaven and Earth [f]or *mis*-governing this Ireland; and no Lord John Russell or 'Irish Party' in Palaceyard, and no man or combination of men can save them from their sentence, To govern it better or to disappear and die" (*Letters* 21:167).

182.6. **sure to be a great favourite with her French sister. American Jonathan:** Extending the metaphor of fraternity (see note to 182.4), Carlyle suggests that if Ireland becomes an independent republic, it will be a favorite sister of republican France and the American republic. Brother Jonathan was a contemporary personification of the United States.

182.9. **white Chactaws:** In *Past and Present*, Carlyle had treated the Chactaws (more commonly spelled Choctaws) as representative Native Americans who take scalps from their victims (3.10.190), though there is little evidence that this tribe did so. The implication here, as Carlyle makes clear below, is that the Irish are savages (see notes to 183.17-21 and 189.10-19). It is not known if Carlyle was aware that members of the Choctaw tribe sent donations to assist the Irish during the famine.

182.11. ***Habitans*:** French term for Canadian settlers or descendants of settlers of French origin. Carlyle is probably referring here to proposed reforms following the Rebellions of 1837-1838.

182.15. **purchase pikes and rifles:** Since early in 1848, John Mitchel (1815-1875), one of the more radical politicians associated with Young Ireland (see note to 78.29-33), had been taunting the British government with threats of armed rebellion. An April 8 article in the *Examiner*, "Preparations for Rebellion," reported that the "run for pikes is rather on the increase" and that "Gunsmiths' shops are the great centres of attraction" (233), and on April 15, the *Examiner* reported that Mitchel was "publishing instructions for the behoof of rebel pikemen" (250). The next issue, published April 22, included a report of the trial of Mitchel, along with William Smith O'Brien and Thomas Meagher, for sedition (265). In addition to reading about Mitchel in the *Examiner* and the *Times*, Carlyle probably saw full reports in the pro-repeal *Nation*; see, for example, the April 15, 1848, issue, which reported a meeting at which Mitchel and others "urge[d] the necessity and propriety that every citizen should carry arms" (5). See also notes to 181.title and 188.10.

182.17-18. **attackable by any Attorney-General:** The prosecution in the sedition trial (see preceding note) was conducted by the Attorney General.

182.18-19. **say "Peace, peace" to it all, as if *it* were or could be peace:** See Jeremiah 6:14; see also note to 121.11.

182.21-23. **a governing class glittering in foreign capitals, or at home sitting idly in its drawing-rooms, in its hunting-saddles, like a class quite unconcerned with governing:** Carlyle frequently criticized the idleness of the governing class, in particular the landed aristocracy; see esp. "Chartism" (e.g., 116 above) and *Past and Present* (esp. 1.5.32, 3.3.152). The reference to getting rents alludes in particular to Ireland's absentee landlords (see note to 183.29-30). See also Carlyle's letter to Gavan Duffy (note 182.5; also *Letters* 21:104, 176).

182.27. **five millions strong:** As Carlyle indicates below (185.11), the population of Ireland was closer to eight million. That he is referring here only to the impoverished Irish Catholic peasant population is confirmed by a passage in *Past and Present* in which he writes: "five millions, as is insolently said, 'rejoice in potatoes'" (3.5.166).

182.28-30. **John of Tuam, uttering in his afflictive ghastly dialect . . . his brimstone denunciations:** See note to 181.14-15. John MacHale's language is "ghastly"—that is, "ghostly" as well as horrible—because as archbishop of Tuam, he speaks "extinct Romish cant"—the outmoded Church Latin of Roman Catholic prayers and rituals.

182.32. **Lord John Russell should feed the Irish people:** The April 15 *Examiner* reported that the *Freeman's Journal* prints a letter from John, Archbishop of Tuam, addressed to Lord John Russell, which demands "more money of the Imperial Treasury, . . . and is not ashamed to assert that the whole object of the enactment of the Poor Law was to rid Ireland of the Roman Catholic population" (250; also reported in the *Times* [April 13, 1848]: 6).

182.38. **Gospel Comforter:** The Holy Spirit, previously invoked as the Paraclete (see note to 181.14-15), from John 14:26: "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you."

182.38-183.1. ***hypocrisis*** **. . . play-actor:** The English word *hypocrisy* is derived from the Greek "hypocrisis," meaning one who plays a part on the stage; Carlyle thus suggests that acting involves a kind of hypocrisy

and vice versa. In "Boswell's Life of Johnson," he had contrasted the actor, or "hypocrisis," with Johnson, who grappled with the problem of "speaking forth the *Truth*" that had become "in those days . . . so complex as to puzzle strongest heads, with nothing else imposed on them for solution; and even to turn high heads of that sort into mere hollow *vizards,* speaking neither truth nor falsehood, nor anything but what the Prompter and Player (ὑποκριτὴσ) put into them" (174-75). Carlyle probably had in mind a saying of Demosthenes, to which he alluded on more than one occasion in his later years; once, during a diatribe against Parliament, he explained: "For a long time I was puzzled to make out what Demosthenes meant by his Action, action, action! which most people think to mean the mere phrenitic [sic] flinging about of hands and arms, but I looked up the matter in Valerius Maximus and in Cicero, and I found that the word used was ὑποκριτὴσ or 'play-acting,' and that this was the sorry meaning that the great maxim possessed" (Norton 1:324; see Froude, *Life in London* 2:401). The reference to Demosthenes comes from Cicero's *De Oratore* 3.56. See also "Diamond Necklace" (*Historical Essays* 223).

183.2-4. **he must prophesy, through the organs of a solemn mountebank and consecrated drug-vendor,—patented by the Holy Father himself to vend Romish quack drugs:** The allusions to the Holy Spirit who brings knowledge (see notes to 181.14-15 and 182.38) suggest that McHale assumes the role of prophet, but in Carlyle's view (see preceding note) a false, or quack, prophet offering quack remedies. Carlyle had often criticized leaders who offered what he considered mere panaceas or fake remedies for social problems. See his "Count Cagliostro" (*Historical Essays*) as well as his critique of "Morison Pills" in *Past and Present* (1.4.26-29). Carlyle apparently refers as well to the fact that the pope had appointed McHale archbishop of Tuam over the objections of the British government, and he may also have been aware that MacHale was at that time in Rome negotiating about Irish colleges.

183.11-13. **Several indolent members of Parliament . . . conceding the demand for Repeal:** The leading article in the April 13, 1848 *Times* (Carlyle's article appeared later that month), declares, "The Irish crisis must now soon come," and castigates Lords Miltown and French, along with Mr. O'Brien, for bringing the threat of revolution through their support of repeal (4).

183.17-21. **To have our land overrun with hordes of hungry white savages,**

. . . submerging our populations into the depths of dirt, savagery, and human degradation: For decades, Irish had been emigrating to England, where they often worked at menial and low-paying jobs; because of the proximity to Ireland, many settled in cities along the west coast of England. The potato famine led to mass emigration, during which large numbers emigrated to Britain as well as the United States and the British colonies. On May 19, about a month after this article appeared, Carlyle wrote: "Our streets even here, what I never saw before, are getting encumbered with *Irish* beggars; and in the manufacturing districts, as I hear from people on the spot, there hardly ever was greater misery. Something does imperatively require to be *done;* and I want Lord John to know that,—and go about *his* business as soon as he can!" (*Letters* 23:34; see also 29-30). Although Carlyle befriended members of Young Ireland and sympathized with the circumstances of the Irish population (see note to 78.29-33), he also had strong prejudices against the Irish as a "race," which were linked to his views of people of African origin (see introduction). Carlyle's treatment of the Irish as racially inferior emerges below in his discussion of Irish "savagery" as well as in reference to "white Chactaws" above (see notes to 182.9 and 189.10-19). He refers to the Irish as savages several times in his letters (see *Letters* 24:19, 109).

183.25. **Brighton, Leamington:** Brighton is a seaside resort that had been popularized by the Prince Regent. The Royal Pump Rooms and Baths in Leamington were a resort for the wealthy.

183.29-30. **The rents of Ireland spent in England:** Most of the land in Ireland was owned by English Protestants, many of whom were absentee landlords living in England. Thus, rents paid by Irish farmers were spent by landlords in England. In introducing his bill for repeal (see note to 181.title), John O'Connell had presented an accounting of the net loss to Ireland of rents spent in England (Hansard 98:188).

184.5. **the blood and fat of Ireland:** A possible allusion to foods prohibited in Jewish law. See Leviticus 3:17: "It shall be a perpetual statute for your generations throughout all your dwellings, that ye eat neither fat nor blood."

184.9. **Bull:** The traditional personification of England as John Bull.

184.10. **the shield of Ajax:** According to Greek myth, Ajax's shield was

made of seven cowhides as well as a layer of bronze and was of enormous size. See *Iliad* 7:219-25.

184.14. **sorrowfully thinking of his many millions thrown into the black gulf of turbulent hunger, his ten last year, when he could ill spare it:** Carlyle refers generally to the British government's ineffectual attempts to ameliorate the worst effects of the potato famine, even though providing subsidies ran counter to official laissez-faire policy. The Irish Poor Law Extension Act of 1847 devolved the problem onto Irish landlords, who were expected to raise ten million pounds—an impossible amount—to alleviate hunger. A financial collapse in England in 1847 compounded the difficulty of finding money to help the Irish.

184.20. **the present extenuated state of finance, and pressure of the income tax:** The first income tax outside of wartime had been established in 1842 and was set to expire in 1848; although it was needed to meet the needs of the budget, opponents of the tax forced Russell to extend it only one year at a time. See preceding note.

184.21-23. **could any projecting Warner of the long range be found who would undertake to *unanchor* the Island of Ireland, and sail fairly away with it:** Samuel Warner (1793/4-1853), who claimed to have invented an "invisible shell," a kind of underwater (hence invisible) mine, as well as a "long-range" shell or mine, demanded £200,000 from the government for each device but was met with skepticism on several grounds. Carlyle's allusion apparently refers to two attempts to demonstrate Warner's devices and persuade the government to purchase the plans for them. The idea of towing the island of Ireland seems to be suggested by the July 17, 1844, demonstration in which Warner had a target vessel towed before a watching crowd and then had it blown up, while the allusion to "the long-range" alludes to another demonstration in which he sought to deliver the weapon by hot air balloon. Neither was a success: the ship did seem to blow up, but it was not at all clear that it was done by his shell, as there was suspicion that the target ship had been crippled, while the balloon crashed and failed to launch the device. Government officials, including the Prime Minister, Robert Peel, concluded it was a hoax and Warner a charlatan. Carlyle's letter of March 1, 1847, to Gavan Duffy, employs the ship metaphor, though without reference to Warner: "Ireland, I think, cannot *lift anchor* and sail away with itself" (*Letters* 21:169).

184.27. **Our railways have cost us 150 millions:** We have not been able

to locate the source of this figure, but it is in line with modern estimates. There was massive investment in railways in the 1840s, and Carlyle himself was an investor.

184.30-31. **the National Debt an even milliard of pounds sterling, which gives 200 and odd millions to the Warner operation:** At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the British national debt—the sum of debt obligations incurred by the government—reached about one billion pounds ("milliard" is an obsolete term for billion). As indicated above (see note to 184.21-23), Warner's demand was for 200,000, not 2,000,000, pounds.

185.1. **flatly forbidden by the laws of the universe:** In his March 1, 1847 letter to Gavan Duffy, Carlyle had declared that repeal "had been forbidden by the laws of Nature" (*Letters* 21:169).

185.4. **old soda-water bottles:** John Mitchel (see note to 182.15) had reportedly advised the citizens of Dublin on various measures for attacking British forces, among them concocting "a domestic bomb or grenade" by using "a soda-water bottle . . . filled with bits of stone or iron, or metal of any sort—nails, for instance—and with coarse gunpowder thrown into the interstices" (*Examiner* [March 11, 1848]: 166; see also [March 18]: 178, *Times* [April 8, 1848]: 4).

185.11. **Ireland is inhabited by seven or eight millions:** The 1841 census listed a population of about eight million. See note to 182.27.

185.12-14. **having a white skin and European features, cannot be prevented from circulating among us at discretion:** As citizens of the United Kingdom, the Irish were free to emigrate to England. Carlyle's remarks elsewhere in this article (see notes to 183.17-21 and 189.10-19) suggest that the Irish are racially distinct from other Europeans, in spite of their similarity of appearance. A comment a year later that invokes skin color is telling: "What is to be done? asks every one; incapable of *hearing* any answer, were there even one ready for imparting to him. '*Blacklead* those 2 million idle beggars,' I sometimes advised, 'and sell them in Brazil as Niggers,—perhaps Parliament, on constraint, will allow you to advance them to be Niggers!'" (*Letters* 24:193). See also note to 107.5-6.

185.17. **herring-busses . . . bomb-ketches:** A herring buss is a ship used in the herring industry; a bomb ketch is a ship carrying mortars for bombing.

185.17-18. **length of said bridge varying from six hours to one hour:** The distance between Ireland and England or Scotland varies from about 50 to 150 miles. Carlyle had traveled by steamer from Ardrossan to Belfast in about seven hours on September 4-5, 1846 (*Letters* 21:43); he did not report the length of the September 9 return journey from Dublin to Liverpool (*Letters* 21:49).

185.23-24. **extending superficially to the Indies and the Antipodes:** British colonial possessions. The Indies may refer to the West Indies, the East Indies, and India; the Antipodes is the land on the opposite side of the globe, referring in this context to Australia and New Zealand.

185.27-28. **climbing as high as the zenith to snatch fire from the gods:** An allusion to the myth of Prometheus (see note to 110.32).

185.27. **chimeras:** See note to 63.15-16.

185.32. **Orcus:** Latin name for the personification of Death, as opposed to Hades, the King of the Dead; Carlyle had alluded to Orcus in "Sir Walter Scott" (*Essays on Literature* 286) and *Past and Present* (3.1.142).

185.33. **the Italians were wont to say of Dante: *Eccovi l'uom ch'é stato all' inferno!*:** See *On Heroes*: "The people of Verona, when they saw him on the streets, used to say, '*Eccovi l'uom ch' è stato all' Inferno*, See, there is the man that was in Hell!'" (78; see also *Past and Present* 3.12.204). Carlyle's source is Boccaccio's *Trattatelo in laude di Dante* (465).

186.3. **Parisian *émeutiers*:** From the French "émouvoir," to agitate, an émeute is a popular uprising; "émeutier" (rioter) does not appear in the OED, but the term can be found in contemporary press reports about the uprising in Paris earlier that year (see note to 182.3).

186.23-25. **Lord Morpeth tries to demonstrate that Ireland herself will be ruined without the Union; that if it really would make Ireland happy, he would concede the Repeal:** George William Frederick Howard (1802-1864), 7th Earl of Carlisle, who at this time held the title Viscount Morpeth, was a Whig M.P. and member of Russell's cabinet from 1846; in the 1830s he had been chief secretary for Ireland and was sympathetic to Irish claims for reform. In his speech in opposition to John O'Connell's motion for repeal on April 11 (see note to 181.title), Morpeth argued that repeal would not only harm England, it "would especially be grievous

and burdensome and fatal to the best interests and permanent repose of Ireland" (Hansard 98:215). He argued that repeal would deprive Ireland of funds provided by the government for relief of the starving populace of Ireland and that the government exercised a moderating influence over the various sectarian and political conflicts there. The remark about making Ireland "happy" apparently alludes to the conclusion of the speech in which Morpeth insists on seeking the "real happiness of Ireland" (98:222; see also 216).

186.34-35. **what we may call Teutonic Ireland, Ulster and the other analogous regions:** Ulster is a province comprising some of the northern counties of Ireland, where a large percentage of the population was Protestant and also of English and Scottish origin, hence, in Carlyle's view, Teutonic. In accord with his conception of racial distinction, Carlyle distinguishes the Teutonic from the Celtic (see below 189.23).

186.38. **the Tipperary regions:** Tipperary is a county in south central Ireland; Carlyle uses it here and below to stand for "Celtic" Ireland as opposed to "Teutonic" Ulster (see preceding note).

187.5. **Cotton-webs:** A reference to the cultivation in the British colonies of cotton that was then imported and woven into textiles in England. See *Past and Present* 3.5.160.

187.11-12. **Monster meetings, O'Connell eloquence, and Mullaghmast caps:** In the 1840s, Daniel O'Connell (see note to 181.title) held throughout Ireland a series of Monster Meetings, so called because they were attended by enormous crowds, which the pro-repeal press routinely reported as over 100,000, though this figure was deemed by others an exaggeration; the term was also used to describe Chartist gatherings, notably, in this context, the April 10 meeting at Kennington Common, just two weeks before Carlyle's article appeared (see note to 194.29-30). At the repeal meeting held on October 1, 1843, at Mullaghmast, the site of a sixteenth-century massacre, O'Connell took the chair in the scarlet cloak of an alderman and was crowned with a recently devised cap modeled on the Irish crown, hence "Mullaghmast cap." On October 7, Peel banned a planned meeting scheduled for October 8 at Clontarf, and O'Connell complied but nonetheless was arrested for conspiracy. As agitation for repeal intensified in 1845, he held a series of similar meetings. Carlyle saw O'Connell wearing the Mullaghmast cap at a meeting in Conciliation Hall on September 7, 1846, during his brief visit to Ireland:

"Daniel O'Connell stood bodily before me, in his green mullaghmast Cap; haranguing his retinue of Dupeables: certainly the most *sordid* Humbug I have ever seen in this world; the emblem to me, he and his talk and the worship and credence it found, of all the miseries that can befal a Nation" (*Letters* 21:113; see also 21:46, 47, 55).

187.15-16. **Ireland counts some seven, or five, or three, millions of the finest repealing peasantry:** See notes to 182.27 and 185.11.

187.16-17. **the British Empire already enumerates as its subjects some hundred-and-fifty millions:** This figure accords with contemporary estimates for Britain together with all of its colonial possessions. The Indian subcontinent (comprising what are today Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh) would have accounted for the vast majority of this population.

187.22. **Downing Street:** The residence of the Prime Minister is at 10 Downing Street, which thus stands for the government of the ruling majority.

188.9. **American sympathizers:** In large part because so many Irish emigrated to the United States, there were many there who sympathized with the plight of the Irish and advocated for repeal.

188.9-10. **Parisian *organisateurs*: "**Organisateur," French for organizer, does not appear in contemporary press reports. Carlyle may refer to organizers of the 1848 uprising or, possibly, the principles of Louis Blanc as enunciated in his *Organisation du travail* (see note to 197.10-13), which he was authorized to implement by the provisional government following the February uprising (see note to 182.3).

188.10. **rifle-practice:** On April 11, the *Times* reported that "rifle practice is going on since an early hour in all the suburbs" (6; see also [April 19]: 5, [April 25]: 6). The April 8, 1848, *Examiner* article "Preparations for Rebellion" reported that John Mitchel was publishing plans "for the formation of Rifle Clubs" (250). There were also a number of reports on rifle clubs and rifle practice in the *Nation* (e.g., [April 8]: 4, 13, [April 15]: 9). See also note to 182.15.

188.10-11. **parliamentary eloquence:** See note to 111.19.

188.19. **lazarhouse:** A house for lepers (lazars) or, more generally, for people suffering from disease.

188.22-23. **governing classes that do not in the least govern, and working classes that cannot longer do without governing:** See note to 182.21-23 and Carlyle's letter to Gavan Duffy in the note to 182.5.

188.30-35. **Considerable constitutional and social improvements have been made in this Island; . . . our Civil War itself proceeded according to act of Parliament:** While the French had recently ousted Louis Philippe and were establishing a new republic and had overthrown governments in the revolutions of 1789 and 1830, Britain had recently averted a crisis when the April 10 presentation of the Chartist petition—which many feared would be accompanied by violence—ended peacefully. British politicians and historians often depicted Britain as achieving social improvement without bloodshed. Even the ouster of James II in 1688 had been achieved with minimal bloodshed, hence the epithet "Glorious Revolution" (see note to 101.15-16). The situation with the Civil War is more complicated, as it did involve considerable bloodshed and the execution of King Charles I, but Carlyle refers to the fact that there was no violent overthrow of the government because Parliament itself fought against Charles I over the question of national sovereignty. He had recounted this history in his recently completed *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (1845).

189.10-19. **The Cherokees, Sioux and Chactaws had a like invitation given them, in the new Continents two centuries ago. . . . the Chactaws, 'in spite of 200 acts of legislation in their favour at divers times,' are extinct:** As was the case with American slavery, Carlyle seems to have been poorly informed about the situation of Native Americans. This passage conflates different policies and historical moments. Early American governments pursued a policy of assimilation and the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 aimed to provide education for Native Americans. The Choctaws and Cherokees were two of what the European colonists deemed the Five Civilized Tribes, because of their willingness to adopt European customs and government. Carlyle's insinuation that the Native Americans refused to cooperate is therefore incorrect, as is the assertion that the Choctaws had become extinct. Carlyle may have in mind Andrew Jackson's assertion that his Indian Removal Act (1830), which removed the Choctaws and Cherokees, among other tribes, to lands west of the Mississippi from their lands in the eastern United States, would save Native Americans from extinction. There was resistance to this act, but

it was hardly designed to promote assimilation to European culture. We have not been able to identify the source of the quotation, but it goes without saying that much of the legislation, including the Removal Act, aimed to benefit white settlers more than Native Americans. The Sioux, who were already mostly west of the Mississippi, were not subject to this act, and it is not clear why Carlyle includes them. The references to "savagery" below in relation to the Irish make clear that Carlyle views them from the perspective of racial distinction (see notes to 183.17-21, 185.12-14, and 186.34-35).

189.20-21. **Aborigines Protection Societies and Exeter-Hall:** The Aborigines' Protective Society was founded in 1837 to promote the well-being of indigenous peoples of the British colonies. The Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1823, met at Exeter Hall (see note to 166.31), which became so closely associated with the abolition movement that it came to stand for it. Its campaign led to the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 (see note to 65.23). Carlyle would elaborate the views he expresses here the following year in "The Negro/Nigger Question."

189.23. **Celts of Connemara:** Connemara is in Galway in western Ireland, the region in which the Irish language persisted and thus could be considered particularly Celtic. On Carlyle's racial views of Celts, see note to 185.12-14; see also notes to 186.34-35 and 186.38.

189.28-29. **the Hill of Tara:** The Hill of Tara was traditionally considered the seat of the high king of Ireland and was the site of a battle in the rebellion of 1798. O'Connell held one of his "Monster Meetings" there on August 15, 1843 (see note to 189.28-29).

189.29. **being himself unluckily a liar:** Carlyle repeats the popular English prejudice. In "Chartism," he had written that the "Irish National character is degraded, disordered; . . . they have two faults, they do generally lie and steal" (above 78; see note to 78.29-33). See also note to 183.17-21 and introduction.

Notes to "Ireland and the British Chief Governor"

191.title. **THE BRITISH CHIEF GOVERNOR:** Lord John Russell, British Prime Minister (see note to 182.5).

191.1. **The Easter recess:** Parliament traditionally recesses—that is, takes

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191.1. **The Easter recess:** Parliament traditionally recesses—that is, takes

a break during the parliamentary session in which neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords meets to conduct business—for Easter and Christmas. In 1848, Easter was on April 23 and Parliament was recessed from April 23 to April 30, about two weeks before this article appeared. See also next note.

191.2. **Lord John Russell comes forward with his remedial measures for Ireland:** The motion to bring in the measures was made by Sir William Somerville, Russell's Chief Secretary for Ireland, on May 1, 1848, the first day after the Easter recess (see preceding note). In his speech, Somerville described the bills as "remed[ies]" for "evils" in Irish parliamentary representation: "first of all, the nature of the franchise as it exists in Ireland; secondly, the insufficiency of the constituencies dependent upon the nature of that franchise; and, thirdly, the system of registration, which is most imperfect, giving rise, as had been justly said, to many and grave abuses" (Hansard 98:585). The fact that the measures were also widely seen as a response to social unrest spurred by the revolution in France (see note to 177.title), the Chartist petition of April 10 (see note to 194.29-30), and the repeal movement in Ireland (see note to 181.title) manifest themselves in a leading article in the May 6 *Examiner*, which discusses the measure in relation to all three of these factors (289). Carlyle had used the term "remedial measure" in *Past and Present* (1.4.26).

191.3-5. **He has put down pike-rioting, open and advised incendiary eloquence, and signified to Ireland that her wrongs are not to be redressed by street-barricades:** See note to 182.15. The government responded not only to the arming of the populace in Ireland but also to the "incendiary eloquence" of John Mitchel (see note to 182.15) and others who were urging the Irish to arm and threatening the use of force, in part by arresting them for sedition. See also next note.

191.7-9. **Fifty thousand armed soldiers,—in red coats or in green, there are said to be about so many,—here is prohibition of Repeal treason:** The Crime and Outrage Bill, passed in December 1847, mandated that additional troops be sent to Ireland but also mandated the organization of police forces in Ireland, hence both red (British) and green (Irish) uniforms. As tensions rose in March, Lord Clarendon, the Viceroy of Ireland, ordered more troops. The Treason Felony Act, which was designed to make it easier to gain conviction for treason, received its third and final reading on April 18.

191.20-23, 192.38-39. **"Could any projecting Warner . . . *Examiner*, April 29:** Carlyle quotes himself from "Repeal of the Union" (above 184 and note to 184.21-23).

192.4-5. **O'Connell eloquence:** Daniel O'Connell (see note to 181.title) was famed as an orator and gave many speeches on behalf of repeal, in particular at mass meetings (see note to 187.11-12).

192.5. **O'Brien pike-manufacture:** William Smith O'Brien (1803-1864), an M.P. from an Irish landowning family, was an associate of Young Ireland and a founder of the Irish Confederation (see notes to 181.title and 181.13-14). Like Gavan Duffy (see note to 78.29-33), O'Brien had been a supporter of repeal and peaceful resistance, but on March 15 he gave a speech supporting formation of a national guard (it did not mention pikes). On March 25, he was arrested for making a "seditious speech . . . calculated to excite unlawful opposition to her Majesty's government" (*Nation* [March 25, 1848]: 9).

192.6-7. **Steam-passage from Ireland is occasionally as low as fourpence a head:** See 79.23-24 and note. On the ease of travel from Ireland to England and Scotland, see note to 185.17-18.

192.12. **lackall:** Possibly Carlyle's own coinage, referring to one who has no possessions and lacks necessities.

192.18-19. **"the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge":** See note to 81.9-10.

192.26-27. **for two centuries back . . . ever since Oliver Cromwell's time:** See note to 168.7-8.

192.32. **a Devil, who could quote Scripture:** In *The Merchant of Venice,* Antonio, speaking of Shylock and presumably alluding to the New Testament passages in which the Devil cites scriptures to tempt Christ (Matthew 4:6, Luke 4:10), says: "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose" (1.3.98).

192.37-193.2. ***first,* a bill for improved Registration of Irish County Voters; *secondly*, a bill for improved ditto in Irish Municipalities:** See note to 191.2.

193.9-10. **son of Adam:** See note to 122.5.

193.10. **Extension of the electoral suffrage:** Russell's measures for improving registration would extend the right to vote. Carlyle had criticized faith in the electoral franchise and democracy in "Chartism" and in *Past and Present*. In the "Democracy" chapter of the latter, he wrote: "The notion that a man's liberty consists in giving his vote at election-hustings, and saying, 'Behold now I too have my twenty-thousandth part of a Talker in our National Palaver; will not all the gods be good to me?'—is one of the pleasantest!" (3.13.216).

193.11-12. **want of potatoes:** The political situation in Ireland was exacerbated by the potato famine (see note to 182.5).

194.3. ***Tower of Babel*, built . . . against God's commandment:** See note to 46.6.

194.7-8. **two exquisite Whitechapel needles:** Whitechapel, in east London, was known for producing needles.

194.12. **so-called "social existence":** As "so-called" indicates, Carlyle is not quoting a specific text; rather, he is indicating that the phrase is in common use.

194.19-20. **the King of the French drove lately through the Barrier of Passy in a one-horse chaise:** See "Louis Philippe" (above 178.36-37 and note).

194.21. **Europe at large has risen behind him:** The attempted uprisings across Europe that followed the revolution in France in February 1848 (see note to 177.title) caused considerable anxiety in Britain about the Chartists (see note to 194.27-28) and the repeal movement in Ireland; the latter would, indeed, lead to an attempted uprising in July.

194.23-24. **a *new* and very ominous æra:** The title of Carlyle's next published article, originally part of this one, is "Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)." See note to 197.title.

194.27-28. **Chartisms:** A movement that sought, among other reforms, universal male suffrage (for more details, see note to 63.4-5). It was the subject of Carlyle's "Chartism" (above). See also next note.

194.29-30. **the glorious 10th of April, for which a monument is to be built:** The Chartists (see preceding note) made their third and final at-

tempt to petition Parliament on April 10, 1848 (the previous attempts were in 1839 and 1842). In the runup to this date, the press and the government evinced considerable anxiety that a large demonstration of Chartists at Kennington Common would turn violent, and thousands of special constables were recruited. As it turned out the demonstration was peaceful. We have not been able to locate any reports of plans to build a monument, but there was a proposal for a "testimonial" to those who served the government in response to the perceived threat (see "The Proposed Tribute from the Specials to the Specials," *Examiner* [May 9, 1848]: 290).

194.30-31. **from Cadiz to Copenhagen:** Across Europe, from Cadiz, Portugal, in the south, to Copenhagen, Denmark, in the north.

194.36-37. **a fire-ship of an Ireland indissolubly chained to her:** See above 191 and note to 184.21-23.

195.2. **Parliamentary eloquence:** See note to 111.19.

Notes to "Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)"

197.title. **IRISH REGIMENTS:** See note to 199.32.

197.title. **THE NEW ÆRA:** "New Eras" was the title of chapter 8 of "Chartism," which begins: "For in very truth it is a 'new Era;' a new Practice has become indispensable in it" (above 105). "Æra," the spelling in Latin, had been used in English in previous centuries but had become uncommon by Carlyle's time.

197.1. **his Lordship:** Lord John Russell, the British Prime Minister (see note to 182.5).

197.10-13. **"Organization of Labour," . . . Louis-Blancs, Owen-Fouriers, Luxembourg Commissions**, . . . **with their dreams of Fraternity, Equality, and universal Paradise-made-easy:** Carlyle names nineteenth-century thinkers who proposed a variety of reforms for the improvement of society and are now often designated utopian socialists to distinguish their thought from Marxist socialism. Louis Blanc (1811-1882) was the author of *Organisation du travail* (1839), to which Carlyle had alluded in *Past and Present* (3.10.194). Following the Paris uprising of February 1848 (see note to 177.title), he became a member of the provisional government,

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which approved his proposal for worker-controlled workshops. He also headed the Luxembourg Commission, which was set up in March 1848 to address labor issues but was disbanded around the time this article appeared. In his description of a series of caricatures of members of the French provisional government, Carlyle wrote: "Louis Blanc an amiable clever, rather greedy and decidedly green looking little fellow, of soft round features" (*Letters* 23:12). Robert Owen (1771-1858) was an industrialist and author who experimented with means of improving the lives of the workers at his textile mills and with experimental forms of community at his mill at New Lanark, Scotland, and later at New Harmony, Indiana. François Marie Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was a French social theorist who, like Owen, envisioned new forms of community and organization of labor. Carlyle thus associates these men with the French revolutionary principles of liberté, fraternité, and égalité (liberty, fraternity, equality) and "Paradise-made-easy." In a letter of March 24, he had written: "I, in vain, strive to explain that this of the 'organisation of labour' is precisely the question of questions for all governments whatsoever" and further on that "Fraternity, liberty, &c., . . . is not the remedy at all; but true *government* by the wise, true, and noble-minded of the foolish, perverse, and dark, with or *against* their consent" (*Letters* 22:277-78).

197.16-17. **red coats:** The uniform of the British army.

197.17. **drill-sergeants:** Carlyle had begun using the figure of the drill-sergeant to indicate one who creates order in *Past and Present* (4.3.259), and it would become a major theme of *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. In *Frederick the Great,* he would denominate Friedrich Wilhelm the "great Drill-sergeant of the Prussian Nation" (1:4.3.263). See also note to 199.32.

197.19. **keep step and pas-de-charge:** March at double-quick tempo, an attacking, or charging, pace.

197.21-22. **The Irish had always, from the first creation of them, a talent for individual fighting:** A stereotype that was widespread in the nineteenth century (see Curtis 59-61); see also the stereotyping of the Irish as liars and thieves in "Chartism" (above 78.29-33 and note).

198.4. **King Rufus and William of Ipres:** William II of England (1056?-1100), known as William Rufus (the Red), a son of William the Conqueror, was a successful general, to whom Carlyle had referred in *Past and Present* 4.1.241. William of Ypres (1090?-1165), Flemish nobleman and mercenary,

fought for King Stephen of England and was Stephen's chief lieutenant during the period known as "the Anarchy" (1139-1151), during which Stephen held the throne in large measure as a result of William's efforts. Neither King Rufus nor William of Ypres were Irish, and they did not fight in Ireland; Carlyle seems to name them primarily to indicate that the regimenting of the Irish occurred after the twelfth century but also to reference William of Ypres's abilities to organize and discipline.

198.8. **wolf-subduer:** Possibly a reference to the Greek name Lycurgus, which means wolf subduer. In this context, Carlyle is likely referring to the seventh-century B.C. lawgiver who, at least according to legend, founded most of the political institutions of Sparta.

198.14-15. **the Irish have in all times shown, and do now show, an indisputable talent for spade-work:** Carlyle once again draws on a stereotype (see note to 197.21-22) but also refers to the fact that the impoverished Irish often were able to obtain only the most menial employment. The spade work may refer either to farming, notably growing potatoes, or to the building of roads and railways for which they were often employed in England.

198.26. **woollen russet, or drab cotton moleskin:** Carlyle refers to military uniforms made of these materials: russet, a coarse, reddish-brown woolen cloth, usually worn by peasants and the poor, and moleskin, a strong, cotton cloth used for protective work-clothes.

198.30. **"supply and demand":** See note to 102.17.

199.12. **captainable:** Perhaps a Carlylean coinage (it does not appear in the OED), captainable presumably means "able to be led by a captain," on analogy with the preceding "commandable." In *Past and Present*, Carlyle had envisioned the "captain of industry" as a new kind of quasi-military leader who could create order among the working classes. See especially the chapter "Captains of Industry" (4.4.265; see also 3.10.192).

199.32. **one regiment, ten regiments, of diggers, on the Bog of Allen:** Beginning with *Past and Present,* Carlyle envisioned "drill-sergeants" (see note to 197.17) disciplining men into regiments that would reclaim arable land from swampland. This was both a practical solution and a metaphor for the production of social order out of chaos that evoked the separation of land and water in Genesis 1:5-6. In the "Labour" chapter of *Past and*

Present, he imagined "making instead of pestilential swamp a green fruitful meadow" and in a later chapter asserted that "through the swamps we will shape causeways, force purifying drains" (3.11.196, 4.5.275). In a letter written a few months after this essay was published, he would contend: "I have the firmest conviction that it is possible for even an actual Government (with one brave man in the heart of it), to begin enlisting mad perishing mobs of unemployed Paupers into 'Industrial Regiments,' and under strict military drill, just as Rhadamanthus, and wise, and stern as he, to find employment for them, in colonies, in Bogs of Allen, in hundreds of square miles of waste improvable land (now first become important by railways) which I myself have travelled over; and on the whole, to get sufficient work out of them for their own subsistence;—and so set the whole world on the right track in this matter" (*Letters* 23:163). During his journey through Ireland in 1849, he would observe many bogs—the Bog of Allen is a large bog in central Ireland—exclaiming in his journal at one point, "Abominable bog, thou shalt cease to be abominable, and become subject to man!" (*Irish Journey* 200). Irish regiments would become one of the major themes of *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, in which he would write:

> Arise, enlist in my Irish, Scotch, and English 'Regiments of the New Era,'—which I have been concocting day and night, during these three Grouse seasons . . . and have now brought to a kind of preparation for incipiency, thank Heaven! Enlist there, ye poor wandering banditti; obey, work, suffer, abstain, as all of us have had to do: so you shall be useful in God's creation, so shall you be helped to gain a manful living for yourselves; not otherwise than so. Industrial Regiments . . . not to fight the French or others, who are peaceable enough towards us; but to fight the Bogs and Wildernesses at home and abroad, and to chain the Devils of the Pit which are walking too openly among us. (43)

Elsewhere in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, he writes: "Here, in this plainly unendurable portion of the general quagmire, the lowest point of all, and hateful even to M'Croudy, must our main drain begin: steadily prosecuting that, tearing that along with Herculean labour and divine fidelity, we shall gradually drain the entire Stygian swamp, and make it all once more a fruitful field!" (167; see 38, 86).

199.33. **the field of Waterloo:** See note to 111.16.

199.34-35. **ten war-ships riding in the Tagus, for body-guard to Donna Maria da Gloria:** Maria da Gloria, Queen Maria II of Portugal (1819-1853), was the representative of the constitutional party in Portugal, which was favored, in the context of the balance of power of European states, by the British foreign minister, Lord Palmerston, against the absolutist party of Don Miguel, who negotiated a treaty protecting those interests on April 22, 1834. The British kept a squadron of ships in the Tagus to support Maria.

200.1. **the mad cry of Repeal:** See "Repeal of the Union" (above) and note to 181.title.

200.16-17. **red-tape and parliamentary eloquence in which he lives and has his sorrowful being;—tape-thrums heaped high above him:** Red tape is tape or ribbon used to secure legal or official documents; in the nineteenth century it acquired by association the sense of mechanical adherence to rules and regulations. Thrums are waste thread or yarn, so tape-thrums would be waste tape. On Carlyle's disdain for parliamentary eloquence, see note to 111.19. Carlyle's view is captured in his description, in *Cromwell,* of "the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tape-thrums" (4.10.58). For "in which he lives and has his sorrowful being," see Acts 17:28: "For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring." Carlyle had alluded to this passage in "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter" (*Essays on German Literature* 35), "Novalis" (*Essays on German Literature* 315), "Boswell's Life of Johnson" (*Essays on Literature* 191), and *Sartor Resartus* (3.3.164).

200.19. **twenty-seven millions:** The census of 1841 numbered the population of the United Kingdom as 26,730,929. Carlyle had cited the figure of twenty-seven millions in *Past and Present* 1.2.12.

200.21-22. **"Impossible, impossible to do any real business here! Nothing but parliamentary eloquence possible here!":** In his previous critiques of parliamentary eloquence (see note to 111.19) and the related, as he saw it, parliamentary inaction, notably in the chapter of "Chartism" titled "Impossible," Carlyle had invoked Mirabeau's "'Impossible? . . . Never name to me that blockhead of a word!'" ("Chartism" above 121.1-2 and note).

200.32. **the British Constitution:** See note to 111.30.

200.35. **a Jonah was heard from the whale's belly:** In the Old Testament, when Jonah seeks to avoid God's command to warn Nineveh about its wickedness, God causes his ship to sink in a storm and he is swallowed by a "great fish" (commonly interpreted to be a whale). Jonah remains in the whale's belly for three days, at which point he prays to God and God speaks to the fish, which vomits him out (Jonah 1-2).

Notes to "Legislation for Ireland"

201.1. **Lord John Russell:** See note to 182.5.

201.1-3. **two small Bills for improved Registration of Voters in Ireland; and a third for some slight loan:** On May 1, 1848, the same day that the registration bills were introduced (see note to 191.2), the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Charles Wood, introduced the Public Works Loan Act, which would lend £945,000 for public works in Ireland related to famine relief.

201.4. **what has become of the Sale of Encumbered Estates Bill for Ireland?:** A bill had been offered and withdrawn in early 1847 and continued to be mentioned in parliamentary debates but was not currently under consideration when Carlyle wrote this article. As it happens, the proposed bill was introduced a few weeks later and passed into law that summer. Because of the famine, tenants were unable to pay their rent, and the owners of mortgaged (encumbered) estates were therefore unable to pay off their loans. The act was intended to enable the sale of such estates to new owners without the mortgage liability. As discussed in the introduction, this article may have been prompted in part by the response of Henry M'Cormac to Carlyle's "Repeal of the Union" and by a pamphlet by John Hancock that M'Cormac sent to Carlyle, which was itself a response to yet another bill, introduced on February 15, on the related Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland. During the debate on this bill, some M.P.s, like Carlyle here, asked what had happened to the Sale of Encumbered Estates Bill.

201.8. **the Poor Law Bill, now passed into law:** The Irish Poor Law Extension Act of 1847 transferred full responsibility for paying poor rates (for assistance to the impoverished) to Irish landlords, many of whom (as indicated in the preceding note) had lost rental income and were paying off mortgages on their estates.

200.35. **a Jonah was heard from the whale's belly:** In the Old Testament, when Jonah seeks to avoid God's command to warn Nineveh about its wickedness, God causes his ship to sink in a storm and he is swallowed by a "great fish" (commonly interpreted to be a whale). Jonah remains in the whale's belly for three days, at which point he prays to God and God speaks to the fish, which vomits him out (Jonah 1-2).

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201.10-12. **'the white European man, . . . head on his shoulders':** Carlyle quotes his own "Chartism": "'Good Heavens! a white European Man, standing on his two legs, with his two five-fingered Hands at his shackle-bones, and miraculous Head on his shoulders, is worth something considerable, one would say!' The stupid black African man brings money in the market; the much stupider four-footed horse brings money:—it is we that have not yet learned the art of managing our white European man!" (above 127).

201.18-19. **the Irish Aristocracy, if it will preserve its land much longer:** In his criticism of the Irish aristocratic landowning class, Carlyle was echoing the debate on the Irish Poor Law Act (see note to 201.8) in which M.P.s attacked the landlords and justified shifting the full burden of paying rates to Ireland and thus to Irish landowners. However, he had already voiced criticism of them, as in a letter of December 1848, in which he wrote: "The Landlords there are clearing their estates, burning down the sod huts, and the wretches must either die, or come over upon us. Their potatoe, on which they madly trusted, has again utterly failed them. There never was such a phenomenon before as the Ireland that now is. It makes my heart sick; and I would fain write about it, but cannot" (*Letters* 23:174). The parliamentary debate also chimed with his previous critiques of the aristocracy in "Chartism" and *Past and Present.*

201.20. **playing roulette at Bath or Leamington:** On Leamington, see note to 183.25. Like Leamington and Brighton, Bath was a resort for the wealthy.

201.21. **idle hunting saddles:** On Carlyle's criticisms of the aristocracy for idleness and hunting, see note to 65.23.

202.2. **Chancery dialect:** The language of the Court of Chancery, one of the principal concerns of which was land and property law.

202.2-3. **That the land of Ireland is the mother of all Irishmen:** As discussed above (see note to 201.8.), the Poor Law Extension Act placed all of the responsibility for poor relief on the Irish.

202.15. **lackalls:** See note to 192.12.

202.16-17. **any heroism in you:** On Carlyle's view of heroism, see *On Heroes*, especially 1-2.

202.28. **the old use-and-wont:** See note to 147.19-20.

202.30-31. **a broken reed, upon which if a man lean, it will run into his hand:** See note to 76.14-15.

202.32. **all of us thank God for the merciful destruction of the Potatoe:** As he indicates elsewhere in the article, Carlyle sees the potato blight as forcing the governing classes to act more responsibly. Shortly after his 1846 trip to Ireland, he wrote:

> The Potatoes, as you know, are totally a ruin, this year, there and everywhere. Nothing but sheer famine and death by hunger for millions in Ireland,—had not the Government interfered, most wisely, and signified to the Landlords of the Country that they would have to assess themselves, to look out for work and wages to these poor wretches of peasants and see that they did not famish. This appears to me the most important law ever passed for Ireland; the beginning, I do hope, of a new time for that wretched land: I almost rejoiced at the black Potatoe fields, which had brought it about; and bade the Potatoes 'Go about their business, then,' since the loss of them was leading us a little towards justice and a better sort of food for man! In fact it seems likely enough the Potatoes are done, not going to grow any more for us; which probably is the most important revolution ever brought about in our time,—for without them the working people cannot be supported on the old principle, and we must either perish or else improve. (*Letters* 21:66-67; see also 22:7)

202.33. **much as we love that tragic vegetable when well boiled:** See note to 77.19-22.

203.3. ***experimentum crucis*:** See note to 70.26.

203.4. **redtape**: See note to 200.16-17.

203.14-16. **what with mortgages, debts, encumbrances, . . . contracts, and covenants:** Various forms of encumbrance that the Sale of Encumbered Estates Act was meant to address. See note to 201.4.

203.17-18. **Landlords nominally of £10,000 a year rent, do not command more than one thousand:** As discussed above (note to 201.4), much of the rent income of Irish estates went towards mortgage payments, with the consequence that land owners were unable to pay the poor rates.

203.27-28. **a swift Special Commission of Twelve just men:** Carlyle's proposal for the commission was likely inspired by the proposal in the pamphlet by John Hancock sent to Carlyle by Henry M'Cormac in response to "Repeal of the Union." As discussed in the introduction, Carlyle repeated this idea in a letter to M'Cormac three days after this article appeared. However, Carlyle's proposal differs from Hancock's. Hancock is responding to another proposed piece of legislation, on the Law of Landlord and Tenant, which deals with issues related to the Sale of Encumbrances Act (see note to 201.4). Hancock proposes a "tribunal" consisting of "a Sheriff and Jury" (7) that would determine the value of improvements to estates by tenants so that they are justly compensated when estates were sold. Carlyle is not concerned with rights of tenants; instead, he envisions this commission as working out something similar to the Encumbered Estates Act.

204.5-6. **I can compare him only to the steersman . . . the sinking boat:** On Carlyle's use of ship and nautical metaphors in his articles on Ireland, see notes to 184.21-23 and 194.36-37.

204.20-21. **organic filaments,** . . . ***could*** **endeavour to spin together:** See the chapter "Organic Filaments" in *Sartor Resartus* 3.7.180-86.

204.22-25. **Two Aristocracies**, . . . **a Governing Class, or rich Aristocracy of Landlords, and a Teaching Class, or a poor Aristocracy of Priests:** Carlyle first made this distinction in *Past and Present***:** "Aristocracy and Priesthood, a Governing Class and a Teaching Class: these two, sometimes separate, and endeavouring to harmonize themselves, sometimes conjoined as one, and the King a Pontiff-King:—there did no Society exist without these two vital elements, there will none exist" (4.1.239). The aristocracy of landlords is the traditional landowning aristocracy of inherited nobility, while the aristocracy of priests is the intellectuals.

204.34-35. **The rapids of Niagara, . . . become too rapid:** Carlyle would extend this figure of the dangers of navigating the rapids of Niagara Falls in "Shooting Niagara" (see below).

Notes to "Death of Charles Buller"

205.title. **CHARLES BULLER:** Charles Buller (1806-1848), lawyer, journalist, and Whig M.P., died of typhus on November 29, 1848, possibly contracted during surgery. In 1822, as discussed in the introduction, Carlyle became the tutor of Charles and his brother, Arthur, and they remained friends for the rest of Charles's life.

205.11-12. **had sat in Parliament some twenty of those:** Buller was first elected to Parliament in 1830 and remained there until his death, a total of eighteen years. In 1842, Carlyle heard him speak in the House of Commons.

205.13. **rising rapidly into importance, of late years:** Buller's rise was hindered in part by his reputation as a wit (see note to 206.8). Nonetheless, he steadily gained prominence, beginning with the Durham Report on Canada (see note to 65.22), and as he moved more to the political center, he gained more credibility within his party. When, in 1846, the Whigs returned to office, he received appointments as judge advocate-general and president of the Poor Law Board.

205.15. **a "Reformer," from his earliest youth:** In 1831, at age twenty-five, Buller published *On the Necessity of a Radical Reform*. He aligned himself with the philosophic radical, or Utilitarian, wing of the Whig Party, and supported passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 as well as other reforms such as the secret ballot.

205.19-20. **the dreary weltering lake of parliamentary confusion:** On Carlyle's disdain for the British Parliament, see notes to 111.19 and 117.14-15.

206.2. **absence of all cant:** A virtue particularly prized by Carlyle, who often cited Samuel Johnson's imperative "Clear your mind of Cant" ("Boswell's Life of Johnson," *Essays on Literature* 191; see "Goethe," *Essays on German Literature* 197; "Memoirs of Mirabeau," *Historical Essays* 203; "Corn-Law Rhymes," *Essays on Literature* 221; *On Heroes* 156).

206.8. **for a long while, Mr Buller passed merely for a man of wit:** Buller was famed as a wit, a trait remarked on in other obituaries, and his political speeches were sometimes criticized for lacking seriousness. He had a fondness for practical jokes, one of which appeared in his will, in which he

left his "Adam Smith and J. Mill's Political Economy to Thomas Carlyle with the hope that he will improve thereby" (Allen 235n24).

207.2-3. **the Lernaean coil of social Hydras:** According to Greek mythology, Hercules, son of Zeus and Alcmena, bound himself to serve Eurystheus, the king of Tiryns, who set him twelve labors, one of which was to slay the Learnean hydra, a many-headed, serpentine water monster. Carlyle had depicted Mirabeau as a Hercules who accomplished this and other Herculean labors ("Memoirs of Mirabeau," *Historical Essays* 179, 213) and, in another memorial notice, "Death of Edward Irving," he had depicted his friend as "Herculean" (above 18).

207.7-8. **the Office he last held:** President of the Poor Law Board (see note to 205.13), hence Carlyle's comments on his concerns with pauperism.

207.9. **what a fearful and immense question this of Pauperism is:** Buller had been planning to attempt reforms of the Poor Law Act of 1834 (see note to 71.25) and its administration. Carlyle had no sympathy with the Utilitarian principles underlying the act and was pessimistic about alleviating poverty through the intervention of Parliament, but he did have a pragmatic concern with how the act was administered.

Notes to "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel"

209.title. **SIR ROBERT PEEL:** Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), Tory M.P. from 1809, held various cabinet positions, including chief secretary for Ireland (1812-1818) and Prime Minister (1834-1835, 1841-1849). Although Carlyle generally favored the Whigs, since 1841 he had professed admiration for Peel, in particular his willingness to consider repeal of the Corn Laws, which Carlyle opposed because they raised the price of bread on which the poor relied for sustenance (on the Corn Laws and Carlyle's opposition to them, see above 90.12 and note). On May 21, 1841, with an election that would bring the Tories back into power in the offing, Carlyle predicted that "Peel himself will have to shove the Corn-laws aside before long" (*Letters* 13:139). While Peel did reform the laws, he did not seek repeal at that time, but in January 1846, in the face of the Irish famine, he introduced a bill repealing the laws, which was approved by the House on May 15 and received the royal assent on June 25. On June 19, Carlyle sent Peel a copy of his recently completed *Cromwell* with a note describing Peel's efforts on behalf of repeal as "valiant labour" and suggesting Cromwell as a model "governor" (*Letters* 20:211). On March

left his "Adam Smith and J. Mill's Political Economy to Thomas Carlyle with the hope that he will improve thereby" (Allen 235n24).

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27, 1848, Carlyle recorded in his journal that he had been to dinner with Peel and sat next to him:

> Peel is a finely-made man of strong, not heavy, rather of elegant, stature; stands straight, head slightly thrown back, and eyelids modestly drooping; every way mild and gentle, yet with less of that fixed smile than the portraits give him. He is towards sixty, and, though not broken at all, carries, especially in his complexion, when you are near him, marks of that age: clear, strong blue eyes which kindle on occasion, voice extremely good, low-toned, something of cooing in it, rustic, affectionate, honest, mildly persuasive. . . . reserved seemingly by nature, obtrudes nothing of diplomatic reserve. On the contrary, a vein of mild fun in him, real sensibility to the ludicrous, which feature I liked best of all. Nothing in that slight inspection seemed to promise better in him than his laugh. . . . Shall I see the Premier again? I consider him by far our first public man—which indeed is saying little—and hope that England in these frightful times may still get some good of him. (Froude, *Life in London* 1:433-34)

In a letter of March 29, 1849, reacting to Peel's speech of March 3 (see next note), Carlyle wrote: "Was not Peel's prophecy, the other week, a kind of gleam as of something like a dawn that would get above the horizon by and by? If there lay ten years more of life in that man, he might still do great things" (*Letters* 23:262). Carlyle continued to hope that Peel would once again become Prime Minister and provide the kind of leadership needed for dealing with Ireland and other social issues (see *Latter-Day Pamphlets* 92, 97), but just a little over a year after this article appeared, Peel was killed in a riding accident.

209.1. **two speeches on the state of Ireland:** Although the famine would come to an end in 1849, the cumulative effects of the famine made that year the worst of all, with the result that many of the Unions that administered the Poor Law in Ireland were bankrupt, even as the need for aid remained pressing. Russell and his Whig government initially refused to provide more aid, but as the situation worsened, they finally responded with a proposal for levying a rate-in-aid on the Irish Poor-Law Unions and authorizing an advance of £50,000 on the funds raised

by the levy. In spite of opposition in Ireland, it would pass on May 24, a month after Carlyle's article appeared. On March 5, during debate on the bill, Peel spoke in support of the measure but implored the House to look to the future and establish a commission empowered to seek the means to bring back into cultivation land that was now lying waste because of the potato blight (Hansard 103:179-93). In his speech on the same bill on March 30, he made clear that he did not consider the bill adequate to the situation and repeated his proposals for land reform with an emphasis on eliminating dependence on potatoes (104:87-117). He also proposed emigration as a partial solution, a remedy that Carlyle had long advocated (see "Chartism" 121, *Past and Present* 4.3.262-63). Carlyle reported in a letter of April 3 that he had read Peel's speech, that he was "thinking about it a good deal," and that it was "perhaps the most important event even of the last revolutionary year" (*Letters* 24:8; see also the letter of March 30 cited in the preceding note). A month after this article appeared, Carlyle wrote in his journal that he was feeling compelled by the situation to make a "tour of Ireland" (*Irish Journey* v), and he did indeed undertake one that autumn.

209.11. **red-tape:** See note to 200.16-17.

209.14. **Downing Street:** See note to 187.22.

209.15. **a new condition of affairs has arrived for Ireland and us:** See note to 209.1.

209.18-19. **rates-in-aid, and grants of ten millions, and grants of the twentieth part of one million:** As discussed in the note to 209.1, the government proposed a levy of rates-in-aid on which it would advance £50,000, which is one-twentieth of a million. "Grants of ten millions" probably refers to previous aid, in particular the advance of £1,200,000 for the erection of workhouses to which Peel referred in his March 3 speech.

210.13. **Indian meal**: See note to 215.title; Carlyle's "Indian Meal," dated April 18 (four days after the appearance of this article), would appear in May.

210.21-22. **Adam's united posterity:** See note to 122.5.

210.30. **the potato being dead:** See note to 182.5.

210.35. **"General Bankruptcy of Imposture":** Carlyle frequently criticized political figures as mere impostors or quacks (see note to 177.10). In "The Diamond Necklace," which he echoes below (see note to 212.6-7), Carlyle depicts Count Cagliostro, whom he deems a quack, envisioning the end of the "Empire of Imposture" (*Historical Essays* 148). In a letter of November 15, 1848, he had used the similar phrase "general Bankruptcy of Humbug" to describe current conditions (*Letters* 23:156) and on December 13, 1848, wrote: "Is it not something to have lived to see *Imposture* everywhere fall bankrupt; to have witnessed the universal palpable *Bankruptcy of Humbug*" (*Letters* 23:177).

210.37. **the fall of Louis Philippe, and the street-barricades of Paris:** See notes to 177.title and 179.24.

211.2. **Parliamentary-eloquence:** See note to 111.19.

211.4-5. **put into the gazette:** To be listed as a bankrupt in one of the official journals—for example, the *London Gazette*—that reported bankruptcies and other official notices.

211.10-11. **kept from revolt by Attorney-Generals and armed police:** On the trial of John Mitchel, William Smith O'Brien, and Thomas Meagher for sedition in April 1848, see note to 182.15. The trial ended in acquittal, but Mitchel was tried again in May and sentenced to transport abroad for a term of fourteen years. Carlyle, who knew Mitchel (see introduction), wrote a letter on his behalf to Lord Clarendon, viceroy of Ireland (*Letters* 23:35-37).

211.12. **mingling the due modicum of *soot* or "workhouse test" in it:** Among the difficulties that the Carlyles sought to overcome in producing a palatable dish from corn meal was that there seemed to be some kind of "soot" in it (see note to 217.12). In this case the "soot" is the metaphorical workhouse test (see note to 72.7).

211.19-20. **To maintain 50,000 armed policemen, horse, foot, and artillery, for the tranquillizing of a sister island:** Peel's speeches argued that his proposals were not only just but also prudent, for the costs would be offset in savings by eliminating the need to maintain a "military force of nearly 50,000 men" to pacify the Irish (Hansard 104:114). The sister island is, of course, Ireland.

211.25. **The finest peasantry in the world:** See notes to 77.title and to 181.22.

211.30. **the Duffy Trial:** Charles Gavan Duffy (see note to 78.29-33), who did not follow Mitchel (see note to 182.15) in advocating an uprising but was an ardent proponent of repeal, was arrested in July 1848 and was arraigned five times between that date and April 1849, the month this article appeared. Two juries failed to find him guilty, and the government ultimately abandoned the prosecution. As he had done for Mitchel, Carlyle wrote to Lord Clarendon, viceroy of Ireland, to make a plea for Duffy (*Letters* 23:146-46).

211.32. **Kilkenny cats:** In Irish legend, brawling cats that fought till nothing was left of them but their tails.

211.36. **"throne of iniquity":** Psalm 94:20: "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?"

212.6-7. **from side to side of Europe:** Milton, sonnet 22, "To Mr. Cyriack Skinner upon his Blindness" (1655?): "Of which all Europe talks from side to side" (12). Carlyle had quoted this line in "Goethe's Faust" (*Essays on German Literature* 21) and "The Diamond Necklace" (*Historical Essays* 141). This is the second echo of "The Diamond Necklace" in this article (see note to 210.35).

212.17-18. **A chief Pilot of the Nation steering his ship:** On Carlyle's use of the ship metaphor in his discussions of Ireland, see note to 184.21-23; see also 191, 194. The reference is to Lord John Russell, the current Prime Minister, whom he had criticized in "Ireland the British Chief Governor."

212.20. **Foreign-office:** The office in the British cabinet concerned with foreign diplomacy.

212.21-22. **Disraeli Scylla on this hand, now of the Cobden Charybdis on that:** In keeping with his metaphor, Carlyle depicts Disraeli and Cobden as the rock shoal and whirlpool, in mythological form, that threatened all ships passing through the strait of Messina. Accordingly, Richard Cobden (1804-1865) and Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) represent the opposing extremes in Parliament, Cobden supporting free trade, repeal of the Corn Laws, and the Liberal Party, and Disraeli supporting protectionism, the Corn Laws (leading to a rift with Peel), and the Conservatives.

212.29-30. **New æras:** See note to 197.title.

212.38-213.1. **The French papers said last year, he felt the fatigues of office disagree with him, and was about to "retire from public affairs *à tout jamais*":** Following repeal of the Corn Laws and his resignation, Peel felt the fatigues of office and did not plan to hold office again ("à tout jamais" means "forever"). We have not identified the source of this quotation.

213.11-13. **Cromwells, Longshank Edwards, Henry Plantagenets, Wilhelmus Conquestors; not to mention Arkwrights, Brindleys, Shakspeares, Samuel Johnsons:** The first group comprises British heads of state who in various ways extended British political influence through military conquest. Oliver Cromwell (see note to 95.11-12) served as Lord Protector of England during the Commonwealth; he rose to prominence as a military leader during the Civil Wars, leading the campaign in Ireland during which a considerable amount of land was confiscated and awarded to English and Scottish settlers. Longshank Edward is Edward I of England (1239-1307), who captured and annexed Wales and sought to extend royal authority over Scotland. Henry Plantagenet, Henry II of England (1133-1189), controlled in part areas of Wales, eastern Ireland, western France, Scotland, and Brittany. William the Conqueror (1028-1087) from Normandy, France, conquered England in 1066 and reigned as its king. The second group extended British cultural and economic influence through industry and literature. Carlyle depicts Arkwright (see note to 105.31-32) and Shakespeare this way in "Chartism" (see 105.31-32 and note; see also *Past and Present* 4.7.292). Elsewhere in "Chartism," Carlyle links Arkwright with the engineer Brindley (see note to 112.16-17) and Watt, inventor of the steam engine (see notes to 105.31-32 and 112.16-17). Carlyle often refers to and quotes Samuel Johnson (see note to 102.21-22); he had written a review of Boswell's biography of him ("Boswell's Life of Johnson") and made him one of the heroes as "Man of Letters" in *On Heroes*.

213.14. **tape-thrums:** See note to 200.16-17.

Notes to "Indian Meal"

215.title-3. **INDIAN MEAL . . . Indian corn:** Carlyle, like his British contemporaries, uses the qualifier "Indian" to distinguish North American maize from corn in ordinary British usage, in which it refers to grains

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Notes to "Indian Meal"

215.title-3. **INDIAN MEAL . . . Indian corn:** Carlyle, like his British contemporaries, uses the qualifier "Indian" to distinguish North American maize from corn in ordinary British usage, in which it refers to grains

such as wheat. Carlyle's brother Alexander, who emigrated to Canada in 1843, began planting maize the following year (*Letters* 18:186). Two years later, in 1846, when the potato famine had already begun, Carlyle wrote Alexander that he might benefit because "the Irish are many of them living on Indian Corn this year; and probably we shall all give up potatoes and take to that" (20:201). In the autumn of that year, whether as their own substitute for potatoes or because Carlyle took an interest in maize in response to the Irish famine, the Carlyles began "trying to learn how to cook it so as to be palateable with flesh-meat" (21:67).

215.5. **over-crowded Europe:** See note 215.20.

215.6. **the deceased potato:** See note to 193.11-12.

215.11. **a penny a-day:** On December 8, 1848, Carlyle had written that "a pound of [Indian meal] here, ample food I should think for a man for one day, can be had in the shops for little more than a penny!" (23:174). See also note to 216.25-26.

215.12-14. **Neither, as the article is not grown at home, and can be procured only by commerce, need political economists dread new 'Irish difficulties' from the cheapness of it:** "Irish difficulties" is a phrase used in the press (see, e.g., *Examiner* [November 20, 1847]: 738, *Times* [November 21, 1845]: 4) and parliamentary debates (e.g., Hansard 80:1198).

215.16-17. **can grow over huge tracts and continents lying vacant hitherto, festering hitherto as pestiferous jungles:** This passage is consistent with Carlyle's advocacy of creating "order" out of "chaos" by transforming uncultivated "swamps" or "jungles" in to arable land; see note to 145.30; see also 149.

215.20. **the disconsolate Malthusian:** Carlyle describes the follower of Thomas Malthus (see note to 127.26-27) as disconsolate because Malthus's theory contends that there is little to be done to prevent famine. Carlyle would similarly designate economics "the dismal science" in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (43-45).

215.21. **Valley of the Mississippi:** On December 6, 1848, Carlyle had written to Emerson, "I tell all people, our staff of life is in the Mississippi Valley henceforth" (23:1170).

215.22-23. **the whole Posterity of Adam:** See note to 122.5.

215.23-24. **'geometrical series':** On the Malthusian principle that human population, if unchecked, grows at a geometric rate, while the means of sustaining that population grows at a lower, arithmetical rate, see note to 127.26-27.

215.24. **'free-trade movement':** Malthus's theory takes as a given Adam Smith's principle that the law of supply and demand (see note to 102.17) dictates a laissez-faire policy of free trade (see note to 73.25 and "Chartism" above chap. 6, as well as *Past and Present* 1.6.36. 3.4.156).

216.10-11. **extensively employed in the British Islands within these three years:** As reported in the *Examiner* (April 11, 1846: 234), Indian meal was introduced as a staple substitute for potatoes during the famine in 1846, the year in which the Carlyles began experimenting with it (see note to 215.title).

216.13-15. **Government did indeed, on the first failure of the potato, send abroad printed papers about the cooking of this article:** Charles Edward Trevelyan, assistant secretary of the Treasury, who was in charge of providing for famine relief, ordered the preparation of a pamphlet of recipes for cooking Indian meal (see Woodham-Smith 73).

216.16-18. **'Peace Missionary,'. . .with 'quarts of cream,' 'six eggs well whipt':** Elihu Burritt (1810-1879), leader of the American Peace Society, who lectured on peace. In his letter to Emerson on December 6, 1848, Carlyle had written: "Elihu Burrit had a string of recipes that went thro' all newspapers three years ago; but never sang there oracle of longer ears than that,—totally destitute of practical significance to any creature here!" (*Letters* 23:170). The *Freeman's Journal* published an article on August 18, 1846, reporting that Burritt had been "actively exerting himself to procure information as to the several modes of preparing Indian meal" and printing his letter and recipes. As he indicates, Carlyle is recalling what he read three years earlier, so the quotations are not exact: none of the recipes calls for quarts of cream, but one does call for a pint of cream; two call for four eggs "well beaten," none for six (4).

216.25-26. **The actual value of Indian meal by retail with a free demand, is about one penny per pound:** When the Carlyles began experimenting with Indian meal in October 1846, Carlyle wrote that "at present it is

selling at *two pence a-pound*, being a rarity as yet!" and it was "out of all proportion *dear* at its present London price; but we understand it will fall to about *one* penny a-pound by and by" (*Letters* 21:67, 74).

216.27-29. **The London shops, two years ago, on extensive inquiry, were not found to yield any of it under threepence a pound:** Perhaps Carlyle misremembers; as indicated in the previous note, the Carlyles were paying two pence a pound when they first purchased Indian meal in 1846.

216.31-33. **a *bitter* fusty taste in it; which, after multiplied experiments, was not eradicable by any cookery, though long continued boiling in clear water did abate it considerably:** Although the Carlyles began experimenting with eating Indian meal in 1846, it was not until April 1849, shortly before the appearance of this article, that they succeeded in producing a palatable dish from it. Carlyle reported in December 1848 that "the bitter *diminishes*" if they "boil it for many hours" (*Letters* 23:173). See also next note.

216.33-34. **Our approved method of cookery came at last to be:** In October 1846, Carlyle had reported that "Jane cooks it thus: makes it first into porridge like oatmeal, *then* boils it in *a bag for four or five hours:* this makes a really eatable article; and the *more* boiling it gets, it seems the better" (*Letters* 21:73-74). As indicated in the preceding note, they were still using the same method two years later.

217.3-4. **'it could,' like Charles of Sweden's bread, 'be eaten,' but was never good:** Charles XII of Sweden (1682-1718) had the reputation of imposing Spartan conditions on himself and his troops. According to Voltaire in his *Histoire de Charles II* (1731), when a soldier showed him a piece of bread that was black and moldy, Charles "reçut le morceau de pain sans s'émouvoir, le mangea tout entier, & dit ensuite froidement au soldat: Il n'est pas bon, mais il peut se manger" (received the bread without emotion, ate all of it, and then said coldly to the soldier, it is not good, but one can eat it) (*Oeuvres* 26.4.204). Carlyle had echoed Charles's speech in a letter seeking recipes for his Indian meal experiments: "'Not good, but may be eaten'; that is all" (*Letters* 21:196).

217.6. **in Magazine-Novels, as we could see, 'lyrically recognised' them:** Not identified.

217.12. **the name of 'soot-and-sawdust meal':** Among Carlyle's complaints

during his and Jane's experiments with cooking corn meal was that it has "a villainous bitter took [nasty taste] at the end of it, as if a grain of *soot* were secretly mixed in it," that it has "an ineffaceable tastekin of *soot* in it," and "the whole thing has somewhat of the character of *sawdust* to the very last!" (*Letters* 23:173-74).

217.12-15. **American friends at last informed us that the meal was *fusty*, spoiled . . . that we ought to procure Indian corn, and have it ground ourselves:** In the letter of December 8, 1848, cited in the preceding note, Carlyle had written that "Americans have told us it is too long kept; but that is not quite the reason, for we had a bushel done here from *corn*, and it had the same bitterness, besides a great quantity of *sand* (our Millstones here being too soft, I suppose)" (*Letters* 23:173; see also 169).

217.33-34. **The starving Irish paupers, we accordingly find, do but eat and curse:** The initial attempts to introduce Indian meal as a substitute for potatoes was met with suspicion and resistance, in part because, as the Carlyles found, it was unpalatable.

218.2-4. **three days ago I received, direct from the barn of an American friend, as it was stowed there last autumn, a small barrel of Indian corn in the natural state:** The American friend was Ralph Waldo Emerson, to whom Carlyle had written on December 6, 1848, to inquire about why their corn meal always had a bitter aftertaste and how they should cook it, though the Carlyles had already been told that it "had got fusty, *raw*" (*Letters* 23:169). Emerson replied on January 23, 1849, that in an attempt to preserve the maize, the exporters had kiln dried it, a process that destroyed its sugars, leaving the bitter taste (*Emerson and Carlyle* 450). Emerson arranged to send undried corn to the Carlyles, and on April 19, Carlyle wrote Emerson: "I am happy to assure you that it forms a new epoch for us all in the Maize department: we find the grain *sweet*, among the sweetest, with a touch even of the taste of *nuts* in it, and profess with contrition that properly we have never tasted Indian Corn before" (*Letters* 24:28).

218.10-11. **This grain, I now for the first time find, is *sweet*, among the sweetest:** See preceding note.

218.16. **Westphalian ham**: A type of ham prized as a delicacy, produced from pigs fed on acorns and raised in the forests of Westphalia, Germany.

218.18. **M. Soyer**: See next note.

218.28-29. **when M. Soyer has to set about concocting miraculously cheap soup:** Alexis Soyer (1810-1858), who was born near Paris and trained as a chef there, in 1831 moved to England, where he worked for noble households and gained fame as the chef at the Reform Club, at which he catered meals for large events. In 1847, at the request of the government, he installed soup kitchens in Ireland, which served cheap soup to thousands of people each day.

218.29-30. **the Government to make enormous grants and rates-in-aid:** See note to 209.18-19.

218.32-33. **Poor-law Boards, Mendicity Societies, Friends of Distressed Needlewomen, and Friends of the Human Species:** On the Poor Laws and the boards that administered them, see note to 71.25. Mendicity societies, privately funded institutions that provided funds to beggars, often with the proviso that they leave the locale of the institution, had been established in Dublin and London in 1818. The struggles of impoverished seamstresses in London gained increasing national attention in the 1840s, following the appearance in 1843 of the Second Report of the Children's Employment Commission, which exposed and to an extent sensationalized the exploitation of "needlewomen" in London; the appearance later that year of "The Song of the Shirt," by Thomas Hood, further publicized the plight of poor seamstresses and inspired the founding in 1844 of the Society for the Protection and Employment of Distressed Needlewomen. They continued to be in the news at the time Carlyle was writing. On September 23, 1848, the *Examiner* published a leading article citing the Society (610). (For Carlyle's later references to distressed needlewomen, see note to 227.20-21). We have not identified an organization called Friends of the Human Species, but it was something of a commonplace phrase and may be Carlyle's ironic invention.

218.38. **'food prospects':** The prospects for supplies of food to alleviate the famine. See, for example, the *Examiner* (October 7, 1848): 646, the *Times* (April 20, 1846): 3.

Notes to "Trees of Liberty"

221.title. **TREES OF LIBERTY:** See note to 222.24. Gavan Duffy, editor of the *Nation*, implied that Carlyle wrote this article as a sort of response

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to his own article, "Wanted, a Few Workmen," which had appeared in the *Nation* on September 29, 1849 (135-36; for Duffy's article, see 136-45). He reprints his article in his *Conversations with Carlyle*.

221.1-4. **[A friend with a surly, satirical face flings . . . we shame the devil and print your libel. *Fas et ab hoste doceri*. . . . make manure for them.]:** The editor of the *Nation*, where this essay appeared, was Gavan Duffy (see note to 78.29-33), who later wrote that he "printed the contribution with the sort of preliminary note [Carlyle] suggested" (146). If, as he seems to imply, Duffy wrote this headnote, he was imitating Carlyle, who invented similar frames for some of his other writings (see note to 223.4-5). "Shame the devil" is a traditional saying; for a version of it ("tell truth and shame the devil"), see *Henry IV Part 1* 3.1.59. "*Fas et ab hoste doceri*" (it is right to be taught even by an enemy) is a quotation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4.428).

221.6. **Mr. Bramble's unpublished *Arboretum Hibernicum*:** A fictitious volume, *Arboretum Hibernicum* would be a study of Irish trees. Bramble is also fictitious, and there is a possible allusion to Judges 9:14: "Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou, and reign over us."

221.8. **Many Irishmen talk of dying, &c., for Ireland:** The possibility was real for those who participated in the attempted uprising in 1848 and for others who advocated using armed force to achieve the repeal of the Union (see note to 181.title).

221.10-14. **usefully and conspicuously "dying" for countries . . . live for it:** These lines contain a distant echo—and rebuttal—of Horace's famed statement, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" (It is sweet and fitting to die for one's country) (*Odes* 3.2.13).

221.21-22. **Eight million trees before the present generation run out:** The population of Ireland at this time was estimated to be about eight million (see notes to 182.27 and 185.11).

221.22-23. **one of the barest, raggedest countries now known:** As discussed in the introduction, Carlyle had recently made a tour of Ireland and so was speaking from firsthand observation. Several passages of the journal he kept during the tour describe the countryside as "ragged" (*Irish Journey* 71, 107, 135) and "bare" (for example, 124, 127, 194, 227, 253, etc.).

222.1. **clouted:** See note to 163.29-30.

222.2-5. **Once, as the old chroniclers write, "a squirrel . . . touching the ground":** Carlyle may have another source in mind, but the only one we have identified is T. Crofton Croker, *Legends of the Lakes: or, Saying and Doings at Killarney Collected Chiefly from the Manuscripts of R. Adolphus Lynch* (1829): "Ireland at that time was not so bare as it is now, but was covered with great forests; inasmuch that it is said a squirrel might have travelled from Dingle de Couch to the City of Cork without once touching the ground" (1:75).

222.20-22. **a people of holed breeches, dirty faces, ill-roofed huts—a people of impetuosity and of levity—of vehemence, impatience, imperfect, fitful industry, imperfect, fitful *veracity*:** Carlyle repeats prejudices that were commonplace in England (see Curtis, esp. chap. 4) and which he had affirmed elsewhere. See "Chartism" above 78.29-33 and note, "Repeal," above 183, 189, "Irish Regiments," above 197.

222.24. **"Trees of liberty," though an Abbe wrote a book on them:** Although Americans planted trees of liberty during the American revolutionary period, Carlyle has in mind primarily the trees of liberty planted during the French Revolution, hence his reference to Henri Jean-Baptiste Grégoire, called Abbé (1750-1831), author of *Histoire patriotique des arbres de la liberté* (Patriotic History of Trees of Liberty; 1833). See *French Revolution* 2:1.12.66, 5:12.259.

Notes to "The Opera"

223.1. **Dear P.:** "P" is Bryan Waller Proctor, who had asked Carlyle to contribute to the *Keepsake* (see the introduction and note to 223.22-25). When, in 1857, Carlyle's essay was reprinted in *The Dumfries Album,* "Dear P." was changed to "Dear A."; presumably the editor of the *Album*, A. Mercer Adam, made the change in order to suggest that Carlyle had written to him, rather than Proctor (see note on the text).

223.4-5. **Professor Ezechiel Peasemeal:** As his name indicates—peasemeal is a type of flour made from roasted yellow field peas—the professor is another of Carlyle's invented personae, such as Gottfried Sauerteig (see note to 104.13-19) and Diogenes Teufelsdröckh. "Trees of Liberty," the preceding essay in this collection, employed a similar framing device (see note to 221.1-4). Carlyle had also used one in his "The Negro/Nigger

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Question," which is purportedly from a manuscript in the handwriting of Dr. Phelim M'Quirk (though not necessarily authored by him). Carlyle had proposed such a framing device when seeking a home for "The Diamond Necklace" in 1834, suggesting to John Stuart Mill that he publish the essay in the *London Review* as a history translated from the French author Potdevin, though Mill declined (see *Historical Essays* xlvii-xlviii). Carlyle's most famous and elaborate framing device is found in *Sartor Resartus*, where the fictional "Editor" must contend with presenting both the difficult, eccentric text of Teufelsdröckh's treatise on clothes and the biographical material on Teufelsdröckh provided by Hofrath Heuschrecke, delivered as manuscript fragments in six paper bags.

223.7-9. **Phi Beta Kappa Society of Buncombe, . . . their 'Transactions':** Phi Beta Kappa is the well-known American academic honor society, founded in 1776 at the College of William and Mary. Emerson's famous 1837 "Oration" before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, known later as "The American Scholar," received much praise from Carlyle (see *Letters* 9:361-62). The society did not produce publications under the title "Transactions," but like other Phi Beta Kappa orations Emerson's was published as a pamphlet, and Emerson sent Carlyle a copy. While it is possible that Carlyle alludes here to Emerson's circle, Professor Peasemeal is clearly not Emerson, who did not hold an academic post and was highly respected by Carlyle. Bunkum means "nonsense," and its origin is also distinctly American, deriving from an 1820s anecdote about a congressman from Buncombe County, North Carolina, who, when criticized for delivering a long and tedious speech, defended himself by claiming he was not speaking to Congress but "speaking for Buncombe." In the original publication in the *Keepsake,* Carlyle had spelled the name Bunkum, a common alternate spelling. In an 1856 letter to J. W. Parker, Carlyle would ask for assistance with the correct spelling: "What I wished you to ask Mr. Bristed on my behoof is a ridiculous-looking question, but one I really wish to have answered, for *uses* it has to me. 'Speaking to Bunkum.' What is the indubitably right spelling, Buncombe? or as above Bun*kum*? and where is the Buncombe or Bunkum?—I really wish to know (correct, as if on oath!); but am in no hurry about it for months to come. Only, please, bear it in mind; and tell me so soon as you learn" (*Letters* 32:25-26). We do not know Parker's reply, or whether he gave one, but in the 1857 Uniform Edition, Carlyle changed the spelling both here and in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (239). He used it also in his later *Shooting Niagara* (below 297). See historical collation.

223.18. ***vates*:** A "poet or bard, especially one who is divinely inspired; a prophet-poet" (OED). Carlyle frequently invoked this conception of the poet as seer, beginning with "Life and Writings of Werner" (*Essays on German Literature* 114; see also *Letters* 5:220). See also "Burns" (*Essays on Literature* 39), "Sir Walter Scott" (*Essays on Literature* 300), "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again" (*Essays on German Literature* 342), "Death of Goethe" (*Essays on German Literature* 563), *On Heroes* 69.

223.22-25. **Keepsake for 1852.—The 'dear P.' there, I recollect, was my old friend Procter (Barry Cornwall); . . . lately arisen:** Bryan Waller Procter, a poet who published under the name "Barry Cornwall," was well known among a large circle of literary friends, including the Carlyles. He had written the introductory notice to Carlyle's "Death of Edward Irving" (above). Carlyle's reference to "touching human circumstances" alludes to Marguerite Gardiner, Lady Blessington, who was the editor of the *Keepsake* annual and whose possessions were sold at auction in London in 1849 to satisfy her creditors. She had moved to Paris that same year, where she died in June. On the circumstances of publication, see the introduction and the note on the text.

224.3. **Psalm of Asaph:** Psalms 50 and 73-83 are attributed to the Biblical figure Asaph, a musician in the court of David; the music of Asaph and his sons is strongly associated with prophecy. See 1 Chronicles 25:1-6.

224.4. **London Opera in the Haymarket:** Originally the Queen's Theatre in the time of Queen Anne, then the King's Theatre from 1714 to 1837, this opera house officially became "Her Majesty's Theatre, Italian Opera House" when Victoria ascended the throne in 1837, and then simply "Her Majesty's Theatre" from 1847 until the death of Victoria. It was also known as the Haymarket Opera or Haymarket Theatre because of its location on Haymarket Street in Westminster. Carlyle had made a similar contrast between the Psalms and opera in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* 328.

224.7. **Bedlamite:** A resident of an insane asylum (see note to 57.11).

224.12-14. **Tyrtæus, who had a little music . . . the need of beating back one's country's enemies:** Ancient sources identify Tyrtaeus (seventh century B.C.)—a Spartan poet known for inspiring military themes—as both a poet and a musician, and nineteenth-century reference books typically follow suit. The entry in the *Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* states that Tyrtaeus was both a "general

and musician" notable among other things for inspiring victory via "the animating sound of a new military flute, or clarion, invented and played upon by" him (Sainsbury 2:494). In "Goethe," Carlyle had written: "Nay does not Poetry, acting on the imaginations of men, excite them to daring purposes; sometimes, as in the case of Tyrtaeus, to fight better; in which wise may it not rank as a useful stimulant to man, along with Opium and Scotch Whiskey, the manufacture of which is allowed by law? In Heaven's name, then, let Poetry be preserved" (*Essays on German Literature* 198).

224.13. **Barbers of Seville:** Rossini (see note to 225.33), *The Barber of Seville, or The Futile Precaution* (1816).

224.18. **Æschylus, Sophocles:** The ancient Greek playwrights Aeschylus and Sophocles serve as examples of Carlyle's *vates* (see note to 223.18). Carlyle read Sophocles early in his life in conjunction with his study of Greek (see *Letters* 2:36) and later returned to Sophocles in 1850, writing to Jane that he had lately "read a good mass of Sophocles" (*Letters* 25:262).

224.20. **'sing the praise of God':** The source is probably the conclusion of Psalm 7 as rendered in the *Book of Common Prayer*: "I will sing the praise of God most high, And celebrate his name."

224.24. **David, king of Judah:** Biblical king of the United Kingdom of Israel (Judah), to whom many of the Psalms are attributed; see 2 Samuel 23.1, where David is described as the "sweet psalmist of Israel."

224.34. **Of the Haymarket Opera my account, in fine, is this:** Carlyle left no record of when he made this visit to the Haymarket Opera. David Wilson speculates it may have been on August 24, 1848, for a performance featuring Jenny Lind (4:56; see *Letters* 23:98-99). Although this essay does not mention Jenny Lind, Carlyle had associated her with Haymarket in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (328); however, it would seem likely that he would have mentioned her, unless out of sense of delicacy he does not show elsewhere in the essay.

224.35-36. **a hall as of the Caliph Alraschid, or him that commanded the slaves of the Lamp:** The historical Harun al-Rashid, Caliph of Baghdad, whose life and court were fictionalized in the *Arabian Nights*, lived in a sumptuous palace. The one who "commanded the slaves of the Lamp" is not the Caliph but Aladdin, from the story "Aladdin's Wonderful Lamp," a tale of antiquity added to the *Arabian Nights* in the nineteenth century.

In that tale, the genie of the lamp magically creates a luxurious palace for Aladdin. Carlyle refers to Aladdin's palace in other works, including *The French Revolution* (3:5.1.206) and the *Life of John Sterling* (180). In the 1802 edition (see note to 118.7), the fifth volume opens with "The History of Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp," followed by "The Adventures of the Caliph Haroun Al-raschid."

225.2. **Coletti:** Filippo Coletti (1811-1894), Italian baritone, who enjoyed a successful career in opera, especially in the 1840s and 1850s. Carlyle's mention of Coletti's name in conjunction with Her Majesty's Theatre would likely cause London operagoers to recall the so-called Tamburini Riot of 1840 at that venue, which occurred when Coletti was hired to replace Antonio Tamburini in a role that the latter had first created; the result of the riot was that the role was restored to Tamburini, and Coletti did not appear again in London until 1847, premiering in Verdi's *I due Foscari* at Her Majesty's Theatre, in a performance the April 12, 1847, *Times* lauded as a "triumph" (8). Although it is difficult to determine precisely which performance Carlyle refers to here, it seems likely that he saw Coletti during his triumphant return in 1847.

225.7. **like a blind Samson, to make the Philistines sport:** In the Old Testament, Samson, who is endowed with prodigious strength, eventually reveals to Delilah that the source of his strength lies in his hair. Delilah has a servant cut Samson's hair, and the weakened Samson is soon captured and blinded by the Philistines. Celebrating their triumph over Samson, the Philistines say, "Call for Samson, that he may make us sport" (Judges 16.25).

225.13. **muslin saucers:** The tutus worn by the ballerinas.

225.15-16. **each upon her left or right great-toe:** Dancing "en pointe" (i.e., on the tip of the toe), a technique popularized by the artistry of the great ballerina Marie Taglioni (see next note) in the 1830s.

225.23-24. **Cerito, or Taglioni the Second:** Carlyle names two well-known ballet dancers: Fanny Cerrito (1817-1909), one of the most famous of the Romantic dancers and a regular performer at Her Majesty's Theatre in the 1840s, and Marie Taglioni the Second, named for her aunt, Marie Taglioni, who was the most celebrated of the Romantic dancers in the 1830s and 1840s. From his description of the "bounding" and "bolting" movements of the dancer, Carlyle is no doubt thinking of a performance

that featured Marie Taglioni the Second, who made her London debut at Her Majesty's Theatre in February 1847—at the age of fourteen—to rave reviews, and who was featured in April of that year in a ballet choreographed by her father, Paul Taglioni. This ballet was performed at Her Majesty's Theatre in late April 1847; also on the bill was Filippo Coletti, singing Verdi in his "triumphant" return to the London opera (see note to 225.2).

225.26-27. **perhaps neither Semiramis nor Catherine the Second had bred herself so carefully:** Semiramis, the legendary queen of ninth century B.C. Assyria, and Catherine II, known as Catherine the Great (1729-1796), Empress of Russia, were both famed for accomplishments considered exceptional in part because they were women.

225.30. **the purse of Fortunatus:** An allusion to the German tale *Fortunatus*, in which the eponymous protagonist is given a self-replenishing purse by the goddess Fortune and a magical hat or wishing cap from a sultan. In *Sartor Resartus*, Teufelsdröckh argues that the hat's ability to enable one to travel freely through space and time is mirrored by the transcendent capabilities of the mind (see 3.8.191-93).

225.33. **Rossini:** Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868), Italian opera composer (see also note to 224.13).

225.33. **Bellini:** Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835), Italian opera composer.

225.34. **Stanfields:** Clarkson Frederick Stanfield (1793-1867), English painter known for his scenery work at the Drury Lane Theatre in the 1820s and 1830s, as well as for his huge panorama projects featuring displays of large, moving paintings unfurled to the accompaniment of sound and lighting effects.

225.34-35. **fit to have taken Gibraltar:** A small territory on the southern tip of Spain with strategic value and thus historically the object of much political and military struggle, Gibraltar had been acquired by Britain via the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and was the object of repeated Spanish attempts to regain the territory, including the unsuccessful Great Siege of Gibraltar (1779-1783).

225.35-36. **reduced Ireland into Industrial Regiments:** See "Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)" (reprinted above) and note to 199.32.

226.6-7. **Aristocracy so-called, or *Best* of the World:** The word *aristocracy* has its roots in the Greek "aristos" (best) and "kratos" (rule), an etymology often cited by Carlyle. In *Past and Present*, for example, he claims that aristocracies "are themselves truly Αριστοι, Bravest, Best" (3.13.211); see also "Chartism": "What is an Aristocracy? A corporation of the Best, of the Bravest" (above 95).

226.13. **sackcloth and ashes:** See Esther 4:3: "And in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing; and many lay in sackcloth and ashes."

226.15. **Euterpe and Melpomene:** Two of the nine Muses of Greek mythology, Euterpe, the muse of song and lyric poetry, and Melpomene, the muse of tragedy.

226.17. **Paphian:** A term referring to erotic desire, derived from the Cypriot city of Paphos, dedicated to Aphrodite.

226.21. **Armida:** In Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Jerusalem Delivered, 1581), the beautiful sorceress Armida creates an enchanted garden where she holds Rinaldo prisoner. Carlyle may allude to Rossini's opera *Armida* (1817), but the context indicates that he primarily has in mind her powers of enchantment and illusion, to which he had referred in *Sartor Resartus* (2.8.129), *French Revolution* (1:1.1.3-4), and "The Diamond Necklace" (*Historical Essays* 122); see also his translation of *Wilhelm Meister* (1:54) and the next note.

226.21. **Improper-Females:** Euphemism for prostitutes; the term was widely used in the early and mid-Victorian press in articles recounting police activity to suppress vice. Carlyle is here referring to courtesans who travel in aristocratic circles, or to women who are behaving like courtesans. See also preceding note.

226.24. **Marquis Chatabagues, Prince Mahogany:** Characters of Carlyle's invention representing the fashionable and self-absorbed elite, with an emphasis on artistic culture that he associates with the French. In the *Keepsake,* Carlyle had given the first figure the name Singedelomme, from the French for "monkey-man," with the possible suggestion of a monkey imitating a man, as the verb "singer," like "ape" in English, means to imitate or copy. When he changed the name to "Chatabagues" for the

1857 *Miscellanies* he perhaps sought to tone down the obvious satirical implications of "Singedelomme." "Chatabagues" appears to be an invented cognate of "chatterbag," though it should be noted that "bagues" in French are rings, and the first part of the name evokes "chat/chatte" (cat/female sex), so Carlyle may be using the term "Chatabagues" in both its denotative ("gossipy") and connotative ("female") senses to satirize the Marquis. Given the associations with the French in Singedelomme/Chatabagues, "Prince Mahogany" may refer to "Prince Acajou" (acajou is French for mahogany), a character in Charles Duclos's romance *Acajou et Zirphile* (1744), in which Prince Acajou, bewitched by a jealous fairy, abandons his beloved Zirphile and becomes a libertine. See also Lord Mahogany, a fashionable aristocrat (and parody of Lord B in Richardson's *Pamela*) in William Beckford's *Modern novel writing, or, The elegant enthusiast; and Interesting emotions of Arabella Bloomville* (1796).

226.26. **macassar-oil:** Oil used by men of wealth to style their hair.

226.29-30. **Cleopatra threw pearls into her drink:** Pliny, in his *Natural History*, reports that having made a wager with Marc Antony over who could host the most lavish banquet, Cleopatra won the bet by dissolving a priceless pearl in a cup of vinegar and consuming it as the second course of her meal.

226.36. **'the Melodies Eternal':** Goethe, *Faust*, as translated by Carlyle: "And with such a bearing moves he, in himself this boy announces / Future Master of all Beauty, whom the Melodies Eternal / Do inform through every fibre; and forthwith so shall ye hear him, / And forthwith so shall you see him, to your uttermost amazement" ("Goethe's Helena," *Essays on German Literature* 177). In "Burns," Carlyle had written: "But a true Poet, a man in whose heart resides some effluence of Wisdom, some tone of 'Eternal Melodies,' is the most precious gift that can be bestowed on a generation: we see in him a freer, purer, development of whatever is noblest in ourselves" (*Literary Essays* 33-34).

227.7. **Mozart:** Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (see note to 7.27-29), like Rossini and Bellini (above 225), a composer of operas.

227.10-11. **'up into the divine eye,' as Richter has it, 'but down into the bottomless eyesocket':** From the Erstes Blumenstück (First Flower-piece) of Richter's *Siebenkäs*, as translated by Carlyle: "And when I looked up to the immeasurable world for the Divine Eye, it glared on me with

an empty, black, bottomless Eye-socket, and Eternity lay upon Chaos, eating it and ruminating it" ("Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again," *Essays* 2:165). The original is: "Und als ich aufblickte zur unermeßlichen Welt nach dem göttlichen Auge, starrte sie mich mit einer leeren bodenlosen Augenhöhle an; und die Ewigkeit lag auf dem Chaos und zernagte es und wiederkäuete sich" (Richter, *Sämmtliche Werke* 12:158).

227.20-21. **Hells of sweating tailors, distressed needlewomen:** Sweating here refers to the practice in the clothing production industry of extracting hard labor at long hours for low wages. Since alluding to distressed needlewomen in "Indian Meal" (see note to 218.32-33), Carlyle had read Henry Mayhew's "Labour and the Poor" series in the *Morning Chronicle* (1849-1850), which detailed, through first-person accounts of their daily lives, the long hours, low pay, and general hardship of women who sewed to earn money (see *Letters* 24:299), and he had referred to "distressed needlewomen" repeatedly in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. "These scenes," writes Carlyle, "which the *Morning Chronicle* is bringing home to the minds of men,—thanks to it for a service such as Newspapers have seldom done,—ought to excite unspeakable reflections in every mind. Thirty-thousand outcast Needlewomen working themselves swiftly to death; three-million Paupers rotting in forced idleness, helping said Needlewomen to die: these are but items in the sad ledger of despair" (*Latter-Day Pamphlets* 27). Such suffering was itself an indication, Carlyle argued, of a still deeper, spiritual despair: "By way of finish to this offensive and alarming set of Pamphlets, I have still one crowning offense and alarm to try if I can give. The message, namely, that under all those Cannibal Connaughts, Distressed Needlewomen, and other woes nigh grown intolerable, there lies a still deeper Infinite of woe and guilt, chargeable on every one of us; and that till this abate, essentially those never will or can" (295). Elsewhere in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, Carlyle makes one reference to "sweating tailors" (180). On Carlyle's view that these women were to blame for their own state, see note to 268.27-28.

227.29-30. **Laughter also, if it come from the heart, is a heavenly thing:** Throughout his works, Carlyle often associates laughter and humor with truth, wisdom, moral goodness, and spirituality. Here, for example, is the "Editor" of *Sartor Resartus*:

> No man who has once heartily and wholly laughed can be altogether irreclaimably bad. How much lies in Laughter: the cipher-key, wherewith we decipher the whole man!

> Some men wear an everlasting barren simper; in the smile of others lies a cold glitter as of ice: the fewest are able to laugh, what can be called laughing, but only sniff and titter and snigger from the throat outwards; or at best, produce some whiffling husky cachinnation, as if they were laughing through wool: of none such comes good. The man who cannot laugh is not only fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils; but his whole life is already a treason and a stratagem. (1.4.26)

Notes to "Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits"

229.1. **David Laing:** A long-time member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, David Laing (1793-1878) was an antiquarian, librarian, and bibliographer. A correspondence between Laing and Carlyle began in 1841, when Carlyle wrote seeking help researching the story of Jenny Geddes, who is said to have initiated the 1637 riot at St. Giles—in protest of the new Anglican-imposed prayerbook—by throwing her stool at the Dean of Edinburgh as he began reading from the text. Carlyle continued to consult with Laing regarding his research on Cromwell and seventeenth-century England. In his 1842 essay "Baillie the Covenanter," Carlyle praised Laing's edition of *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* (see *Historical Essays* 244-45). Upon the publication of the second volume of Laing's edition of the *Works of John Knox* (1846-1864), Carlyle accorded Laing high praise: "You have done me, and all true souls that can read this Book, a real pleasure and benefit; truly it is a long while since I have had such a bit of wholesome genuine and fruitful reading! One of the truest Books evidently; and to a high degree significant of the Writer too. I never saw Knox half so clearly before" (*Letters* 23:94-95). It would be an important resource for "The Portraits of John Knox" (reprinted below). For details on the correspondence between Laing and Carlyle regarding the present essay, see the introduction and note on the text.

229.12-15. **in all my poor Historical investigations it has been, . . . a good *Portrait* if such exists:** When writing history and biography, Carlyle consistently sought accurate portraits of the principal historical actors. While working on *The French Revolution*, for example, he consulted John Stuart Mill regarding the authenticity of portraits in the *Collection Complète des Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française* (*Letters* 6:331-32). In 1840, when researching Oliver Cromwell and his era, he wrote to

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his friend John Forster, asking, "Have you the Illustrated *Cromwelliana*? I have found some few Portraits in the Museum and heard of more" (*Letters* 12:362). On Carlyle's efforts to locate a portrait of Frederick the Great while in Germany, see below 231.22-23. Carlyle's belief that he could learn something about the character of historical actors by seeing their portraits led him into controversy over the portraits of John Knox, as recorded in "The Portraits of John Knox" (reprinted below). By the end of his life, Carlyle's home in Chelsea was filled with many paintings, engravings, and prints of figures such as Goethe, Voltaire, Cromwell, Schiller, Sterling, and especially Frederick the Great. Jane Carlyle affixed to a folding screen, which Carlyle kept in his study, nearly one hundred portrait prints of various historical figures primarily related to Carlyle's Frederick the Great project. For a list of portraits in the Carlyle home and a photograph of the print screen, see Carlyle's House Memorial Trust.

230.9. **Next in directness are a man's genuine Letters:** Carlyle had expressed this view quite clearly in the *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, where he criticized the inaccuracies and prejudices of Cromwell biographers, favoring instead the words of Cromwell himself as the most direct route to gaining a sense of the man: "Of Cromwell's actual biography, from these and from all Books and sources, there is extremely little to be known. It is from his own words, as I have ventured to believe, from his own Letters and Speeches well read, that the world may first obtain some dim glimpse of the actual Cromwell, and see him darkly face to face" (1:19).

230.32-33. **If one would buy an indisputably authentic *old shoe* of William Wallace:** William Wallace (1272?-1305), Scottish patriot and national hero who defeated the English and drove them from Scotland in 1297 but was eventually tried for treason and executed. In 1852, Carlyle read *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace, His Life and Times*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (1841), a book he pronounced to be "very dark; light about the veritable living William Wallace not to be expected from it" (see *Letters* 27:14).

231.3-4. **What Louis-Philippe may have collected, in the way of French Historical Portrait, at Versailles:** The massive restoration of Versailles ordered by Louis Philippe (see note to 177.title) in the 1830s included the conversion of ground floor apartments into galleries of historical scenes and portraits. In his manuscript account of his journey to Paris in late September 1851 with Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Carlyle mentions "Louis Philippe's Palace made into an exhibition place

for *Arts et Métiers,*" but he does not seem to have set foot inside (*Wotton Reinfred* 177).

231.6-7. **Chancellor Clarendon made a brave attempt in that kind for England; but his House and 'Gallery' fell all asunder, in a sad way:** Edward Hyde (1609-1674), 1st Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, author of the *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the Year 1641* (1702-1704). In a manuscript he sent to Lord Ashburton on September 8, 1853, concerning the National Portrait Gallery proposal, Carlyle discusses Clarendon's attempt to build a national collection of portraits:

> Edward Hyde the great Chancellor, first Earl of Clarendon, is the only Englishman I have ever heard of as attempting seriously to form a Gallery of English Portraits. He, in the sumptuous mansion he had built for himself in the then green and bushy Piccadilly regions, had formed such a Gallery, and was diligently making progress in the Collection, when his fall and exile overtook him; and the great man, stripped of home and possessions, was sent into foreign parts, happily with pen and ink still left, there to write his *History;*—or in fact to do his 'Collection of English Portraits' to some extent, in another and still more lasting form: the Oil-Portraits were scattered again; the House was pulled down . . . The Gallery of English Portraits went to the winds; and no such enterprise of a real National Pantheon for England has since been undertaken by any Patriot. Yet a more patriotic enterprise could not well be proposed just now. (Wilson 5:42)

231.13. **English National Gallery:** The National Gallery in London, which opened in 1824. In a letter of February 3, 1853, written about a year before he published this essay, he had urged: "If our National Gallery were completely up to the *ideal* of its duty, it wd take care to have [portraits of Frederick the Great] perfectly copied, and hung up to general view" (*Letters* 28:26).

231.14-16. **In the Dresden Gallery, for instance, you find Flayings of Bartholomew, Flayings of Marsyas, Rapes of the Sabines:** Carlyle saw the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (Old Masters Picture Gallery) in Dresden,

which he visited for a few days in late September 1852 while conducting research for *Frederick the Great*. By "Flayings of Bartholomew," he most likely refers to one of two paintings of *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* in the Dresden museum, one by Sigmund Holbein (1504?) and another by José de Ribera (mid-seventeenth century). "Rapes of the Sabines" is most likely Luca Giordano's *The Rape of the Sabines* (late seventeenth century). There appears to have been no painting corresponding to the "Flayings of Marsyas" in the Dresden Gallery at the time of Carlyle's visit; this seems rather to be a rhetorical flourish of Carlyle's, pairing the scenes of flaying from Greek and Christian traditions. A clue to Carlyle's comment may be found in a letter written during his Dresden visit in which he complains that he had hoped to find portraits of Frederick, but found only "holy families, Rape of the Sabines, flaying of Bartholomew &c &c" (*Letters* 27:325; see also 27:316). The introduction of Marsyas only comes two years later in the draft of this essay (*Letters* 29:78).

231.16-17. **if you ask for a Portrait of Martin Luther, of Friedrich the Wise, nay even of August the Big, of Marshal Saxe or poor Count Brühl:** Carlyle had, of course, a long-standing interest in Luther (see note to 17.6), whom he had featured in *On Heroes*, while Friedrich III (1463-1525), elector of Saxony (Friedrich the Wise), was of interest because he had come to Luther's aid at the Diet of Worms. While in Germany in 1852 to research Frederick the Great, Carlyle visited Marburg, Eisenach, Erfurt, and other locations associated with Luther. A year after he wrote this essay, in "The Prinzenraub," he would mention two well-known portraits of Friedrich, one by Albrecht Dürer, the other by Lucas Cranach (*Historical Essays* 319; see 320); Carlyle owned a copy of the portrait by Dürer (Carlyle's House Memorial Trust 105). The other three figures would feature in Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, on which he was working at this time. Augustus the Big is Augustus II, known as "the Strong" (1670-1733), elector of Saxony (as Frederick Augustus I) and king of Poland; Augustus's collection of paintings formed the basis for the Dresden Gallery's formidable holdings. Maurice Saxe, Count of Saxony (1696-1750), one of the sons of August II, Count Heinrich von Brühl (1700-1763), a minister under both Augustus II and his son and successor, Augustus III; in *Frederick the Great*, Carlyle calls him the "very wretched Brühl," explaining that "on poor Polish Majesty Brühl has played the sorcerer, this long while, and ridden him, as he would an enchanted quadruped, in a shameful manner" (4:6:17.1.8).

231.18-19. **In Berlin . . . I found, not long ago, Picture Galleries not a**

few: Carlyle arrived in Berlin on September 30, 1852, the last stop on his German tour in search of material for his biography of Frederick the Great, departing on October 9. In a letter dated October 1-2, Carlyle mentions that he has "been in the Museum Picture Gallery," where he saw "endless Christs & Marys, Venuses, and Amor; at length one excellt Portrait of Fritz" (*Letters* 27:316). The "Museum Picture Gallery" is likely the *Gemäldegalerie*, located in the Royal Museum (later the Altes Museum) at the time of Carlyle's visit. In his letters, Carlyle does not provide details of other specific galleries he visited while in Berlin, though he appears to have visited the Neues Museum, a portion of which was open in 1852, and he does mention seeing a portrait of Frederick in a private house belonging to a Berlin banker (*Letters* 27:325-26).

231.20. ***virtù*:** In this context, the Italian term means having "a knowledge of, or interest in, the fine arts" (OED). See Carlyle's statement in *Frederick the Great*: "The Italians, instead of the sacred service of Fact and Performance, did Music, Painting, and the like:—till even that has become impossible for them; and no noble Nation, sunk from virtue to *virtù*, ever offered such a spectacle before" (1:3.8.222).

231.20-22. **mythological smearing (Tower of Babel, and I know not what), by Kaulbach and others, still going on:** Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1805-1874), German painter and muralist, designed six huge frescoes for the Neues Museum in Berlin on the theme of "The History of Mankind"; they were titled *The Tower of Babel*, *Homer and the Greeks*, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, *The Crusaders at the Gates of Jerusalem*, *The Battle of the Huns*, and *The Reformation*. The project was not completed until 1863, so, as Carlyle states, when he visited, work was "still going on."

231.22-23. **a *genuine Portrait of Frederic the Great* was a thing I could nowhere hear of:** Carlyle expresses his frustration in an October 7, 1852, letter written during his visit to Berlin:

> In finding likenesses of Frk and his Generals and Intimates, tho' running after that as the one thing doable here (besides gathering of books), I have not been successful at all: indeed nobody can succeed, for the Portraits do not exist anywhere as a collection, but are scattered over the whole country, and of many personages nobody can give you notice of a Portrait existing anywhere. In the Royal Palaces and Collections of Kunst-Sachen [art

> objects], there is little but a beggarly account of empty boxes on that head: one Portrait of Frk as a young man, five or six times repeated with insignificant variations, by a contemporary called Pesne: that is literally all that I can recollect of truly superior quality that refers to him in these long galleries: of his people there is no trace whatever to be found there,—holy families, Rape of the Sabines, flaying of Bartholomew &c &c stand there instead. (*Letters* 27:326)

On February 3, 1853, Carlyle devoted over a thousand words to a detailed discussion of the merits and demerits of various portraits of Frederick (*Letters* 28:25-28).

231.24. **Rauch:** Christian Daniel Rauch (1777-1857), the leading German sculptor of the time, whose equestrian statue of Frederick the Great was unveiled in May 1851 to universal acclaim. Writing from Berlin, Carlyle describes the sculptor as a "noble old silverheaded man, this Rauch, nevertheless,—tall, clear, clean as aether; 76 years old and with a smile in him like 16! He and Cornelius, another Painter, are the men of most mark I have seen here; indeed the only 2 that seem worthy of much memory from me" (*Letters* 27:326).

231.27. **I hope you in Scotland, in the 'new National Museum' we hear talk of:** In May 1854, just before Carlyle began writing this essay, various newspapers reported plans for building the Industrial Museum of Scotland; it opened as the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art and in the early twentieth century became the Royal Scottish Museum.

232.28-29. ***Yankee-Barnum* methods:** Phineas Taylor Barnum (1810-1891), better known as P. T. Barnum, who gained fame as a showman, impresario, and, later in life, circus owner and promoter, toured Europe in the mid-1840s with Charles Stratton, who used the stage name "General Tom Thumb"; Jane Carlyle reported seeing Stratton at the Indian Gallery, Egyptian Hall, in Piccadilly, in April 1844 (*Letters* 18:20).

233.9-11. **The oldest Scottish portrait I can recollect to have seen, of any worth, is that of James IV. (and only as an engraving, the original at Taymouth):** A portrait of James IV (1473-1513), king of Scotland, at Taymouth Castle, near Kenmore, in Perthshire. Carlyle may be indicating either that he has seen an engraving of an early portrait or an early

engraving of the portrait. Carlyle likely knew it from John Pinkerton, *The Scotish Gallery; or Portraits of Eminent Persons of Scotland* (1799), to which he would refer in "Portraits of John Knox" (see note to 325.14), or from a copy of the engraving published there. The engraving, by E. Harding, contains the inscription "pinc. anno mdcxxxiiii" (i.e., painted 1633). See plate 9.

233.12-13. **Colm and Adamnan:** Colm Cille is the Irish name of Saint Columba (521-597), founder of the abbey on the island of Iona, in western Scotland. In an April 26, 1851, letter, Carlyle says it was St. Colm "who converted us all to Xtianity and Puseyism, bless him!" (*Letters* 26:70). Saint Adamnan (627?-704) succeeded Columba as abbot and wrote the *Vita Columbae* (*Life of Columba*).

233.14-15. **I have seen Bruce's *skull*, at least, cast in plaster:** Robert I (1274-1329), known as Robert the Bruce, King of Scots, the renowned leader of Scottish resistance to English rule. In 1818 his tomb was discovered in Dunfermline Abbey, and in 1819, after his remains were inspected, the sculptor William Scoular made a plaster cast of Bruce's skull, from which additional casts were made. It is not known where or when Carlyle saw one of the casts. The skull is now in the collection of Glasgow University's Hunterian Museum.

233.20. **modern pictures representing historical events:** The middle of the nineteenth century was a "great age of history painting" in Britain (Strong 42). Contrary to Carlyle's assertion, advancements in antiquarian studies led to an increased emphasis on the accuracy of detail in historical painting in his time (see Strong 47-72). See also note to 233.25.

233.23. ***Hollar*:** Václav Hollar (1607-1677), Prague-born engraver who came to England in 1637, where he was known as Wenceslaus Hollar. In an April 24, 1849, letter, Carlyle had written: "Old Hollar has many Prints which bring home such objects [like the Battle of Naseby] and render them to us to the very life. That seems to me the real mission of 'Art,'—if it could find that it had any mission!" (*Letters* 24:37).

233.25. ***Wilkie's John Knox*:** David Wilkie (1785-1841), *The Preaching of Knox before the Lords of the Congregation, 10 June 1559* (1832); Wilkie is one of the historical painters Carlyle refers to above (see note to 233.20). In "The Portraits of John Knox," Carlyle would examine the authenticity of various portraits of Knox (see note to 309.title), voicing a very low

opinion of Wilkie's image of Knox, which appears to be based on an engraving derived from a portrait Carlyle declares to be inauthentic. The result is "in brief the probably intolerablest figure that exists of Knox; and from one of the noblest of Scottish painters the least expected" (see below 320-22).

233.29. **Energumen:** Someone possessed by the devil or an evil spirit; also, someone who is fanatically devoted to a cause.

233.31. **I know the picture only by engravings:** Wilkie's *The Preaching of John Knox* (see note to 233.25) was painted for Sir Robert Peel and was part of his private collection until the National Gallery (now the Tate) purchased the work from Peel's estate in 1871. Carlyle knew it through the engraving by George Thomas Doo, which was available soon after it was first exhibited in 1832.

233.33-37. **I have often seen a *Battle of Worcester*, . . . a dreadful shower of rain in the distance:** We have not been able to identify with certainty the engraving Carlyle describes here. The most likely candidate is the engraving by James Caldwell (1739-1819) entitled *Battle of Worcester* (1810) "from the Original Picture" (see plate 10), published in Stace's *Cromwelliana*, which Carlyle may have read when researching *Cromwell*. However, the painter of the original, if there was one, is unknown and was probably not an "Academician" (member of the Royal Academy). The editors of the letters suggest two possibilities: Abraham Cooper (1787-1868), R.A., *The Battle of Worcester*, or Thomas Woodward (1801-1852), *King Charles' Standard at the Battle of Worcester* (*Letters* 29:82n30). However, while both were members of the Academy, their paintings do not fit Carlyle's description. The Battle of Worcester, which took place on September 3, 1651, was a decisive victory for Cromwell's New Model Army over the royalist forces of Charles II.

234.16. ***Reformation period*:** A time of religious schism in Europe, beginning in the early sixteenth century and extending through much of the seventeenth, that pitted reformist Protestants, such as Luther and Knox, against the established Roman Catholic Church.

234.16-19. **I would take of John Knox, and his consorts and adversaries . . . any picture I could get:** Carlyle lists a number of important figures in the Scottish Reformation. On John Knox, see note to 309.title. On Carlyle's views of portraits of Knox, see note to 233.25 and "The Portraits of John

Knox" (below). The others listed here were, as Carlyle suggests, Knox's "consorts and adversaries." William Maitland of Lethington (1525-1573), secretary of state under Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (1542-1587), and an opponent of John Knox. Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange (1520?-1573), Scottish soldier and Protestant leader whose support for Mary in the 1570s brought him into conflict with Knox. James Stewart (1531?-1570), 1st Earl of Moray (Murray), Regent of Scotland (1567-1570), whose alliance with Mary Stuart put him at odds with Knox until he broke with her over her marriage to Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley. James Douglas (1516?-1581), 4th Earl of Morton, Regent of Scotland (1572-78), who was instrumental in driving Mary Stuart from power. John Erskine (d. 1572), the 1st Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland (1571-1572), who supported the interests of Mary's son James and played an important role in ousting Mary from the throne. George Buchanan (1506-1582), scholar, historian, teacher, poet, and tutor to James VI, who opposed Mary Stuart's rule in the aftermath of Lord Darnley's murder. James Hepburn (1534/5-1578), 4th Earl of Bothwell, Mary Stuart's third husband. David Rizzio or Riccio (1533?-1566), Italian-born private secretary to Mary, Queen of Scots, whose husband, Lord Darnley, thought Rizzio was Mary's lover and, with others, plotted his murder.

234.21. ***The Forty-five*:** The Jacobite rebellion that began in 1745, in which Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788), better known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and the "Young Pretender," sought to reclaim the throne for the House of Stuart through military force; his troops were defeated decisively at Culloden in 1746.

234.26-27. **a Hawley, a Sir John Cope, Wade, and Duke of Cumberland:** British military commanders involved in the Jacobite rebellion (see preceding note). Henry Hawley (1679?-1759), lieutenant-general who led the cavalry at Culloden in 1746. Sir John Cope (1690-1760), commander in chief in Scotland, where his forces were defeated by the Jacobites at the Battle of Prestonpans in September 1745, after which he was replaced by Henry Hawley. George Wade (1673-1748), field marshal and commander in chief of the forces in 1745 during the Jacobite rebellion. Wade's ineffectiveness against the Jacobite forces led to his replacement as leader of the British army by Prince William Augustus (1721-1765), the duke of Cumberland and the son of George II, who commanded the army to decisive victory at Culloden.

234.35-37. **George Buchanan, David Rizzio, Lord Hailes, Lord Kames,**

Monboddo, Bozzy, Burns, Gawin Douglas, Barbour, Jamie Thomson: For Buchanan and Rizzio, see note to 234.16-19. Most of the names in Carlyle's list (Rizzio excepted) were well-known Scottish men of letters. Sir David Dalrymple (1726-1792), Lord Hailes, Scottish historian and judge, author of *Annals of Scotland* (1776, 1779), among other works; Carlyle included Hailes's *Annals* in a list of books he recommended to his friend Henry Parkes (see *Letters* 38:209-10). Henry Home (1696-1782), Lord Kames, a leading figure of the Scottish Enlightenment and the author of various historical and philosophical works. Carlyle read his *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751) in 1815 and his *Elements of Criticism* (1762) in 1824 (*Letters* 1:59, 3:5; see also *Essays on German Literature* 60); in "Burns," he depicted Kames as the first Scotsman to write literary English after the union of England and Scotland (*Essays on Literature* 52). James Burnett (1714-1799), Lord Monboddo, Scottish judge, whose works included *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (1773-1792). For the biographer James ("Bozzy") Boswell, see note to 350.39. For the poet Robert Burns, see note to 98.32-35. Gawin (or Gavin) Douglas (1475?-1522), Scottish poet and bishop of Dunkeld, who translated the *Aeneid* into Scots. John Barbour (1320?-1395), Scottish poet, author of the narrative poem *The Brus* (1375?). James Thomson (1700-1748), Scottish poet best known for his poem *The Seasons* (1730).

234.37. **David Dale (of the cotton manufacture):** David Dale (1739-1806), Scottish industrialist and founder of the planned community of New Lanark, where he established cotton factories. Carlyle visited New Lanark in the company of Edward Irving and James Brown in 1817, recalling in later years: "I do not recollect the rest of our route,—except that at 'New Lanark,' a green silent valley, with fine Cotton-works 'of David Dale,' *turned* by Clyde Water, we called to Robert Owen, the then incipient Arch-*Gomeril's* 'model school,' and thought it (and him, whom we did not see, and knew only by his pamphlets and it) a thing of the wind, not worth considering farther" (*Reminiscences* 235).

234.38. **Dundas (of the suffrage ditto):** On Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, see note to 56.24-26; by "suffrage," Carlyle is presumably referring to the control Dundas exerted over the election of Scotland's representatives in Parliament.

235.1. **From Bruce down to Heathfield and Abercromby:** For Robert the Bruce, see note to 233.14-15. Sir George Augustus Eliott (1717-1790), 1st Baron Heathfield, a British army general and commander of the

garrison at Gibraltar, which he successfully defended during the "Great Siege" (1779-1783) and for which he was rewarded with a knighthood. Sir Robert Abercromby (1740-1827), also a British army general, led troops in the American Revolutionary War and later served as commander in chief of India.

235.24. **A modern *Nicolson*:** William Nicolson (1655-1727), English clergyman and antiquarian, best known for his *Historical Library* publications, which were bibliographies covering the known publications and manuscripts related to English, Scottish, and Irish history. Carlyle had suggested in a June 29, 1850, letter: "If you want to know how many other Books, of little worth, of none and less than none, exist on *Irish Histy*, you can get Nicholson's '*Irish* Historical Library' (which however is far less instructive than his 'Scotch' or 'English' do); a cheap thin Book of a century-and-half old" (*Letters* 25:108).

235.31. **'*Crystal Palace*':** The large building that housed the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations of 1851, in Hyde Park, often used as a shorthand name for the exhibition itself. Designed by Joseph Paxon, the Crystal Palace was constructed of wood, iron, and an enormous amount of plate glass, hence the name. Thomas and Jane Carlyle visited the exhibition on May 8, 1851, as Carlyle reported the following month:

> I have been in the Crystal Palace; went with Jane weeks ago once, somebody having sent us tickets. It is the beautifullest House, I fancy, that ever was built in the world. There are three huge trees (English elms, all in leaf in the middle of it[)]; two fountains, water-umbrellas 20 or 30 feet in height, undisturbed by wind; light of course as under the canopy itself;—and 30 or 40 thousand well-dressed people flowing silently about; amid all the nicknackeries of the collected world. To have looked at it as sense, or tried to learn or study anything in such a scene wd have driven me mad: but as nonsense, I pronounced it to be superlatively well got up; and looked at it for a couple of hours, as the gravest Man may do at a Children's Ball, or other bright Tomfoolery, with a transient satisfaction,—glad, that I had no hand whatever in it! (*Letters* 26:86)

Notes to "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce"

237.title. **ILIAS (AMERICANA) IN NUCE:** Carlyle's Latin title means "The American Iliad in a Nutshell." Carlyle thus draws a satirical comparison between the war of the Greeks and Trojans in Homer's *Iliad* and the American Civil War.

237.1. **Peter *of the North* (*to* Paul *of the South*):** Carlyle's use of the names "Peter" and "Paul" may have its origins in the traditional saying that it is futile to "rob Peter to pay Paul." A related earlier instance appears in Carlyle's "The Negro/Nigger Question," when he refers to the situation in Haiti as "black Peter exterminating black Paul" (*Essays* 4:376).

237.2. **I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year as I do:** Carlyle often characterized slavery as the hiring of a servant "for life," contrasting it with the short-term wage contracts typical of domestic servants or other wage laborers. In *Past and Present*, he had complained that "month-long contracts please me little in any province where there can by possibility be found virtue enough for more. Month-long contracts do not answer well even for house-servants; the liberty on both sides to change every month is growing very apelike, nomadic" (4.3.273). Characteristically, Carlyle's argument emphasized the mutual obligation of long-term master/servant relations as a positive, organizational social force; thus, in the same passage in *Past and Present*, Carlyle states that the medieval serf "Gurth was hired for life to Cedric, and Cedric to Gurth" (4.3.273). Carlyle had expounded this view further in "The Negro/Nigger Question" in relation to American chattel slavery: "And if 'slave' mean essentially 'servant hired for life,'—for life, or by a contract of long continuance and not easily dissoluble—I ask once more, Whether, in all human things, the 'contract of long continuance' is not precisely the contract to be desired, were the right terms once found for it? Servant hired for life, were the right terms found, which I do not pretend they are, seems to me much preferable to servant hired for the month, or by contract dissoluble in a day" (*Essays* 4:379; see also 368). Carlyle is thus usually viewed, with justification, as an apologist for slavery. Though he proposed various modifications to the practice of slavery, including the establishment of wages for slaves, the setting of a price a slave could pay to secure his or her freedom, and the elimination of various "abuses" (each of these suggested in the revised 1853 "Nigger Question"), his belief in racial hierarchy prevented him from viewing the institution of slavery itself as a fundamental, dehumanizing injustice. The notion that

all humans are equal was, to Carlyle, an absurd, unnatural idea, and in "The Negro/Nigger Question" and elsewhere, he insisted that humans of African descent are simply inferior, and thus best suited for the servant class. Carlyle would make a similar point in "Shooting Niagara," where he reprints "Ilias" in a footnote (below 268-69). For contemporary criticism of Carlyle's views, and in particular of his idealized conception of American slave owners, see the discussion of the reception of this item in the introduction.

237.7-8. **I will beat your brains out first!" (*and is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it.*):** When Carlyle wrote this item, in May 1863, the American Civil War had not yet reached its turning point at the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863). The Union army had been defeated at Chancellorsville in early May, and it appeared that the war's momentum had swung in the Confederacy's favor. Carlyle's sense of the futile, mutually destructive, and ultimately senseless nature of the American Civil War is expressed in a November 11, 1862, letter, in which he says he looks "with a pity and awe" on "our poor Yankee Brothers tearing one another in pieces abt Nothing at all, & in fact 'the Earth opening,' and Hell and its fires bursting out on them, as visibly, or more so, than on Sodom & Gomorrah long ago!" (*Letters* 38:261-62).

Notes to "Inaugural Address at Edinburgh, 2nd April 1866"

239.title. **INAUGURAL ADDRESS:** For the circumstances of the address, see the introduction.

239.10. **(*Laughter and cheers.*):** As discussed in the introduction, Carlyle based the text on the transcription of his address in the *Scotsman*, which, by the convention of the time, noted in this fashion the responses of the audience. As the historical collation indicates, however, Carlyle made hundreds of changes when editing this transcription for the book edition, so he could have deleted them; instead he chose to retain them, even though, one might observe, it meant letting stand repeated audience affirmations. That said, parenthetic records of audience reactions—a standard practice of newspaper reports of parliamentary debates—are not without precedent in Carlyle's works. In particular, they were a feature of Oliver Cromwell's parliamentary addresses, which Carlyle had edited for his *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (e.g., 3:7.52). Perhaps the resulting familiarity with this practice accounts for his having given "The Negro/

all humans are equal was, to Carlyle, an absurd, unnatural idea, and in "The Negro/Nigger Question" and elsewhere, he insisted that humans of African descent are simply inferior, and thus best suited for the servant class. Carlyle would make a similar point in "Shooting Niagara," where he reprints "Ilias" in a footnote (below 268-69). For contemporary criticism of Carlyle's views, and in particular of his idealized conception of American slave owners, see the discussion of the reception of this item in the introduction.

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Nigger Question" the fictitious form of a speech before an abolitionist audience at Exeter Hall, with its series of audience responses registering increasing disapproval.

239.10-12. **It is now fifty-six years, gone last November, since I first entered your City, a boy of not quite fourteen; to 'attend the classes' here:** In November 1809, Carlyle traveled by foot from his home in Ecclefechan to Edinburgh to enroll in the university; he completed his studies in 1814.

239.17. **an unworthy labourer in the vineyard:** See the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16).

239.18-19. **As the old proverb says, 'He that builds by the wayside has many masters':** A traditional saying. Carlyle also used the proverb in his *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (3:9.244).

240.1-2. **When this office was first proposed to me, some of you know I was not very ambitious to accept it, but had my doubts rather:** On November 11, 1862, Carlyle was elected by the student body to the ceremonial position of rector of the University of Edinburgh, winning out over Benjamin Disraeli. Although he had evinced some reluctance because of the need to travel to Edinburgh, the need to give an address, and the state of his health, he wrote a letter accepting the post on November 14 (*Letters* 43:36; see 35n5). In fact, he had decided to accept even before the election, writing on November 7: "My Rectorate, it seems, is a thing 'settled'; wh*ch* by no means oversets my composure with joy!" (43:30-33).

240.5-6. **my dear old *Alma Mater*:** See note to 239.10-12.

240.9. **I live four hundred miles away from you:** The Carlyles lived in the Chelsea district of London. In a letter of November 20, 1865, discussing plans for the address, Carlyle insisted that his "Official activity," given the "distance of 400 miles, in such a state of health, and with such a horror *railwaying*," must not be "the least considerable" (*Letters* 43:41; see also 37-38, 43:40).

240.10-11. **my weak health, with the burden of the many years now accumulating on me:** Carlyle suffered from dyspepsia and insomnia most of his life. Seventy years old at the time of his inaugural address, he also suffered from palsy in his writing hand, general weakness, and other

ailments. He also felt that the twelve years of work on the recently completed *Frederick the Great* had taken its toll, which he gave as a reason for waiting until April to give the address: "I *may* be better (let us hope so, for at pres*t* I am oftenest truly helpless, weak as a sparrow, liver & nerves deeply *wrong*,—12 years of that kind give one a right *thrashing*, especially when 70 is within a fortnight!)" (*Letters* 43:46; see also 43:37-38, 78, 103, 136). See also note to 261.11-13.

240.25-30. **I ought, I believe, according to custom, to have written all that down on paper, and had it read out. . . . So I flung that aside; and could only resolve to trust, in all superficial respects, to the suggestion of the moment:** One reason that Carlyle had hesitated to accept the office was his assumption that he would have to give an address. In the letter cited above (note to 240.1-2), he had written: "A young Edin*r* man came here two weeks ago to remind that, last time [in 1862], in flatly refusing, I had partly promised for *this*, if my work [*Frederick the Great*] were done; I objected to the *Speech* &c, he declared that to be a thing they w*d* dispense with: 'Well, if *so*—!' I concluded; but do not yet entirely see my way thro' that latter clause, wh*ḥ* is the sore one" (43:32). On November 13, the day before he wrote to Edinburgh accepting the office, he wrote that he was "thinking seriously about . . . *shirking* the Installt*n Speech*" if it were "feasible" (*Letters* 43:35), but four days later, on the seventeenth, he wrote that he must give "some kind of Inauguratn Speech (wh*ḥ* I much abhor, but it seems cannot avoid)" (43:40). Having accepted that he must give the address, he anticipated speaking in the manner he had employed in his public lectures in the late 1830s, that is, preparing notes but speaking largely extempore. Two weeks before the speech, he wrote: "I sh*d* consider myself abundantly able to 'read' the Address, if by good luck I had it, or any part of it, *written*: but, alas, that is not the case at all; and I fear I must depend on extempore *speaking* (*taliter qualiter* [for better or worse]),—wh*ḥ* can be all the briefer, if it succeed even *worse* than I expect! One way or other such a thing *can* be got thro'; and does not deserve beyond a cert*n* quantity of botherat*n* from a poor old invalid like me" (*Letters* 43:136; see 82). As planned, he did prepare notes, but seems not to have referred to them. Moncure Conway reports that "Carlyle at first thought of writing something; he made out some headings and a few notes, and carried them in his pocket to the theatre, but he did not look at them" (*Carlyle* 24). Conway, who had the duty of correcting the proofs of the address for the *Scotsman*, reports that Carlyle gave him the notes, but that "those written by the amanuensis had been but little followed in the address, and those added by himself were

nearly undecipherable" (46). According to Carlyle's friend John Tyndall, David Brewster, the principal of Edinburgh University, "looked forward with fear and trembling to what he was persuaded must prove a *fiasco*. 'Why,' he said to me, 'Carlyle has not written a word of his Address; and no Rector of this University ever appeared before his audience without this needful preparation'" (Tyndall 362). In the end, Carlyle's speech was received exceedingly well; immediately after the event, Tyndall sent a telegram to a worried Jane Welsh Carlyle, describing Carlyle's lecture as "a perfect triumph" (Tyndall 364).

241.10. **the seed-time of life:** See 88.22 and note.

241.10-12. **if you do not sow, or if you sow tares instead of wheat, you cannot expect to reap well afterwards, and you will arrive at little:** See the parable of the wheat and tares (Matthew 13:24-30).

242.4-5. **it is the first of all problems for a man to find out what kind of work he is to do in this universe:** A proposition central to Carlyle's thought, itself a revision of Socrates's imperative "Know thyself," a "gospel" first articulated by Teufelsdröckh in *Sartor Resartus*: "A certain inarticulate Self-consciousness dwells dimly in us; which only our Works can render articulate and decisively discernible. Our Works are the mirror wherein the spirit first sees its natural lineaments. Hence, too, the follow of that impossible Precept, *Know thyself*; till it be translated into this partially possible one, *Know what thou canst work at*" (2.7.123). Carlyle's most famous statement of the proposition is in *Past and Present*: "The latest Gospel in this world is, Know thy work and do it. 'Know thyself:' long enough has that poor 'self' of thine tormented thee; thou wilt never get to 'know' it, I believe! Think it not thy business, this of knowing thyself; thou art an unknowable individual: know what thou canst work at, and work at it,—like a very Hercules! That will be a better plan" (3.11.195).

242.9. **He does nothing but darken counsel by the words he utters:** See Job 38:3: "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?"

242.14-15. **seven hundred years since Universities were first set up:** The first European universities included those at Bologna (1088), Paris (1150), and Oxford (1167). Carlyle had discussed the origins of European universities in *On Heroes*, positing that once a dynamic individual teacher attracted a large following, other teachers would appear, drawn by the large number of potential students. From there, Carlyle reasoned, it was a matter of

combining these "schools" into one: "It only needed now that the King took notice of this new phenomenon; combined or agglomerated the various schools into one school; gave it edifices, privileges, encouragements, and named it *Universitas*, or School of all Sciences: the University of Paris, in its essential characters, was there. The model of all subsequent Universities; which down even to these days, for six centuries now, have gone on to found themselves. Such, I conceive, was the origin of Universities" (139).

242.15-17. **Abelard and other thinkers had arisen with doctrines in them which people wished to hear of, and students flocked towards them from all parts of the world:** Pierre Abélard (1079-1142), the noted scholastic theologian, taught publicly in Paris and elsewhere, attracting large crowds. In *On Heroes*, Carlyle had written: "That, in those circumstances [without books], when a man had some knowledge to communicate, he should do it by gathering the learners around him, face to face, was a necessity for him. If you wanted to know what Abelard knew, you must go and listen to Abelard. Thousands, as many as thirty thousand, went to hear Abelard and that metaphysical theology of his" (139).

242.27-28. **'the true University of our days is a Collection of Books':** Carlyle quotes himself from *On Heroes*: "But the place where we are to get knowledge, even theoretic knowledge, is the Books themselves! It depends on what we read, after all manner of Professors have done their best for us. The true University of these days is a Collection of Books" (140). At a June 1840 meeting to discuss the creation of the London Library, Carlyle made a similar point, as reported in the June 28 *Examiner*: "A collection of good books contained all the nobleness and wisdom of the world before us. Every heroic and victorious soul had left his stamp upon it. This collection of books was the best of all universities" (8).

242.28-29. **all this is greatly altered by the invention of Printing, which took place about midway between us and the origin of Universities:** That is, in the fifteenth century, between the twelfth century and the nineteenth centuries; on the invention of the printing press; see note to 35.17-18.

243.7-10. **the members of the Church keeping theology in a lively condition . . . theology was the great object of the Universities. I consider it is the same intrinsically now:** Given that they were founded primarily for preparing men for the priesthood, universities were centers of theological study and controversy. In referring to their role "now," Carlyle most likely

alludes to the controversy precipitated by the publication of *Essays and Reviews* (see note to 289.25-26).

243.34-35. **For work is the grand cure of all the maladies and miseries that ever beset mankind,—honest work, which you intend getting done:** A sentiment frequently expressed by Carlyle. See, for example, *Past and Present*: "Older than all preached Gospels was this unpreached, inarticulate, but ineradicable, forever-enduring Gospel: Work, and therein have wellbeing" (3.12.200).

244.14. **The history of the Romans and Greeks will first of all concern you:** At this time, the study of Greek and Latin language and culture was the core of the curriculum, which focused on Western culture.

244.31-35. **That there was a very great deal of deep religion in both nations. This is pointed out by the wiser kind of historians, and particularly by Ferguson, . . . an alumnus of our own University:** Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), Scottish historian and philosopher, was educated at the University of Edinburgh and later taught there as a professor of both natural philosophy and moral philosophy. In the first chapter of *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (1783), Ferguson notes the inextricable relation between religion and the state in ancient Rome: "Here, indeed, there being no distinction of clergy and laity, the authority of the statesman, augur, and priest, was united in the same persons, or in the same orders of men: as, in the mind of every citizen, notwithstanding the high measure of his superstition, the sword of state was preferred to the altar, the politician and warrior availed himself of the respect which was paid to the priest, and made superstition itself subservient to the purposes of the state" (1:12).

244.37. **Jupiter Optimus Maximus:** "Optimus Maximus," one of many Roman epithets for Jupiter, means "best and greatest."

245.4-6. **that noblest quality of man, valour,—to which latter the Romans gave the name of 'virtue' proper (*virtus*, manhood):** In Latin, "virtus" means "manliness" or "manhood"; it can also mean "courage" or "valor."

245.10-12. **In the tragedies of Sophocles, there is a most deep-toned recognition of the eternal justice of Heaven, and the unfailing punishment of crime against the laws of God:** In tragedies such as *Oedipus Rex*, transgressions against the laws of the gods result in punishment of

one kind or another, which was meant to mark, in part, the restoration of divine order. As Carlyle had written in "The Opera": "Sophocles also sang, and showed in grand dramatic rhythm and melody, not a fable but a fact, the best he could interpret it: the judgments of Eternal Deity upon the erring sons of men" (above 204). Carlyle read Sophocles early in his life in conjunction with his study of Greek (see *Letters* 2:36) and returned to Sophocles in 1850, writing that he had lately "read a good mass of Sophocles" (*Letters* 25:262).

245.25-26. **I don't know, in any history of Greece or Rome, where you will get so fine a man as Oliver Cromwell:** Carlyle was, of course, a great admirer of Cromwell (see note to 95.11-12). He chose Cromwell as the subject of the "Hero as King" in *On Heroes*, alongside Napoleon, and after struggling to write a biography of Cromwell, published *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations*, in 1845. In *On Heroes*, Carlyle acknowledged that his perception of Cromwell contradicted the standard view: "Fame, ambition, place in History? His dead body was hung in chains; his 'place in History'—place in History forsooth—has been a place of ignominy, accusation, blackness and disgrace; and here, this day, who knows if it is not rash in me to be among the first that ever ventured to pronounce him not a knave and liar, but a genuinely honest man!" (203). See also note to 246.31-34.

245.30. **John Knox:** See note to 309.title.

245.37-38. **A small minority of God-fearing men in that country were flying away, with any ship they could get, to New England:** Some of the seventeenth-century Scottish faithful who were "independent" of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches (the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Anabaptists, for example) sought religious freedom in the colonies, particularly New England. See "Baillie the Covenanter," *Historical Essays* 255 and *Cromwell* 1:2.195.

246.1. **take the lion by the beard:** 1 Samuel 17:35: "And I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth: and when he arose against me, I caught him by his beard, and smote him, and slew him."

246.8-12. **What he has suffered from the ungrateful generations that have followed him . . . misknown, and abused:** In *On Heroes,* Carlyle first took on the issue of Knox's contemporary reputation:

> It seems to me hard measure that this Scottish man, now after three hundred years, should have to plead like a culprit before the world; intrinsically for having been, in such way as it was then possible to be, the bravest of all Scotchmen! Had he been a poor Half-and-half, he could have crouched into the corner, like so many others; Scotland had not been delivered; and Knox had been without blame. He is the one Scotchman to whom, of all others, his country and the world owe a debt. . . . I cannot apologize for Knox. To him it is very indifferent, these two hundred and fifty years or more, what men say of him. But we, having got above all those details of his battle, and living now in clearness on the fruits of his victory, we for our own sake ought to look through the rumours and controversies enveloping the man, into the man himself. (125)

In subsequent paragraphs, Carlyle addressed some of these contemporary criticisms, including references to Knox's zealotry, his intolerance, his callous treatment of Queen Mary, and his theocratic politics. His argument, essentially, is that we must take Knox as he was, not as we wish him to be: "He resembles, more than any of the moderns, an Old-Hebrew Prophet. The same inflexibility, intolerance, rigid narrow-looking adherence to God's truth, stern rebuke in the name of God to all that forsake truth: an Old-Hebrew Prophet in the guise of an Edinburgh Minister of the Sixteenth Century. We are to take him for that; not require him to be other" (127).

246.17-22. **the Scottish earls and nobility, with their tenantry, marched away to Dunse Hill in 1639, . . . 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant':** In 1638, the Scots asserted their religious independence by endorsing a National Covenant that affirmed loyalty to the monarch but also insisted that the Church of Scotland and its doctrine remain free from external influence. The rise of the Covenanters led to the so-called Bishops' Wars of 1639 and 1640, in the first of which the Army of the Covenant camped at Dunse Hill, in southeast Scotland, in an effort to counter the Royalist army, who were encamped on the other side of the border in England. Carlyle's knowledge of the First Bishops' War is derived primarily from David Laing's edition of *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* (1841), his review of which quotes extensively from Baillie's description of the Covenanters' encampment "on the pleasant conical Hill of Dunse, in

the summer weather of 1639" (*Historical Essays* 251; see 251-53). It is Baillie who suggests that the army at one point numbered "above twenty thousand" and that the officers were primarily noblemen (*Historical Essays* 250). Baillie also points out that "every company had flying at the captain's tent door a brave new Colour, with the Scottish Arms, and this ditton, *For Christ's Crown and Covenant*, in golden letters," to which Carlyle adds, "a noble emblazonment indeed!" (*Historical Essays* 252). See also *Cromwell* 1:1.104-5.

246.22-25. **That was the signal for all England's rising up into unappeasable determination to have the Gospel there also; . . . whether the Parliament or the King should rule:** The Bishops' Wars of 1639 and 1640 (see preceding note) exacerbated the relationship between Charles I and Parliament, leading to the first English Civil War, beginning in August 1642. Carlyle's statement that "all England"—motivated by the cause of religious reform—rose up to confront the Royalists in the aftermath of the Bishops' Wars is hyperbolic; many people in England remained neutral in the conflict that ensued.

246.31-34. **that Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell's, notwithstanding the censures it has encountered, . . . the modern history of England:** On Cromwell, see note to 95.11-12. Cromwell's rule under the Protectorate was not without controversy, and subsequent Parliaments questioned the legitimacy of Cromwell's authority. Owing to the execution of Charles I, he was deemed by many a regicide, and upon the restoration of the monarchy, his body was subjected to a posthumous execution and his body hung in chains at Tyburn. In *On Heroes*, Carlyle had defended Cromwell by contending that "there *was* no alternative but Anarchy or that Puritan England might accept it or not; but Puritan England was, in real truth, saved from suicide thereby!" (200). See also *Cromwell* 3:7.80-84. Carlyle's lecture in *On Heroes* and his *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* are credited with playing a significant role in the rehabilitation of Cromwell's reputation (see Abbott 151-80).

246.38-247.1. **Machiavelli has remarked, in speaking of the Romans, that Democracy cannot long exist anywhere in the world:** Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), Italian historian and political theorist. Carlyle refers not to his most famous work, *The Prince* (1532), but to *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy* (1531). His paraphrase is somewhat misleading, as Machiavelli contends merely, though somewhat paradoxically, that for a republic to succeed, it must occasionally incorporate some limited aspects

of dictatorial rule. For more on this idea, see the next note. Carlyle himself had long expressed skepticism about democracy; see the "Democracy" chapter of *Past and Present* (3.13.208-18) as well as *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, in which he states: "Historically speaking, I believe there was no Nation that could subsist upon Democracy" (18).

247.6-9. **He has to admit of the Romans, that they continued a long time; . . . to appoint a Dictator:** Machiavelli (see preceding note) observes that "among the other usual remedies they made for themselves in urgent dangers, the Romans turned to creating the dictator—that is, to giving power to one man who could decide without any consultation and execute his decisions without any appeal. As that remedy was useful then and was the cause that they overcame the impending dangers, so it was always most useful in all those accidents that arose at any time against the republic in the increasing of the empire" (71). Machiavelli makes it clear, though, that having recourse to a dictator is effectual only when instituted in a limited and temporary way, without altering the fundamental organization and operation of the state. In the end, Machiavelli concludes that "among the other Roman orders, this is one that deserves to be considered and numbered among those that were the cause of the greatness of so great an empire" (74).

247.21-22. **Parliament of Notables, what they call the 'Barebones Parliament':** The French "Parliament of Notables" or "Convocation of Notables" (*Assemblées de notables*) was a convocation of nobles, clergy, and state functionaries called by the king to consult on matters of state. Carlyle probably has in mind the Convocations of Notables of 1787 and 1788, events that led up to the French Revolution and which he recorded in his history of it (see *French Revolution* 1:3.3, 1:4.1). 'Barebones Parliament,' a pejorative nickname of the 1653 Parliament, alludes to one of its members, Mr. Praise-God Barbon, also known as "Barebone," a leather merchant, preacher, and member of the Fifth Monarchy Men. Carlyle had explained this comparison in *On Heroes*, where he writes that Cromwell's "first Parliament, the one they call Barebone's Parliament, is, so to speak, a *Convocation of the Notables*. From all quarters of England the leading Ministers and chief Puritan Officials nominate the men most distinguished by religious reputation, influence, and attachment to the true Cause: these are assembled to shape out a plan. They sanctioned what was past; shaped as they could what was to come. They were scornfully called *Barebones's Parliament*: the man's name, it seems, was not *Barebones*, but Barbone,—a good enough man" (199). See also *Cromwell* 3:7.41-42, 78-80.

247.23-29. **the Court of Chancery in England was in a state which was really capable of no apology; . . . and it was going on still:** In the seventeenth century, Chancery (see note to 122.16-18) was notorious for its corrupt appointment process and the glacial pace of its casework. The Barebones Parliament sought at first to reform the court, then settled on dissolving it, but Parliament itself was dissolved before any changes could be enacted. In *Cromwell*, Carlyle, quoting from the *Commons Journals*, writes: "Finding grievances greater than could be borne; finding, for one thing, 'Twenty-three thousand Causes of from five to thirty years' continuance' lying undetermined in Chancery, it seemed to the Little Parliament that some Court ought to be contrived which would actually determine these and the like Causes;—and that, on the whole, Chancery would be better for abolition" (3:7.79). Although Carlyle cites the *Commons Journals* for this passage, it only records the resolution to abolish the court; the quoted phrase ("Twenty-three thousand Causes of from five to thirty years' continuance") comes from *The Parliamentary or constitutional history of England, from the earliest times, to the restoration of King Charles II* (20.199). Neither source mentions an eighty-three-year case.

248.1-3. **Sir Francis Rous,—who translated the Psalms for us, . . . Provost of Eton College afterwards:** Francis Rous, or Rouse (1579-1659), Puritan politician, theologian, and Provost of Eton College 1643-1659, served as Speaker of the Barebones Parliament. In 1650, the Church of Scotland adopted a version of his translation of the Psalms, entitled *The book of psalmes in English Meeter* (1638, 1641). In an 1842 letter, Carlyle had written to the clergyman and theologian Julius Hare:

> Did I ever tell you that our Scotch version of the Psalms, which you have republished with some polishing, and reckon justly far the best, is properly an English version? It was done, as I find, by old Francis Rouse, a Cornish Scholar, Puritan and Parliamenteer, under the auspices of the Westminster Assembly; 'appointed to be sung in Churches,' which appointment all but the Scotch have long since forgotten. Rouse was of the Long Parliament, was Speaker of the one called Barebone's Parliament, and finally Provost of Eton: in the Prints of him he has dark deep eyes, and a revered, resolute countenance,—honour to Sir Francis. (*Letters* 14:119)

248.3-9. **he got a great number of the Parliament to go to Oliver the**

Dictator, . . . "We cannot carry on the affair any longer, and we remit it into the hands of your Highness": Carlyle had summarized this episode in *Cromwell* 3:7.80.

248.16-29. **He assembled fifty or sixty of the wisest lawyers to be found in England. . . . Chancery was reconstituted and remodelled; and so it got a new lease of life, and has lasted to our time:** Carlyle's account condenses the sequence of events and misleadingly implies that the members of Cromwell's chancery reform committee accomplished their appointed task. In fact, the committee failed to generate any reforms. Cromwell decided, therefore, to draft his own ordinance for chancery reform in conjunction with his council of state. This ordinance, with its sixty-seven articles, was issued in August, just prior to the convening of Parliament in early September. The Restoration in 1660 swept away the chancery reforms, however, and it was not until much later that court reform was achieved, incorporating many of the changes proposed in Cromwell's ordinance. In *Cromwell*, Carlyle lauds Cromwell's efforts: "Elaborate Ordinance; containing essential improvements, say some;—which has perhaps saved the Court of Chancery from abolition for a while longer!" (3:8.93). However, when he reproduces the speech to the new Parliament in which Cromwell declares that "the Chancery hath been reformed; I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men," he inserts the following commentary: "From the moderns: 'Only to a very small extent and in a very temporary manner, your Highness! His Highness returns upon the Law, on subsequent occasions, and finds the reform of it still a very pressing matter. Difficult to sweep the intricate foul chimneys of Law his Highness found it,—as we after two centuries of new soot and accumulation now acknowledge on all hands, with a sort of silent despair'" (3:8.119).

249.13-15. **I remember getting Collins's *Peerage* to read, . . . I was writing on Oliver Cromwell at the time:** Arthur Collins (1682-1760), English bookseller and antiquarian, author of *The Peerage of England* (1709), a definitive nine-volume edition of which was published in 1812. Carlyle first mentioned Collins's *Peerage* in a December 10, 1844, letter written while he was at work on *Cromwell*: "There is no Book more mournful to me than Collins's Peerage! I could sit down and weep in it, as in a Slaughterhouse of Heroisms" (*Letters* 18:281). In *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, he had noted that "Collins's old Peerage-Book, a dreadfully dull production, fills one with unspeakable reflections. Beyond doubt a most dull production, one of the darkest in the book kind ever realised by Chaos and man's brain; and it is properly all we English have for a Biographical

Dictionary;—nay, if you think farther of it, for a National Bible" (281). Carlyle's friend Henry Parkes attested to the importance of the *Peerage* for Carlyle's historical writing, remarking that "another book which Mr. Carlyle frequently urged upon my notice was Collins's Peerage . . . from which, he said, he had learned more of English history than from all other books put together" (*Letters* 38:209-10n2).

249.27-28. **from the Norman Conquest down to the times of Charles I:** That is, from the Battle of Hastings in 1066 to the reign of King Charles I (1625-1649).

250.3-6. **if at any time the genealogy of a peerage goes awry, . . . his peerage extinguished altogether:** Under British law, a peer convicted of treason forfeited his title, and, in accord with the "corruption of blood" policy, his descendants were prohibited from inheriting it.

250.23-30. **It is historically true that, down to the time of James, or even Charles I., it was not understood that any man was made a Peer without having merit . . . at which they are going now:** The Stuart monarchs rapidly increased the number of hereditary and nonhereditary peers, doubling the size of the nobility by the end of the reign of Charles I. Under James I, peerages were sold as a method of raising revenue. Carlyle had commented on this phenomenon in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*: "Till the time of James the First, I find that real heroic merit more or less was actually the origin of peerages; never, till toward the end of that bad reign, were peerages bargained for, or bestowed on men palpably of no worth except their money or connexion. But the evil practice, once begun, spread rapidly; and now the Peerage-Book is what we see;—a thing miraculous in the other extreme" (283-84).

251.11-13. **as I have written it down somewhere else, I conceive that books are like men's souls; divided into sheep and goats:** See Matthew 25.31-33: "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left." We have not found this comparison in Carlyle's published works, but in a July 18, 1859, letter, he had asserted that "Books, like human souls, are actually divided into what we may call 'sheep and goats,'—the latter put inexorably on the left hand of the Judge; and tending, every goat of them, at

all moments, whither we know; and much to be avoided, and if possible ignored, by all sane creatures!—" (*Letters* 35:150-51).

251.28. **'Blessed is he that getteth understanding':** Proverbs 3:13: "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding."

251.34-36. **I am happy to hear that your library is very much improved since the time I knew it:** In the late 1820s, the library was moved to a new building. Efforts were made in the 1830s and 1840s to improve the management of the library, and by 1862, in the wake of the 1858 Universities (Scotland) Act, new regulations were in place that reorganized the governance of the library and made it easier for students to borrow books. The total holdings rose from 50,000 volumes in 1815 to 191,000 volumes in 1866, the year of Carlyle's speech (for more details, see Simpson 94-114). David Masson recounts Carlyle's description of gaining access to the university library when he was student:

> He used to draw a ludicrous picture of the library accommodations of those days, when the books were in one of the surviving old buildings on one side of the present quadrangle. As I understood him, the students came at definite hours, and arranged themselves in *queue* in some passage, or at some entry, waiting for the opening of the door, and perhaps battering at it when the sub-librarian inside was dilatory. He was a sulky gentleman, of Celtic and stout build, who regarded readers as his natural enemies; and, when he did open the door, he generally presented himself in *rear* to the impatient crowd, taking care to bend his body at the final moment so as to administer one last impediment of contempt for the entrants and send some of them sprawling. That was the kind of encouragement to reading, by Carlyle's account, that he and other University students had in those days. (241)

252.8-9. **In this University, as I learn from many sides, there is considerable stir about endowments:** Formal efforts to raise endowment funds at Scottish universities, including the University of Edinburgh, were underway in the mid-1860s. In 1864, the Association for the Better Endowment of the University of Edinburgh was formed for this purpose, and by at least December 1865, Carlyle had joined it (*Letters* 43:62, 71n3); at the time of his speech, fundraising continued to be a high priority.

The speech apparently contributed a bit to the "stir" about endowments, with the April 4, 1866, *Dundee Courier* criticizing what it called Carlyle's "self-contradictory" remarks, objecting in particular to the portion of his speech when the "Lord-Rector of the University of Edinburgh finds an argument against endowments, as we must put it, in the circumstance that a few great scholars, men of extraordinary genius and force of character, and therefore exceptions to all rule, have achieved their scholarships in spite of poverty, and without the aid of colleges" (2).

252.22-24. **probably never has there been, at any other time, in Scotland, the hundredth part of the money that now is, or even the thousandth part:** Carlyle viewed this increase in wealth with a characteristically skeptical eye, as evidenced in an 1857 letter:

> Dumfriesshire and all places are what they call 'prospering' at present: many circumstances perhaps (the California gold, I privately reckon, most of all) have given such an explosive impulse to 'trade,' all corners of this Country are testifying [to] it. To me it is by no means exclusively beautiful, this enormous effulgence of wealth, and with it of luxury and gaudery and folly, on the part not of the wise men of the community (for it is not they that the 'wealth' mainly falls on):—it is on the contrary inexpressibly ugly to me when I reflect on it; and I perceive that the Devil is in it, he in fact and no Saint! (*Letters* 33:23-26)

252.24. **For wherever I go there is that same gold-nuggeting:** Carlyle alludes to the California gold rush (1848-1855), using it as a figure for the single-minded pursuit of money. Carlyle would use the phrase again in an 1872 letter responding to Emerson's account of his western travels: "There is something huge, painful, and almost appalling to me in that wild Western World of yours;—and especially I wonder at the gold-nuggeting there, while plainly every gold-nuggeter is no other than a criminal to Human Society, and has to *steal* the exact value of his gold nugget from the pockets of all posterity of Adam, now and for some time to come, in this world" (*Emerson and Carlyle* 588). See also his reference to California in the letter cited in the preceding note and below 260.19.

252.25. **"unexampled prosperity":** Commonly used to refer to the perceived boom in wealth and industry in Britain. Carlyle was contemptuous of

such rhetoric. In a January 15, 1854, letter, he had declared: "'Unexampled prosperity,' fools call it,—by no means I" (*Letters* 29:18). In a May 13, 1874, letter to John Ruskin, who shared Carlyle's views, he would write that "the curse of Boundless wealth which they call 'unexampled prosperity' lies heavy on them [the English people]; giving such unbounded arena to the development of all their low desires & endeavours, that nothing of real spiritual health is likely to be possible for a long while yet" (*Carlyle and Ruskin* 181). He also uses the phrase in *Letters* 28:297-98 and "Early Kings of Norway," *Historical Essays* 376.

253.8-9. **The English, for example, are the richest people in the world for endowments in their Universities:** Cambridge had an endowed chair as early as 1480, and both Oxford and Cambridge benefited from significant ecclesiastical, royal, and private donations throughout their histories. By contrast, as Donald Stabile observes, "Scottish universities . . . never attained the level of endowment found at Oxford and Cambridge and had to rely on student fees as an important source of funding" (36).

253.10-12. **since the time of Bentley, you cannot name anybody . . . the pursuits of men in that way:** Carlyle's somewhat exaggerated contention is that Oxford and Cambridge had produced no scholars of note since the time of Richard Bentley (1662-1742), the great English classical scholar, who was lecturer at Oxford, keeper of the Royal Library, and master of Trinity College, Cambridge. However, it is true that many more distinguished intellectuals of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were associated with the University of Edinburgh than with Oxford and Cambridge.

253.13-19. **One man that actually did constitute a revolution was . . . Heyne:** Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812), the leading German classical scholar of his day, was professor of eloquence and director of the library at the University of Göttingen. In "The Life of Heyne," Carlyle had described Heyne's circumstances when he was working on his edition of the Roman poet Tibullus: "A licentiate in divinity, one Sonntag, took pity on his houselessness, and shared a garret with him; where, as there was no unoccupied bed, Heyne slept on the floor, with a few folios for his pillow. So fared he as to lodging: in regard to board, he gathered empty pease-cods, and had them boiled; this was not unfrequently his only meal" (*Essays on German Literature* 244). The Tibullus edition (1755) brought Heyne recognition, and over his long career he produced highly regarded editions of Epictetus, Virgil, Pliny, Apollodorus, Pindar, and Homer.

253.19-20. **it was quite a revolution in my mind when I got hold of that man's edition of Virgil:** In his "Life of Heyne," Carlyle identified this work as "His Virgil (*P. Virgilius Maro Varietate Lectionis et perpetua Annotatione illustratus*), in various forms, from 1767 to 1803; no fewer than six editions" (*Essays on German Literature* 252). In an 1827 entry in his journal, Carlyle had written: "Heyne's Virgil, Leipzig, 1803, 4 vol. 8vo., the best edition (the London ones were mismanaged); there is also a 'Hand edition' of 1803 in 2 vol.; but whether it does not want something I know not. This Book I must have" (*Two Notebooks* 115). Of Heyne's works, Carlyle noted at the time, "I know only his Virgil, which certainly appeared to me to leave all other commentaries of the sort I had seen very far behind it" (*Two Notebooks* 117).

253.33-34. **a proverb of old date, 'An ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy':** A traditional saying, often identified as a Scottish proverb: "An ounce o' mither wit is worth a pound o' clergy."

253.36-37. **'the seven free arts,' which the old Universities were based on:** The traditional seven liberal arts, which were divided into two groups: the trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy).

254.6-8. **Maid-servants, I hear people complaining, are getting instructed in the 'ologies,' and are apparently becoming more and more ignorant of brewing, boiling, and baking:** A common complaint of the time regarding the education of the masses. Compare, for example, the following account:

> Dr. Guthrie, in a lecture on the "ologies" in London, expressed himself thus on the subject:—"They had a great many things taught in the schools now—physiology, philology, craniology, geology, and what the better was a girl for it all when she became a tradesman's wife? She could not darn her stockings, she could not bake her bread, she could not boil a potato, she could not light the fire. He had often said, when he saw a servant making two or three attempts to light the fire—'my friend, let me try and do it for you.' He did not despise these ologies, but he was for stitchology, bakeology, and boilology." (Taylor, *Amalgamation* 245)

254.12-15. **what has been done by rushing after fine speech! I have writ-**

ten down some very fierce things about that, . . . deeply my conviction: Carlyle alludes to the "Stump-Orator" chapter of *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, in which he had asserted that "in these times, and for several generations back, there has been, strictly considered, no really excellent speech at all, but sham-excellent merely; that is to say, false or quasi-false speech getting itself admired and worshipped, instead of detested and suppressed. A truly alarming predicament; and not the less so if we find it a quite pleasant one for the time being, and welcome the advent of asphyxia, as we would that of comfortable natural sleep;—as, in so many senses, we are doing!" (174). In this pamphlet, Carlyle did indeed resort to a "fierce" rhetorical style, even suggesting at one point that if an

> eloquent man . . . delivers, in Parliament or elsewhere, a beautiful speech, and will perform nothing of it, but leaves it as if already performed . . . the serviceable thing you could do to that man, if permissible, would be a severe one: To clip off a bit of his eloquent tongue by way of penance and warning; another bit, if he again spoke without performing; and so again, till you had clipt the whole tongue away from him,—and were delivered, you and he, from at least one miserable mockery: 'There, eloquent friend, see now in silence if there be any redeeming deed in thee; of blasphemous wind-eloquence, at least, we shall have no more!' (181-82)

254.20. **Silence withal is the eternal duty of a man:** See note to 34.38.

254.19-20. **There is a time to speak, and a time to be silent:** Ecclesiastes 3:7: "A time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak."

254.22-23. **'Watch the tongue,' is a very old precept:** A traditional saying, similar to "hold thy tongue" (see preceding note).

254.24. **Demosthenes:** Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.), the great Greek orator. In an 1869 journal entry, Charles Eliot Norton reports that Carlyle told him, "For a long time I was puzzled to make out what Demosthenes meant by his Action, action, action! which most people think to mean the mere phrenitic flinging about of hands and arms, but I looked up the matter in Valerius Maximus and in Cicero, and I found that the word used was *upokrisis* or 'play-acting,' and that this was the sorry meaning

that the great maxim possessed" (1:324). On the derivation of the word "hypocrisy" from the Greek for "play-acting," see note to 182.38-183.1.

254.33-34. **Phocion, who mostly did not speak at all, was a great deal nearer hitting the mark than Demosthenes:** Phocion (402?-318? B.C.), Athenian general, politician, and ruler of Athens, often an oratorical opponent of Demosthenes, had a reputation for being a man of few words. Carlyle's source is probably Plutarch, which he had been reading in recent months in the translation of Arthur Clough (*Letters* 43:30, 48):

> And to this, probably, Polyeuctus, the Sphettian, referred, when he said that Demosthenes was, indeed, the best orator of his time, but Phocion the most powerful speaker. His oratory, like small coin of great value, was to be estimated, not by its bulk, but its intrinsic worth. He was once observed, it is said, when the theatre was filling with the audience, to walk musing alone behind the scenes, which one of his friends taking notice of, said, 'Phocion, you seem to be thoughtful;' 'Yes,' replied he, 'I am considering how I may shorten what I am going to say to the Athenians.' Even Demosthenes himself, who used to despise the rest of the haranguers, when Phocion stood up, was wont to say quietly to those about him, 'Here is the pruning-knife of my periods.' (4:334; see also 5:11)

254.34-255.4. **He used to tell the Athenians, "You can't fight Philip. . . . all that rampant nonsense":** Philip II of Macedon (382-336 B.C.) waged war throughout the region and defeated Athens at the Battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.). Cleon the Tanner (d. 422 B.C.) was an Athenian general, politician, and orator with a reputation for being a warmonger. Although Plutarch discusses these events (see 4:344-45), there is no exact parallel to this speech in his account, and we have not been able to locate an alternative source. Carlyle was, of course, speaking from memory and may here be engaging in his frequent practice of imaginatively re-creating a speech.

255.4-7. **Demosthenes said to him once, . . . as they get sane again, you!":** Carlyle alludes to the account in Plutarch's "Life of Phocion": "Among the many public speakers who opposed him, Demosthenes, for example, once told him, 'The Athenians, Phocion, will kill you some day when they once are in a rage.' 'And you,' said he, 'if they once are in their senses.'

And when Demosthenes, one of the orators in opposition to him, said to him, 'The Athenians will kill thee, Phocion, should they go crazy,' he replied: 'But they will kill thee, should they come to their senses'" (4:339).

255.7-16. **It is also told of him how he went once to Messene . . . would speak no other word to any man:** In Plutarch, Phocion is interrupted frequently by the Macedonian general Polysperchon, not by several people, and it occurs when he is accused of treachery, for which he was executed, not while on an embassy to Messene; the negotiations concerned Munichia (4:365; see 357-65). For the latter, Carlyle may recall an episode in which Cleomenes sent representatives to Messene to conduct negotiations (4:490).

255.32. **Cleon the Tanner:** See note to 254.34-255.4.

256.9-18. **the most remarkable piece of writing on it is in a book of Goethe's, . . . while I was translating it:** Goethe (see note to 27.21) was seventy-two when *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre, oder Die Entsagenden* (Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman Years, or the Renunciants) was first published, in 1821; a substantially revised second edition appeared in 1829. The novel is a sequel to Goethe's immensely successful 1795-96 *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*). Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* was published in 1824, and his translation of the earlier version of the sequel, under the title *Wilhelm Meister's Travels, or the Renunciants*, was published in the final volume of his 1827 four-volume collection entitled *German Romance*. In an April 15, 1827, letter to Goethe, he declared: "if I have been delivered from Darkness into any measure of Light, if I know aught of myself and my duties and destination, it is to the study of your writings more than to any other circumstances that I owe this; it is you more than any other man that I should always thank and reverence with the feeling of a Disciple to his Master, nay of a Son to his spiritual Father" (*Letters* 4:209). Carlyle enclosed with this letter his *Life of Schiller* and his translation of *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, each containing the same inscription: "To Goethe / From his warmest admirer / Thomas Carlyle" (see *Letters* 4:211 n. 2).

256.20-23. **I have often said that there are some ten pages of that, which, if ambition had been my only rule, I would rather have written, been able to write, than have written all the books that have appeared since I came into the world:** Carlyle may have said this in conversation, but he does not seem to have written it down anywhere. The passage on the "three reverences" (see next note) is certainly one of his favorites, and

he alludes to it often (see "Goethe," *Essays on German Literature* 214-19; "Count Cagliostro," *Historical Essays* 23; "Voltaire," *Essays on Literature* 88; "Corn-Law Rhymes," *Essays on Literature* 210; *On Heroes* 36; *Sartor* 3.7.184-85). Carlyle held Goethe's *Wanderjahre* in extremely high regard, particularly for its modeling of pedagogical practices. In a March 3, 1858, letter, he had written: "In Wilhelm Meister's *Travels* (sequel to Wilhelm's *Apprenticeship*) by Goethe, there is, by intimation rather than by direct lecture on the subject, by far the best account that I have ever known to be written, especially in modern times, of that high matter. I recommend this, on all hands, for many years past, as the Book of Books on Education of the young soul in these broken distracted times of ours; but do not find that almost any English person yet reads it with understanding" (*Letters* 33:186-87).

256.38-257.11. **The Chief, who is the Eldest of the three, says to Wilhelm: . . . or ever will be":** Carlyle paraphrases his translation of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*:

> "Well-formed, healthy children," replied the Three, "bring much into the world along with them: Nature has given to each whatever he requires for time and duration; to unfold this is our duty; often it unfolds itself better of its own accord. One thing there is, however, which no child brings into the world with him; and yet it is on this one thing that all depends for making man in every point a man. If you can discover it yourself, speak it out." Wilhelm thought a little while, then shook his head.
>
> The Three, after suitable pause, exclaimed: "Reverence!" Wilhelm seemed to hesitate. "Reverence!" cried they a second time. "All want it, perhaps you yourself." (*Wilhelm Meister* 2:264-65)

Note that the last sentence departs from the original and refers to the first of the three aspects of reverence, "Reverence for what is above us" (2:265); see next note.

257.13-14. **He practically distinguishes the kinds of religion that are, or have been, in the world; and says that for men there are three reverences:** Here and in what follows, Carlyle paraphrases the ensuing discussion

of reverence (*Wilhelm Meister* 2:265-67; see also preceding note). On Carlyle's frequent allusion to the three reverences, see note to 256.20-23.

257.26-28. **as Goethe says . . . 'a height to which mankind was fated and enabled to attain; and from which, having once attained it, they can never retrograde':** Carlyle paraphrases and condenses a longer passage: "It is a last step to which mankind were fitted and destined to attain. . . . and this being now attained, the human species cannot retrograde ; and we may say, that the Christian religion having once appeared, cannot again vanish" (*Wilhelm Meister* 2:267).

257.38-258.6. **Wilhelm had left his own boy there, . . . the thing *he* was most suited for:** *Wilhelm Meister* 2:319; see 269.

258.31-32. **I should say there is nothing in the world you can conceive so difficult, *prima facie*, as that of getting a set of men gathered together as soldiers:** This concept dates as far back as *Past and Present* but was first fully elaborated in "Irish Regiments" above (see esp. note to 199.32) and *Latter-Day Pamphlets*.

258.35-36. **the word *drilling*, if you go to the original, means 'beating,' 'steadily *tormenting*' to the due pitch:** It is not clear to what "original" of "drilling" Carlyle refers. The word in this sense derives, according to the OED, from the Dutch "drillen," meaning "to drill, bore; to turn round; to shake, brandish; to drill, form to arms; to run hither and thither; to go through the manual exercise." See also 151.35.

259.14-16. **You have careers open to you, by public examinations and so on, which is a thing much to be approved of, and which we hope to see perfected more and more:** Long criticized for being a bastion of patronage and lax standards, the British civil service became a target for reform in the early 1850s. The Northcote-Trevelyan Report (1853-1854), which recommended a centralized exam system overseen by a board of examiners in order to ensure quality and consistency across the civil service, led to the creation of the Civil Service Commission in 1855, which was charged with implementing the recommended reforms. Carlyle strongly supported civil service reform. As early as *On Heroes*, he had remarked approvingly of the Chinese system of recruiting "men of talent" for government positions (145-46). On March 1, 1854, he wrote to Richard Monckton Milnes, a member of parliament, seeking information about the Northcote-Trevelyan Report: "I wish you would tell me something definite

about that grand Proposal of manning the Civil Service by persons chosen according to their merit? . . . I really am much interested about it; and can find nobody to give me information that will amount to anything. Certainly there never was in my time such a 'Reform' set on foot as this same might be; a thing worth all other 'reforms' put together; and indeed practically inclusive of all" (*Letters* 29:34-35). In the same letter, Carlyle recognized that the reform process would likely be a slow one: "I can foresee endless difficulties in the execution of such an attempt: but the attempt is great, salutary, and I believe indispensable." He subsequently wrote a short, unpublished essay on the Northcote-Trevelyan Report (see Fielding 8-12).

259.19-20. **Look where one will, revolution has come upon us. We have got into the age of revolutions:** Carlyle refers both to the past, in particular the French Revolution, and the present day. The phrase "the age of revolutions" echoes *The French Revolution*: "'The Age of Revolutions approaches' (as Jean-Jacques wrote)" (1:2.1.30); the allusion is to Rousseau, *Émile* (1762): "Nous approchons de l'état de crise et du siècle des révolutions" (Carlyle's source was Buchez and Roux 2:164). In *On Heroes*, he had written: "Truly, without the French Revolution, one would not know what to make of an age like this at all" (173). He also has in mind current events: the American Civil War had just ended the previous year, controversy generated by Governor Eyre's suppression of the Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica in October 1865 was becoming more heated, and efforts were once again underway in Parliament to enact political reform by extending the voting franchise. Five months after his inaugural address, Carlyle recorded in his journal:

> Country very base and mad, so far as I survey its proceedings. Bright, Beales, Gladstone, Mill, and Co., bring on the suffrage question, kindling up the slow *canaille* what they can. This, and 'Oh, make the niggers happy!' seem to be the two things needful with these sad people. Sometimes I think the tug of revolution struggle may be even *near* for poor England, much nearer than I once judged—very questionable to me whether England won't go quite to *smash* under it (perhaps better that it do, having reached such a pitch of spiritual *beggary*), and whether there is much good likelihood that England can ever get out of such *Medea's Cauldron* again, 'made

> new,' and not rather be boiled to slushy rags and ended?" (Froude, *Life in London* 2:354)

259.21-24. **Curious to see how, in Oxford and other places . . . new ideas are afloat:** University reform at Oxford and Cambridge had been ongoing since the early 1850s, when a Royal Commission issued its recommendations for constitutional reform and other changes involving the relationship between the universities and their respective colleges. Carlyle had alluded to this process in his *Life of Sterling* (1851): "Alas, the question of University Reform goes deep at present; deep as the world;—and the real University of these new epochs is yet a great way from us!" (35). The Royal Commission's findings led to the Oxford University Act of 1854 and the Cambridge University Act of 1856, which altered each institution's rules of internal governance and removed the Anglican test for admission. But other issues lingered, including the removal of all religious qualifications, the expansion of the curriculum, particularly in the sciences, and debate about the role of research, with some reformers proposing that German universities be followed as a model. For a detailed account of mid-nineteenth-century reform at Oxford and Cambridge, see Vernon 20-50.

259.28. **Anarchy *plus* a constable:** Carlyle alludes to his own catchphrase from *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, where he used it to characterize democracy and laissez-faire economics. Referring to the revolutions of 1848 that threatened monarchies in Europe, Carlyle noted that "everywhere the people, or the populace, take their own government upon themselves; and open 'kinglessness,' what we call *anarchy*,—how happy if it be anarchy *plus* a street-constable!—is everywhere the order of the day" (6). Later in the same work, Carlyle characterized American society as "Anarchy *plus* a street-constable" (20) and then made the same point about English society: "In spirituals and temporals, in field and workshop, from Manchester to Dorsetshire, from Lambeth Palace to the Lanes of Whitechapel, wherever men meet and toil and traffic together,—Anarchy, Anarchy; and only the street-constable (though with ever-increasing difficulty) still maintaining himself in the middle of it" (29; see also 283). This phrase in turn looks back to a passage in "Chartism": "Where no government is wanted, save that of the parish-constable, as in America with its boundless soil" (above 94).

260.15. **'Seekest thou great things, seek them not':** Jeremiah 45:5: "And seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not: for, behold, I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith the Lord: but thy life will I give unto thee

for a prey in all places whither thou goest." Carlyle cites this passage on several occasions in his letters (*Letters* 17:299, 21:211, 38:103).

260.18-19. **There is a nobler ambition than the gaining of all California would be:** In the wake of the gold rush in 1848-1849, Carlyle became at once fascinated and appalled by California. On July 8, 1851, he wrote to Emerson: "Can you tell me of any good Book on California? Good: I have read several bad. But that too is worthy of some wonder; that too, like the old Bucaniers, hungers and thirsts (in ingenuous minds) to have some true record and description given of it" (*Letters* 26:105). Usually he viewed California as a symbol of mammon-worship, as when he contends that the "various high Spartan virtues, . . . are worth more to a man than all the yellow rubbish which so many two-legged swine are grubbing for, with painfully assiduous snout, in California" (*Letters* 28:133). But at times he employed "California" simply to mean something of great value, as in a letter sent to his wife on her birthday in 1857: "I am not to send you any Gift, other than this scrap of Paper; but I might give you California, and not mean more than perhaps I do" (*Letters* 32:182). See also note to 252.22-24.

260.19-20. **the getting of all the suffrages that are on the Planet just now:** From the 1830s on, Carlyle consistently criticized the extension of voting rights—especially universal suffrage—as an illusory legislative panacea that would do more harm than good. See especially "Chartism" (reprinted above), which takes as its subject the working-class movement for universal male suffrage (esp. 93-95) and the next essay in this volume, "Shooting Niagara," which attacks the extension of suffrage enacted with the Reform Bill of 1867 (see esp. 265.title).

260.33-34. **The French financier said, "Why, is there no sleep to be sold!" Sleep was not in the market at any quotation:** Not identified.

260.35-261.3. **It is a curious thing, which I remarked long ago, and have often turned in my head, that the old word for 'holy' in the Teutonic languages, *heilig*, also means 'healthy.' . . . 'holy' really is than 'healthy':** A favorite etymology of Carlyle's, and an essentially accurate one. Although in modern German the definition of "heilig" is limited to meanings associated with "sacred" or "holy," its root in Old High and Old Middle German, "heil," can mean healthy/health and could also be used in the sense of "whole." In "Characteristics," he had traced health only to wholeness, not holiness (above 24 and note to 24.7-9). Carlyle deployed

this etymology several times in letters during the 1850s. On March 13, 1854, for example, he wrote of "that old Teutonic etymology 'Gott der Heilige=God the Healthy=God the Holy' (all one thing in very truth!) . . . I only meant to say that Health is the real basis of all morality and of all Religion; and that I, who am daily admonished of that fact, can as little as another get it reduced to practice in any measure! Alas, Alas!—" (*Letters* 29:48-49; see also 25:278, 29:23, 35:44-45). See also *Shooting Niagara* (below 297), and the manuscript fragment associated with his writing of the *Life of Sterling* (NLS MS 1798, folio 66; published in Timko 31).

261.3. ***mens sana in corpore sano*:** "A sound mind in a healthy body," an oft-repeated Latin phrase from Juvenal's *Satire X*, (356).

261.11-13. **you are going to write a book,—you cannot manage it (at least, I never could) without getting decidedly made ill by it:** Carlyle often attributed his bouts of ill health, especially his dyspepsia, to the stress of writing, particularly during the composition of *Frederick the Great*. A letter of November 18, 1853, makes a direct connection between writing and ill health: "There is really, at many times, very little fundamentally wrong with my health; it is my trade rather (as I may perceive) that weds me to pain, and has deformed all my life in that sad manner" (*Letters* 28:313). The following from an August 29, 1855, letter is typical of his comments about his work on *Frederick*: "As to myself I have had and still have a fearful tussle with that sad Book of mine,—which is yet far, far from being off my hands:—never in my life had I an uglier job; a sore year of hard labour, last, and almost without result, as I often think. But it is not so either: by and by, if I live, I shall get thro' that adventure too; and I think it ought to be my last of the kind.—My health feels often miserably bad; and yet is not so: nothing ails me still except perpetual indigestion, and that could be greatly relieved if I had a healthier trade; my trade chiefly causes that" (*Letters* 30:51). See also note to 240.10-11.

261.25-26. **if you look into Knox you will find a beautiful Scotch humour in him:** Carlyle often ascribed a sense of humor and capacity for laughter to his heroes, among them Shakespeare, Swift, Jonson, Sterne, Cervantes, Goethe, Richter, Tieck, and Burns, as well as the fictional Teufelsdröckh (see *Sartor Resartus* 1.4.33-34). Carlyle had elaborated on his view of Knox's humor in *On Heroes*:

> Withal, unexpectedly enough, this Knox has a vein of drollery in him; which I like much, in combination with

> his other qualities. He has a true eye for the ridiculous. His *History*, with its rough earnestness, is curiously enlivened with this. When the two Prelates, entering Glasgow Cathedral, quarrel about precedence; march rapidly up, take to hustling on another, twitching one another's rochets, and at last flourishing their crosiers like quarter-staves, it is a great sight for him everyway! Not mockery, scorn, bitterness alone: though there is enough of that too. But a true, loving, illuminating laugh mounts-up over the earnest visage; not a loud laugh; you would say, a laugh in the *eyes* most of all. . . . They go far wrong who think this Knox was a gloomy, spasmodic, shrieking fanatic. Not at all: he is one of the solidest of men. (129)

Carlyle would reiterate his view of Knox's sense of humor in "The Portraits of John Knox" (below 343).

261.29. **his *History of the Reformation*:** *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (1644), which forms the first two volumes of David Laing's scholarly edition of the *Works of John Knox* (*Letters* 23:94-97; see also note to 229.1).

262.17-263.5. **'The Future hides in it . . . Work, and despair not'":** From Goethe's poem "Symbolum" (1815), also called "Mason Lodge" or "The Mason's Ways." Carlyle here omits his translation of the first stanza: "The Mason's ways are / A type of Existence, / And his persistence / Is as the old days are / Of men in this world." Carlyle translated the poem in 1842, and (beginning with the 1845 edition) the complete translation appeared at the end of book 3 of *Past and Present* (3.15.233-34). Carlyle quoted or alluded to Goethe's poem often, beginning in an August 31, 1830, letter to Goethe himself (*Letters* 5:152).

Notes to "Shooting Niagara: And After?"

265.title. **SHOOTING NIAGARA:** This phrase, Carlyle's coinage, compares passage of the Second Reform Bill (1867) to a sudden, precipitous movement ("shooting"), usually of a vessel, over Niagara Falls. The nineteenth century witnessed several daredevils, including the famous Blondin, who traversed the falls on a tightrope, but no one had, at this time, survived the experience of "shooting Niagara" in a boat or barrel, making the attempt a highly risky venture to say the least. Carlyle may also allude to the contemporaneous remark made by Edward Stanley, the 14th Earl of

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Derby and Conservative Prime Minister. Likely in response to a cartoon by John Tenniel (*Punch*, August 3, 1867) that depicts Britannia—on a horse whose face bears the likeness of Benjamin Disraeli, sponsor of the bill—leaping obstinately into a thicket, Lord Derby famously asserted on August 6: "No doubt we are making a great experiment and taking 'a leap in the dark' but I have the greatest confidence in the sound sense of my fellow-countrymen" (Hansard 189:952). However, metaphorical references to the destructive power of Niagara Falls—and the foolhardiness of going over it—are scattered throughout Carlyle's letters. In a letter of 1821, he characterized his determination to persevere as a writer, despite discouraging setbacks, with a reference to Niagara Falls: "When you launch a boat upon the falls of Niagara, it must go *down* the roaring cataract, tho' rocks and ruin lie within the profound abyss below" (*Letters* 1:371). In the revolutionary year of 1848, Carlyle several times linked a metaphoric reference to the falls to the rapidly approaching danger of democracy, as in this passage: "We have got into the *rapids* of Democracy with a vengeance;—and are ill prepared for it, I doubt, some of us! Prepared or not, there is nothing for us now but the general *Niagara* short way ahead. God help poor England" (*Letters* 22:279-280). See also the conclusion of "Legislation for Ireland" (above 204).

265.3. **since the Heptarchy ended:** The end of the Heptarchy (see note to 106.5-6) refers broadly to the period of instability when the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were under assault from Viking invaders in the ninth and tenth centuries (see next note).

265.6-7. **with no Norman Invasion now ahead, to lay hold of it, to bridle and regulate it for us:** William, Duke of Normandy, invaded and conquered England, defeating Harold at the battle of Hastings, on October 14, 1066, after which he was crowned King William I of England. As Carlyle suggests here, he spent the next twenty years consolidating his realm. In "Chartism," Carlyle had asserted that during this period, "the old Saxon Nobles, disunited among themselves, and in power too nearly equal, could not have governed the country well" and so implied that the Norman Conquest was a benefit to the nascent English nation (above 85).

265.12. ***Democracy* to complete itself:** Like many of his contemporaries, Carlyle believed that the Representation of the People Act of 1867 (commonly known as the Second Reform Act), although it did not result in universal manhood suffrage, nonetheless embraced the principle of one man, one vote and thus moved toward the "completion" of democracy,

of rule by the people (or at least by male citizens). Whereas the Reform Bill of 1832 primarily had redistributed and reformed parliamentary boroughs, the Second Reform Act more than doubled the size of the electorate by reducing the property qualifications, especially in towns and cities, in addition to redistributing fifty-two seats from small towns to large commercial and industrial cities.

265.18. **Penny Newspapers:** A term for cheap newspapers intended for the working classes, especially those radical newspapers whose distribution had been controlled by a stamp tax following the Napoleonic Wars; the reduction of the tax to a penny in 1836 and its elimination in 1855 allowed the flourishing of radical "penny" papers. Long after the abolition of the duty, the term "penny newspapers" continued to cling to inexpensive journalism for the working classes. Carlyle may have in mind *Lloyd's Weekly Paper* (founded 1842) and *Reynolds's Newspaper* (founded 1850), both of which cost one pence unstamped, two pence stamped.

266.1. **"Liberty of Conscience":** Cromwell examined the phrase "liberty of conscience" in an address to Parliament (September 12, 1654), which was given new life in Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*: "Again, is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate [Cromwell] to exercise his conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up" (3:147; see also 2:83, 124). Like Cromwell, Carlyle refuses an understanding of "liberty of conscience" as a universal, abstract truth that trumps all other considerations and thus its reduction to a popular slogan.

266.1. **Progress of Opinion, Progress of Intellect:** Like "Liberty of Conscience" (see preceding note), popular slogans. See note to 35.30-31.

266.5. **Free Trade:** See note to 117.5-6.

266.7. ***Cheap and Nasty*:** An idiom dating to at least the 1820s, meaning of low price and shoddy quality. Charles Kingsley used a variant of the phrase in his 1850 pamphlet *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, one of a series of Christian Socialist tracts. Perhaps prompted by Kingsley's pamphlet, Carlyle used the phrase in a letter dated December 17, 1852, in which he lamented that "I am learning, too, as you may perceive, to write with an iron pen,—a melancholy task for one so old, but which the revolutionary humour of Papermakers &c (striving to be 'cheap and nasty,' such

is their noble goal) drives me into: and yet I don't think it will do!—" (*Letters* 27:366).

266.10. **'under enlightened popular suffrage':** The phrase "popular suffrage" was commonplace, but we have not found any other references to "enlightened popular suffrage," so we take this to be Carlyle's characterization of contemporary political discourse rather than quotation from a printed source. He may refer to the fact that politicians who supported the extension of the franchise argued that the working classes were now better educated (enlightened) and thus able to vote responsibly. In *Latter-Day Pamphlets,* throughout which he railed against the value of the suffrage, Carlyle had exclaimed: "Universal suffrage: what a scheme to substitute for the revelation of God's eternal Law, the official declaration of the account of heads! It is as if men had abdicated their right to attempt following the above-said Law, and with melancholy resignation had agreed to give it up, and take temporary peace and good agreement as a substitute. In all departments of our affairs it is so,—literary, moral political, social; and in all of them it is and remains eternally wrong" (274). See also *Past and Present* 2.5.69, 3.13.208-18.

266.20-22. **'velocity increasing' . . . 'as the *square* of the time':** A principle of classical mechanics, that the velocity of a free-falling object (that is, one subject only to the force of gravitation) accelerates at a rate of just over thirty-two feet per second squared, as indicated by Newton's Second Law of Motion and Galileo's experiments with falling bodies, both of which Carlyle would have encountered as a student under the tutelage of both John Playfair and John Leslie, professors of mathematics and physics at the University of Edinburgh. See *Letters* 1:84, 103, 127-128, 3:187-188. See also the article on "Science" in Cumming 418-19.

266.25-26. **prophecy, for instance, that Germany would either become honourably Prussian or go to gradual annihilation:** Carlyle devoted the years 1851-1865 to his massive *Frederick the Great* and thus was intimately familiar with the background to contemporary political changes in the German states. His growing admiration for Prussian order and resolve, as embodied in Otto von Bismarck (see next note), persuaded Carlyle that the relatively weak German Confederation, formed in 1815 in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, must become Prussian if it hoped to withstand again the winds of revolutionary change that it barely weathered in 1848 and 1849. During the 1860s, Bismarck was orchestrating the unification

of Germany, culminating in the formation of the German Empire in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871.

266.28-29. **Herr von Bismarck, whose dispraise was in all the Newspapers, would, to his own amazement, find the thing now doable:** In the years following his appointment as Prime Minister of Prussia in 1862, Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) reformed the Prussian military and then provoked and won brief wars with Denmark and Austria; by 1867, as Carlyle was at work on "Shooting Niagara," Bismarck had established the North German Confederation and made Prussia the preeminent power in central Europe. He was viewed by many in Britain during these years as a dangerous, skillful manipulator, but Carlyle admired his determination to unite Germany and to oppose efforts to liberalize and democratize the German nation. Three years later, in "Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-1871," Carlyle would take the side of Bismarck and Prussia against France during the Franco-Prussian war, desiring that "noble, patient, deep, pious and solid Germany should be at length welded into a Nation, and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vapouring, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome, restless and over-sensitive France" (below 308).

266.36-38. **"Δόγμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τίσ μεταβάλλει; For who can change the opinion of these people!" as the sage Antoninus notes:** Carlyle cites the *Meditations* of the Roman emperor and Stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (121-180):

> But how worthless are all these poor people who are engaged in matters political, and, as they suppose, are playing the philosopher! All drivellers. Well then, man: do what nature now requires. Set thyself in motion, if it is in thy power, and do not look about thee to see if any one will observe it; nor yet expect Plato's Republic: but be content if the smallest thing goes on well, and consider such an event to be no small matter. *For who can change men's opinions?* And without a change of opinions what else is there than the slavery of men who groan while they pretend to obey? (9.29; emphasis added).

267.3. **an axiom of Euclid:** An axiom (or postulate), as employed by the Greek mathematician Euclid (fl. 300 B.C.), is an indemonstrable first principle that must be accepted without proof, as the foundation on

which the edifice of geometry may be erected. On Carlyle's mathematics studies, see note to 9.3-4.

267.6. **Divus Imperator:** An epithet for deified Roman emperors, the "Divus Imperator" here is Marcus Aurelius.

267.9-11. **phenomenon, which the Germans call *Schwärmerey* ('*enthusiasm*' is our poor Greek equivalent), which means simply '*Swarmery*,' or the 'Gathering of Men in Swarms':** Immanuel Kant (see note to 285.16-18) distinguishes between *Schwärmerei* (fanaticism) and *Enthusiasmus* (enthusiasm); see, for example, his "Essay on the Maladies of the Head" (1764). Carlyle may have encountered the term in Kant or in the writings of the German Romantics (e.g., Schelling, Schlegel). He may also have been aware of the word and the concept from a reading of *Biographia Literaria* (1817), in which Samuel Taylor Coleridge glosses the term in much the same way as Carlyle here: "Hence the German word for fanaticism (such at least was its original import) is derived from the swarming of bees, namely, Schwärmen, Schwärmerey" (2:30-31). Enthusiasm is "our poor Greek equivalent" because it means "possessed by a god" and offers a positive connotation at odds with the distaste that Carlyle—like the Germans—intends to express.

267.14. **Cleon the Tanner, Beales, John of Leyden, John of Bromwicham:** Cleon the Tanner (see note to 254.34-255.4), a radical democrat in Athens during the early years of the Peloponnesian War was despised by Aristophanes, Thucydides, and Aristotle, who considered him a chief corrupter of the Athenian people. Edmond Beales (1803-1881) was a Cambridge-educated barrister and political radical who, in 1865, founded the Reform League, an organization dedicated to universal manhood suffrage. A champion of the people's right to public meeting, he was a chief architect of the mass meetings in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park in support of the Reform Act of 1867. In a letter of May 8, 1867, Carlyle had written: "Meanwhile we are passing our divine *Reform Bill* (Quack Dizzy doing it, and no *other* Quack, to my comfort); Yesterday Beales, *in* spite of Walpole ag*n*, had his demonstrat*n* in the Park;—& we are certainly to be blessed with that fine measure before long: let us be thankful" (*Letters* 44:194). John of Leyden (or Leiden) (1509-1536) was a radical Dutch Anabaptist who sought to install by force a reformed "kingdom of God" in the German city of Münster; in 1534 he proclaimed himself king of the "New Jerusalem," before being tortured and executed by his captors in January 1536. John of Bromwicham (the local name of the industrial

midlands city Birmingham) is Carlyle's dismissive pseudomedieval name for John Bright (1811-1889), the son of a Quaker mill owner in Rochdale, Lancashire, who became a powerful voice for free trade, first as cofounder (with Richard Cobden) of the Anti-Corn Law League (see notes to 90.12 and 266.5) and subsequently as member of Parliament, where he spoke powerfully for electoral reform and extension of the franchise during the years leading up to the Second Reform Act of 1867.

267.24. **"Manhood Suffrage":** A term used in contemporary debates about the franchise to distinguish "household suffrage," voting rights based on property qualifications, from universal "manhood suffrage," voting rights extended to every adult male, regardless of property. See note to 265.12.

267.25. **"glorious Liberty":** Carlyle uses the term as a catchphrase for contemporary slogans.

267.30-31. **Quashee Nigger to Socrates or Shakspeare; Judas Iscariot to Jesus Christ;—and Bedlam and Gehenna equal to the New Jerusalem:** Carlyle provocatively links a series of what he considers polar opposites. Quashee is a chiefly derogatory term for a black laborer in the West Indies, in contrast to the Athenian philosopher Socrates and English dramatist William Shakespeare. Quashee is derived from the Akan Kwasi, a day name commonly given to a child born on a Sunday, that by the 1770s was used as a slur. Carlyle had used it in this fashion in "The Negro/ Nigger Question" and *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. On Carlyle's racism, see the introduction. Judas Iscariot is the apostle who betrays Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane for a payment of thirty silver pieces (Matthew 26:14-16, 47-50). For the insane asylum Bedlam, see note to 57.11, and for Gehenna as a rough synonym for hell, see note to 267.30-31. The New Jerusalem refers both to Ezekiel's prophetic vision of the city of the rebuilt temple (Ezekiel 40-48) and the Heavenly Jerusalem of the book of Revelation, over which Christ will rule following the Second Coming (Revelation 20-21).

268.7-8. **the late American War, with Settlement of the Nigger Question for result:** The American Civil War, waged between April 1861 and April 1865, resulted in the emancipation of black slaves and the abolition of slavery, as well as the preservation of the Union. On Carlyle's racism, see the introduction.

268.12. **Nigger Melodies:** In language designed to offend British liberals,

Carlyle employs the stereotype of the musical abilities of black people in the Americas. In June 1867, at the time Carlyle was drafting "Shooting Niagara," he may have encountered a thoughtful, sympathetic essay on "The Negro Spiritual" in the *Atlantic Monthly* (19:685-94) by the American abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Higginson, who was to meet Carlyle in 1872, compares Negro spirituals favorably to the Scottish folk ballads collected by Sir Walter Scott. On Carlyle's racism, see the introduction.

268.17-18. **Servantship on the *nomadic* principle, at the rate of so many shillings per day:** Carlyle had thundered eloquently against the cash nexus as the only bond between human beings in *Past and Present*, insisting in the chapter "Permanence" that temporary contract labor with no security damaged individuals and society alike: "The Nomad has his very house set on wheels; the Nomad, and in a still higher degree the Ape, are all for 'liberty'; the privilege to flit continually is indispensable for them. . . . [But] the civilized man lives not in wheeled houses. He builds stone castles, plants lands, makes lifelong marriage-contract" (4.5.272). Carlyle's hatred of ephemeral labor contracts at the whim of employer or employee led him to downplay the suffering of black slaves in America (see introduction and notes to "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce"). This view underlies "The Negro/Nigger Question" and "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce."

268.20-22. **Sheffield disclosures of *rattening*, and the market-rates of murder in that singular 'Sheffield Assassination Company (Limited)':** "Rattening" is the practice of taking away tools or sabotaging machinery and at times resorting to violence against nonunion laborers in order to force workers to join unions and to comply with trade union rules (the earliest written use of the word listed in the OED is from 1828). In the years leading to the Second Reform Act, rattening in Sheffield received national attention and became part of public discourse. Some contemporary commentators and politicians used the issue of rattening to attack trade unions as a whole. W. C. Leng, editor of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, investigated and publicized the so-called "Sheffield Outrages," a wave of violent "rattening" actions against employers and nonunion workers in the 1850s and 1860s that crested in 1866; his investigations led to the establishment by the government of a Special Commission of Enquiry in May 1867 and the publication of its findings—including evidence of targeted killings and other crimes—later in the year. Overall, the inquiry demonstrated that such actions were the exception, not the rule, and that most trade unions were not involved in the practice. Carlyle may well

have read an article on "The Sheffield Outrages," published in the *Times* on June 24, 1867; the article details the "trade outrages" of the time, with special emphasis on the confessed role of William Broadhead, general secretary of the Sheffield saw-grinders' union, in the targeted killing of a nonunion worker named Thomas Fearnehough. He had discussed similar episodes in Glasgow in "Chartism" (above 87; see 64, 83).

268.24-25. **"disastrous *strikes*," "merciless *lockouts*":** The quotation marks indicate that these pairings have become journalistic catchphrases.

268.27-28. **"distressed needle-women" who cannot sew:** The phrase "who cannot sew" was inserted in the first pamphlet edition, but it is consistent with Carlyle's previous comments on the needlewomen (see notes to 218.32-33 and 227.20-21). In spite of his general sympathy for the working poor and sympathetic comments about "distressed needlewomen" in *Latter-Day Pamphlets,* Carlyle insists that they are partially to blame for their circumstances:

> Shirts by the thirty-thousand are made at twopence-halfpenny each;—and in the mean while, no needlewoman, distressed or other, can be procured in London by any housewife, to give, for fair wages, fair help in sewing . . . In high houses and in low, there is the same answer: no *real* needlewoman, 'distressed' or other, has been found attainable . . . Imaginary needlewomen, who demand considerable wages, and have a deepish appetite for beer and viands, I hear of everywhere; but their sewing proves too often a distracted puckering and botching . . . Good sempstresses are to be hired in every village; and in London, with its famishing thirty-thousand, not at all, or hardly. (28; see also "Negro/Nigger Question," *Essays* 4:366)

Jane Carlyle apparently shared this view; according to John Ruskin, she "said that the reason of their suffering was that because, generally speaking, they could not stitch, and that was the secret of their not getting work" (*Works* 16:433). Apart from possible gender bias—Carlyle makes no similar dismissal of sweated tailors, generally men—these comments may reflect the Carlyles' frustrations at finding suitable servants, which, as here, he linked to the contractual nature of the employer/employee relationship.

In *Past and Present*, he had complained that "Month-long contracts do not answer well even with your house-servants" (4.5.273 and note).

268.37. **"contract for life":** See note to 268.17-18 and preceding note.

269.3. **Buckra:** Derived from the Efik "mbakara," white man, the word Buckra was used by black slaves in the Americas to refer to a white boss or master. The term had entered into print in the English-speaking world by the late eighteenth century, usually in Anglicized versions of black speech.

269.8. **Chimæra:** See note to 63.15-16.

269.16-18. **half a million (some say a whole million, but surely they exaggerate) of excellent White Men, full of gifts and faculty, have torn and slashed one another into horrid death:** Notoriously difficult to calculate in an era of inadequate record keeping, the accepted number of soldiers, Union and Confederate, who died during the American Civil War—either from battle wounds or from sickness—was for more than a century approximately 625,000; although Carlyle here seems to assume that the dead were all white, roughly one-tenth of the Union death toll (359,000) were African American. For Carlyle's source, see note to 269.39.

269.20. **Blacks, men and brothers:** An allusion to the Abolitionist slogan, "Am I not a man and brother."

269.26. ***Papae, papae;* wonderful indeed!:** In this form, the word "papae" is a Latin interjection meaning "wonderful! indeed," as indicated by Carlyle's gloss. It derives from the Greek "παπαι," an exclamation of surprise or suffering. Carlyle's "wonderful" retains the original force of the word—full of wonder, in this case melancholy wonder—not the modern sense of admirable or excellent.

269.29. ***Ilias* (*Americana*) *in Nuce*:** See note to 237.title. Carlyle is quoting in its entirety this brief squib, which is reprinted above. He added this footnote to a revised edition of "Shooting Niagara" in 1869.

269.39. **Lunt, *Origin of the late War*:** Carlyle derived his number of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 deaths from George Lunt's (1803-1885) *Origin of the Late War* (1866).

270.5. **Canonical Books:** Carlyle refers to what seems to him the un-

questioned "canon" of modern constitutional theory, accepted as axiomatic in nineteenth-century Britain; though he mentions no specific names, he likely has in mind the liberal philosophical tradition of John Locke and John Stuart Mill, as well as the voluminous discourse on Reform that characterized the middle years of the nineteenth century.

270.6. ***Vox populi vox Dei*:** Dating at least to the time of Charlemagne, in the eighth century, the Latin aphorism means "the voice of the people is the voice of God."

270.22. ***quàm primùm*:** Latin idiom meaning "as soon as possible."

270.26. **"chaining of the Devil for a thousand years":** In the Christian tradition, the millennium is the thousand-year period of universal peace and justice expected to follow the Second Coming of Christ that is to be inaugurated by the binding of Satan, as described in the book of Revelation: "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season" (20:1-3).

270.28. **thirty years back:** Carlyle refers to the struggle for Reform a generation earlier that culminated in the Reform Act of 1832.

270.36. **"Reform Parliament":** The Parliament returned (in part through the efforts of voters newly enfranchised by the Reform Act of 1832) following the election of December 1832 (see note to 265.12).

271.1. **to "whip" a Garotter:** In the 1850s and 1860s, British street criminals used garroting to immobilize their victims, approaching a victim from behind and then, with a cord (or just an arm) around the neck, choking the victim enough to incapacitate and rob him but not to kill him, though on occasion the victim died. A spate of such attacks in 1862—including an attack on Hugh Pilkington, a member of Parliament—led to a panic that exaggerated the number of garrotings and the threat posed to society. Articles and letters about garroting appeared in the daily newspapers; in January 1863 *Cornhill Magazine* featured an article by Henry Holland on "The Science of Garrotting and Housebreaking," further fanning public

anxiety. In 1863, after heated debate about the garroting panic, Parliament passed a Security from Violence Act (the "Garrotters Act") that reintroduced the punishment of whipping or flogging, along with imprisonment, for those convicted of theft with violence. For more details, see Davis.

271.1. **no Fenian taken with the reddest hand:** Modern "Fenian" nationalism grew out of the movement for repeal of the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland (see note to 181.title). In 1858, emigrant Irish radicals in the United States founded the Fenian Brotherhood, and, the same year, militant nationalists in Ireland founded the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a secret society devoted to the establishment of an independent democratic republic. The members of both groups were widely referred to as Fenians. Willing to employ violence in pursuit of an independent Ireland, the Fenians in the mid-1860s created a panic similar to the garroting panic. An ancient Irish symbol, the Red Hand, was recognized in the 1860s as a sign of militant Irish republicanism. Carlyle here suggests a double meaning, punning on the sign of the red hand as a hand drenched in blood.

271.2-3. **hardly a murderer, never so detestable and hideous, but you find him "insane," and 'board him at the public expense':** Since before the late winter of 1850, when he wrote "Model Prisons," the second of the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, Carlyle deplored sentimental philanthropic movements, including prison reform, that seemed to him to coddle the undeserving. Though he had a grudging respect for John Howard, the father of prison reform in England, and though on his trip from Craigenputtoch to London in 1824-1825 he had met the Quaker prison reformer Elizabeth Fry and described her as "as much like an angel of Peace as anyone I ever saw" (*Letters* 3:242), Carlyle grew increasingly skeptical about prison reforms that by midcentury had curtailed capital punishment and diminished the practice of transportation to the colonies. As detailed in "Model Prisons," it bothered Carlyle immensely that, in his view at least, prisoners in so-called model (or reformed) prisons "enjoyed" a standard of living—relatively clean cells, regular meals—that was out of reach of the working poor who lived just outside the prison walls. In this passage Carlyle expresses outrage that even murderers, if judged criminally insane, were placed in asylums rather than executed or otherwise punished severely. Carlyle may have learned about the confinement of the mentally ill from his good friend John Forster, who served first as secretary to and then as a member of the Lunacy Commission, 1855-1872. The phrase "board him at the public expense" appears to be Carlyle's own.

271.4. ***British* Prytaneum:** An institution of the ancient Greek city-states, the prytaneum was a type of town hall that originally housed the community's sacred hearth but that later, especially in Athens, served as the place at which distinguished guests were fed at state expense; some champion athletes were granted a lifetime privilege of eating meals at the prytaneum, hence Carlyle's comment on boarding Fenians and murderers "at the public expense."

271.24. **at present in my solitude:** Following the death of Jane Welsh Carlyle on April 21, 1866, the aging Thomas Carlyle battled depression and a deep sense of guilt following the loss of his spouse of forty years.

271.25. **the "Reform Measure":** In July 1867, as he was writing "Shooting Niagara," the Reform Act (see note to 265.12) passed its second reading (out of three necessary to become law).

271.33. **'reflex and reverberation':** Carlyle quotes the elder Marquis de Mirabeau, father of Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau, Carlyle's chief hero of the French Revolution. Carlyle first encountered the phrase while researching his history of the Revolution and quoted it in his essay "Memoirs of Mirabeau"; the elder Mirabeau comments on the disorderly mind of his wayward son: "'Pie and jay by instinct.' 'Wholly reflex and reverberation (*tout de reflet et de réverbère*); drawn to the right by his heart, to the left by his head, which he carries four paces from him'" (*Historical Essays* 188).

272.8. **Niagara Rapids:** The accelerating current just upstream from Niagara Falls (see note to 265.title). In a journal entry in the spring of 1867, Carlyle regrets that "Reform Bill [is] going its fated road, i.e. England getting into the Niagara rapids far sooner than I expected" (Froude, *Life in London* 2:297).

272.12-13. **Traitorous Politicians, . . . have brought it on:** After a cautious Liberal reform bill was defeated in 1866, the new Conservative government led by Benjamin Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (see note to 272.22), advanced its own reform bill in February 1867. Carlyle calls them "traitorous" because the Conservatives had previously opposed all reform proposals.

272.18. **finis:** Latin: "limit," "end."

272.21-22. ***schadenfreude*, 'mischief-joy,' the Germans call it, but really it is *justice*-joy withal:** Carlyle was familiar with the word "Schadenfreude," as it was by this time common in German, but, as his gloss indicates, it was not familiar in English. Among the earliest appearances in English is Samuel Simon Smucker's *Psychology* (1842), which defines it accurately as "a malicious pleasure in the misfortune or sufferings of others" (103); the earliest use listed in the OED is from 1852. In Germany, the word appears to have been current at least by the late eighteenth century: Friedrich Schiller employs it in *The Bride of Messina* (1803), a late play that Carlyle discusses in his biography of Schiller. The word in its current meaning is included in Johann Christoph Adelung's *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart* (1811), the first scholarly dictionary of the German language.

272.22-23. **he they call "Dizzy" is to do it:** "Dizzy" is the nickname of Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), British Conservative politician, statesman, and writer. An adept politician, Disraeli was chief among those "Traitorous Politicians" (see note to 272.12-13) who abandoned traditional Conservative opposition to electoral reform and, after having opposed a Liberal reform measure, introduced a more sweeping bill that would become the Reform Act of 1867.

272.23-24. **having sold their poor Mother's body for a mess of Official Pottage:** In the Old Testament, Esau, the famished older son of Isaac, sells his priceless birthright for "a mess of pottage" prepared by his clever younger brother Jacob (Genesis 25:29-34). On April 27, 1867, about the time he began writing "Shooting Niagara," Carlyle wrote of the Reform Bill: "The wretched persons who sold their Country (and gradually got it launched on this insane course) for a mess of Official pottage, are not to have the pottage after all, but that a dextrous Jew [Disraeli] snaps it up from under their noses!" (*Letters* 44:190).

272.29. **Hebrew Conjuror:** Carlyle had disliked and distrusted Disraeli at least since the late 1840s for opposing the economic policies of Robert Peel, Carlyle's parliamentary hero. It was this act of "treachery" that provoked Carlyle's scorn and solidified his distrust of Disraeli; presumably he also alludes to the trickery of Jacob (see preceding note). Carlyle throughout this section manipulates conventional nineteenth-century anti-Semitic stereotypes; his views on Disraeli and Jews were already evident in the early 1850s (see *Letters* 28:33 and n. 1). As a Jew by birth (though baptized into the Church of England as a boy), Disraeli, he implies, is not really

British, not truly a son of Mother England. Contemporary depictions of Disraeli often employed such caricatures. The phrase "a superlative Hebrew Conjuror" did not appear in the original text of "Shooting Niagara," as published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in August 1867, but appeared for the first time in the pamphlet edition published by Chapman and Hall in the fall of 1867 (see Historical Collation). Carlyle's animosity toward Disraeli was somewhat mitigated years later when Disraeli proposed for Carlyle a pension and the Grand Cross of the Bath; however, though appreciative of the gesture, Carlyle declined the honors.

272.32. ***flebile ludibrium*:** Latin: "a jest to be wept over." The phrase is part of a longer Latin maxim usually attributed to Ovid: "*Si credas utrique res sunt humanae flebile ludibrium*." As rendered somewhat loosely in a couplet by William Taylor in 1842, "They both combine to show Fate's stern behest, / That Human Life is but a mournful jest." The phrase is part of a passage Carlyle added in the pamphlet edition in the fall of 1867 (see Historical Collation).

272.33-34. **Lath-sword, and Scissors of Destiny; Pickleherring and the Three *Parcæ*:** A lath-sword, made of a narrow strip of wood, is the counterfeit weapon of comic buffoons, such as Harlequin or Punch; Pickleherring (German *Pickelhering*) was also a buffoon, a stock comic character in German farces (*Pickelhäringsspiele*) of the seventeenth century. The Three Parcæ are the Roman equivalent of the Greek Moirai, the three old women who in deadly earnest personify and control the destiny of mortal beings. In English they are usually referred to as the Fates. Clotho (Roman Nona) spins the thread of human life, Lachesis (Roman Decima) measures it with her rod, and Atropos (Roman Morta) snips it with her shears, Carlyle's "Scissors of Destiny." These phrases are part of the passage Carlyle added in the pamphlet edition in the fall of 1867 (see Historical Collation).

273.3-4. **Beales and his ragamuffins pull down the railings of Her Majesty's Park:** In the wake of the Liberals' failed Reform Bill, the Reform League, headed by Edmond Beales (see note to 267.14), organized a mass gathering to be held in Hyde Park on July 23, 1866. Under orders from Conservative Home Secretary Spencer Horatio Walpole, Commissioner of Metropolitan Police Sir Richard Mayne declared the gathering illegal and chained the gates at the northeast entrance to Hyde Park at Marble Arch; the gates were defended by roughly 1800 police constables and a barricade of omnibuses lined up end to end. When Beales, his friend Colonel Lothian Sheffield Dickson, and the vast procession of demon-

strators behind them arrived at Marble Arch, they were refused entrance to the park, whereupon Beales and several thousand supporters marched southeast to meet at Trafalgar Square. The remainder—a crowd estimated variously as between fifty and one hundred thousand people—grew restive, pulled down the iron railings, and streamed into the park as police wielded truncheons against them. Despite Carlyle's claim, Beales himself took no part in pulling down the railings of "Her Majesty's Park"—a designation Beales would have in any case rejected, like John Stuart Mill considering the park as belonging to the people, not the monarch. Carlyle uses the term "ragamuffins" rather than the more familiar "roughs" (see the *Spectator* article in the next note), the term favored by middle-class newspapers for such protestors, assumed to be from the lower classes (see note to 274.9).

273.4-9. **Home Secretary Walpole (representing England's Majesty) listens to a Colonel Dickson . . . and bursts into tears:** In these passages Carlyle presents a compressed, tendentious summary of the events of July 23-26, 1866. In the immediate aftermath of the "Hyde Park Railings Affair" of July 23 (see preceding note), tensions between police and demonstrators remained high. On July 25, a deputation of the Reform League, including Beales and Colonel Dickson, met with Home Secretary Walpole to negotiate an end to the violent standoff, but confusion rather than clarity resulted from the meeting. A representative article that appeared in the July 28, 1866, *Spectator* takes both the Reform League and the government to task but is clearly critical of Walpole's muddled response to the crisis: "On Wednesday Mr. Walpole, overcome almost to tears, or quite to tears, by the confusion he had produced, capitulated . . . He sent for the managers of the Reform League, received a lecture from Mr. Beales, thanked him for his lecture, listened quietly while Colonel Dickson expounded the danger that the people might learn how to descend into the streets, and having displayed in that form a meekness more than Christian, he [Walpole] announced that he would in future rely for the maintenance of order on Mr. Beales" (821).

273.12-15. **"Jamaica Committee;" and a Lord Chief Justice 'speaking six hours' . . . as Martial Law:** On October 11, 1865, several hundred black men and women—spurred by restricted political rights and dire economic conditions—marched to the courthouse in the east Jamaican town of Morant Bay, where they set fire to the courthouse and killed eighteen people, including the local magistrate. In response, Edward John Eyre (1815-1901), the colonial governor of Jamaica, declared martial law, put down the rebellion, and approved harsh reprisals—including the hanging

of some 439 black men and women, the flogging of over 600, and the destruction of some 1,000 dwellings—to ensure that the local rebellion did not spread. Eyre's measures provoked an outpouring of both condemnation and support in Britain. In early December the Liberal government of Prime Minister Earl Russell suspended Eyre from his governorship and sent a Royal Commission of Inquiry to Jamaica to make a full investigation of the rebellion and its aftermath. Formed in December 1865 in response to Eyre's actions, the independent "Jamaica Committee" comprised liberal and radical reformers and activists (including Edmond Beales) who pressed the British government to condemn the imposition of martial law in Jamaica as a violation of the constitutional rights of British subjects and to bring criminal charges against any, including Governor Eyre, who had abused their power. The Jamaica Committee brought legal action against Governor Eyre and two of his subordinates, Alexander Nelson and Herbert Brand, seeking criminal verdicts against the three men and a clear legal judgment against the use of martial law in British colonies. Lord Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn—well-known for his reform sympathies—himself "put the charge" against Nelson and Brand. As Carlyle notes, Cockburn spoke for nearly six hours and "denounced the doctrine of martial law as anathema to Britain's ancient commitments to liberty and the rule of law. Cockburn sternly condemned the 'startling proposition' that the invocation of something called 'martial law' might immunize an official of state from the strictures of law and legal accountability" (Kostal). Cockburn's charge was widely praised in major liberal newspapers, as well as in cheaper newspapers aimed at the working classes, hence the reference to "Penny and Threepenny" news. See the leading article "The Chief Justice on Martial Law," which praises Cockburn and mentions "a charge of almost six hours long," in the *Examiner* (April 13, 1867: 226). Despite Cockburn's eloquence, the grand jury refused to indict Brand and Nelson on charges of murder, nor was Eyre subsequently indicted. Before 1865, in a long and eminent career spent largely in the colonies, Eyre had earned a reputation as a capable and humane colonial administrator, especially in Australia. When the Eyre Defense Committee organized itself in August 1866 as a counterweight to the zeal of the Jamaica Committee, Carlyle was its first chairman and was instrumental in recruiting John Ruskin to the cause of Eyre's defense. By the time of the six-hour charge of Chief Justice Cockburn and the refusal of the grand jury to indict Eyre, however, Carlyle had already begun to step back from active involvement in the controversy, though this section of "Shooting Niagara" reveals the depth of his anger and disillusionment over the affair that persisted through 1867.

273.28. **the Majesty's Ministers:** A reference to the liberal ministry (October 1865-June 1866) of John Russell (see note to 182.5), which included William Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

273.29. **Governor Eyre:** See note to 273.12-15.

273.29-31. **throw him out of window to . . . Nigger-Philanthropists:** Carlyle highlights the fact that among those seeking the prosecution of Governor Eyre were prominent members of British antislavery groups, including Louis Chamerovzow, secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Carlyle had railed against "Exeter Hall" philanthropists (see notes to 166.31 and 189.20-21) since the publication of "The Negro/Nigger Question" in 1849. The opening paragraphs of that polemic are a sustained rhetorical attack on the sentimentalism of Exeter Hall philanthropic concern for black laborers in the West Indies. That Carlyle was cognizant of the fact that the epithet "Nigger" is offensive is evident from his retitling of the "Negro Question" as the "Nigger Question." On Carlyle's racism, see the introduction.

273.33. **that other unvenerable Majesty's Ministry:** The conservative ministry (June 1866-February 1868) of Lord Derby, which included Spencer Walpole as Home Secretary.

274.7-8. **Beales, John of Leyden, Walter-the-Pennyless:** For Edmond Beales and John of Leyden, see note to 267.14. Walter-the-Pennyless (Gautier Sans-Avoir, 1040?-1096) was a French nobleman who joined the disastrous First Crusade against the Turks (1095-1096) and led an improvised army of some twenty thousand foot-soldiers to Constantinople, where they pillaged surrounding towns for provisions. Almost forty years earlier, Carlyle mentioned Walter-the-Pennyless in the essay "Voltaire," which notes unfavorably "the whole corporation of captains, from Walter the Penniless to Napoleon Bonaparte, compared with these 'movable types' of Johannes Faust" (*Essays on Literature* 78).

274.9. **Roughs:** The term "roughs" was used frequently in contemporary British middle- and upper-class discourse to refer to—and to disparage—participants in such demonstrations as those at Hyde Park in 1866 (see note to 273.3-4).

274.15. **Eloquences in the House:** Carlyle's satiric, metonymic name for members of Parliament, following from his practice of associating

Parliament (etymologically, a discussion or conversation and hence a deliberative council) with mere eloquence, mere talking. See also notes to 111.19 and 117.14-15.

274.18. **We demand to become *Commonwealth of England*:** England was a commonwealth from 1649 to 1653, following the execution of Charles I on January 30, 1649, and the passage of laws by the so-called Rump Parliament establishing the legal structure of a commonwealth, the history of which Carlyle had recorded in *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*. Carlyle speculates that the reluctant response of the British government to the Hyde Park demonstrations and its lukewarm defense of Governor Eyre may lead "loud mobs" and a few Parliamentary demagogues to the overthrow of the British monarchy.

274.22. **'within these walls':** Carlyle uses this phrase in *The French Revolution* in narrating preparations for the "flight to Varennes," the ill-fated escape attempt of Louis XVI in June 1791. "Watch thou, Gouvion," the narrator warns the hapless revolutionary official charged with monitoring the king's movements, "with Argus' vigilance; for, of a truth, treachery is within these walls" (2:4.3.161).

274.29. **'lying to steep in the Devil's Pickle':** In Daniel Pierce Thompson's popular *Green Mountain Boys* (1839), a character deceives his captors into believing that he has drunk a large quantity of rum by pouring it down his bosom, with the result that, as he exclaims, his boots are full of it and his feet are in "a devil's pickle" (1:174). While we have no evidence that Carlyle read this American novel, Thompson was one of the most popular novelists of the era, and Carlyle is known to have read the works of contemporaries such as Cooper and Irving. Of course, Carlyle could have come up with the term independently, especially given that the phrase "devil of a pickle" was fairly commonplace. In any case, the use of the phrase "being in a pickle" to indicate being in a distressed state was of long-standing; a devil's pickle suggested a state of particular difficulty, possibly caused by a force of evil.

274.29-31. **for above two hundred years (I date the formal beginning of it from the year 1660, and desperate *return* of Sacred Majesty:** In *Past and Present*, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, and *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, Carlyle identifies Cromwell as the last great leader in England and dates the beginning of Britain's woes to the restoration of the monarchy—with

powers much attenuated—beginning in 1660. On Carlyle's recurrent allusion to the two hundred years since Cromwell, see note to 168.7-8.

274.36. **New-birth, a Saturnian time:** According to Roman mythology, Saturn (identified with the Greek god Cronos), the god of seedtime and sowing associated with agriculture and other peaceful arts, ruled Latium (the region around present-day Rome) during a golden age of peace and abundance.

275.16. **'immortal smash':** This phrase entered British political parlance during the election of 1859 to voice anxieties about financial prospects for the year 1860. Liberal minister Granville George Leveson-Gower, the 2nd Earl Granville, used the phrase—so as to undercut those anxieties—in a speech of May 21, 1860, noting that the previous government had given the coming year 1860 "the awful designation of 'the year of immortal smash'"—only to find those fears dispelled once 1860 had arrived (Hansard 158:1449*)*.

275.16. **shooting of the Falls:** See note to 265.title.

275.34. **bet of the impetuous Irish carpenter:** No source identified.

276.7. **from Plebs to Princeps: "**Plebs" is the Latin singular collective noun for the common people, the masses; "Princeps," the Latin adjective meaning first or foremost, is here used as a substantive for leader.

276.12-14. **a body of brave men, and of beautiful polite women, furnished *gratis* as they are,—some of them (as my Lord Derby, I am told, in a few years will be) with not far from two-thirds of a million sterling annually:** Lord Derby (Edward Smith-Stanley, the 14th Earl of Derby and Prime Minister in 1867) was among the wealthiest landowners in England, with an annual income of roughly £667,000. Carlyle may have met Lord Derby by this time; seven years later Lady Derby would assist him with his researches for "Portraits of John Knox" (reprinted below).

276.25. **the Queen 'in Council':** The trusted body of advisers—the Privy Council—that counsels the British monarch. Constitutionally, when the Queen-in-Council (or King-in-Council when the monarch is male) issues an edict, she is understood to be acting with the advice and consent of her Privy Council.

276.35. ***ad vitam aut culpam*:** A Scots law phrase meaning "for life or until fault."

277.2-3. **Jamaica is an angry subject:** See notes to 273.12-15 and 273.29.

277.3. **Poor Dominica itself is described to me:** Dominica (not to be confused with the present-day Dominican Republic) is a small volcanic island in the Lesser Antilles, which became a British possession in 1763 in the wake of the Seven Years' War and then a formal British colony in 1805. As indicated by the phrase "is described to me," the source of Carlyle's information about Dominica most likely is letters from and conversations with Alan Ker, chief justice of Dominica, 1856-1861, and a justice of the Supreme Court of Jamaica, 1861-1885. The Scotsman Ker was the nephew of Ann Ker Scott and her husband, minister and educator Alexander John Scott, an old friend of Carlyle who had once been associated with Edward Irving. In 1844, perhaps emboldened by this connection, the young Alan Ker called on Carlyle and a friendship developed between the two men (*Letters* 18:146-47). In 1851, Ker married Mary Tennyson, Alfred Tennyson's sister, and thus Carlyle may also have gleaned some information about Dominica through conversations with Tennyson, a regular visitor at Cheyne Row. During his tenure in the West Indies, Ker wrote Carlyle occasional letters that included information about conditions there, including disparaging views of the black population. A letter from Ker in 1852 included "something about the Blacks worth your reading—as it corroborates your own views of them," Jane Welsh Carlyle wrote to an absent Carlyle (*Letters* 27:210), and Carlyle refers to another letter two years later as "Ker's Letter about the Niggers" (*Letters* 29:147-48). The bulk of Carlyle's knowledge about Dominica, however, likely had its origin in a visit to Cheyne Row by Ker in 1859. In a letter of April 5, 1859, Carlyle wrote:

> Alan Ker was here; . . . (I strongly advised him to write upon the Niggers) as he has nothing to do. Dominica [was] a glorious *present* to get from her Majesty, if [one] were 40 years younger! Size of the Isle of Wight or bigger; rising grand with Mahogany woods tropical *üppigkeit* [luxuriance], and a grand extinct-volcano (wh*ch* g[rows] fine coffee and is wholesome as Tempe) in the cen[tre] of it: populat*n* 100 whites, 28,000 blacks, and perhaps 3,000 yellows; Parl*t* of 13 members; 1 mu[l]atto tinsmith the *Derby* of the instit*n,* the Henry Dr[um]

> mond jet black, and one hon. member a whit[e] specimen. It is not worth a farthing to her Majesty as at present managed (they have to send f[or] Frenchmen even to quench riots,—and a boat's crew with cutlasses c*d* take it at any time." (*Letters* 35:62-64; see also notes)

277.5-6. **Hemispherical, they say, or in the shape of an Inverted Washbowl; rim of it, first twenty miles of it all round, starting from the sea, is flat alluvium:** Perhaps because Carlyle is recalling the conversation with Alan Ker some eight years earlier as well as earlier communications with him (see preceding note), his description of the topography of the island of Dominica is inaccurate, a possibility he seems to concede with the phrase "they say." Dominica is in fact dominated by two volcanic mountains, one in the north and one in the south, but the island is much smaller than Carlyle suggests, some twenty-nine miles from north to south and eighteen miles east to west, thus making impossible Carlyle's claim of a twenty-mile band of alluvial plain around its periphery.

277.15. **Friedrich Wilhelm, followed by his Friedrich:** Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688-1740), King of Prussia and Elector of Brandenburg, known as the "Soldier King," was succeeded by his son Friedrich (Frederick) II "the Great" (1712-1786), the subject of Carlyle's recently completed history. Carlyle greatly admired the administrative skill and strong leadership of the two Friedrichs, judging them precisely what was needed to create order and prosperity on an island where white colonists were greatly outnumbered by black, indigenous, and mixed-race populations and where legislative disputes had brought the government to a standstill.

277.22. **a Piebald Parliament of Eleven:** After the British took possession of Dominica (see note to 277.3), a tripartite administration—a governor, an appointed council, and a legislative assembly—at first ruled primarily in the interest of the white population; following the granting of political rights to free men of color in 1831 and the abolition of slavery throughout British colonies in 1834, the assembly came to include white, black, and mixed-race members, many of them part of the so-called "Mulatto Ascendancy," hence Carlyle's description of it as "piebald," a word usually used to describe a horse or other animal with black and white patches, and thus a chiefly derogatory word to describe something that is mixed or motley, composed of incongruous parts. By the early 1860s, the legislative assembly was stalemated by disagreements along lines of color and class. Executive maneuvers to eliminate or at least weaken the elective

assembly—and therefore the influence of people of color in favor of white (mostly British) planters—led to the formation of a unicameral assembly with seven elected and seven appointed members in April 1865. From that point forward, the political power of people of color declined. Carlyle's discussion of the "Piebald Parliament of Eleven," like his description of the topography of the island of Dominica (see note to 277.5-6), is numerically imprecise, though the number of members in its legislative assembly did fluctuate—and diminish—during the 1860s.

277.22-23. **head Demosthenes there a Nigger Tinman:** In his letter of April 5, 1859, recounting his visit with Alan Ker (see note to 277.3), Carlyle notes that a "mu[l]atto tinsmith" is the leader of the legislative assembly (*Letters* 35:64). According to Ledgister, "Neither of the leading coloured figures of mid-Victorian Dominica, Charles Gordon Falconer, a newspaper publisher and sometime schoolteacher, nor James Garraway, a merchant, could be described as a 'tinman'" (5). Although the Athenian Demosthenes had long been a byword for both statesmanship and political eloquence, Carlyle had questioned this reputation a year earlier in the "Inaugural Address" (see above 254).

277.24-25. **the old Fortifications have become jungle quarries (Tinman "at liberty to tax himself"):** Although Carlyle implies that the deterioration is owing to the "Tinman," it was the colonial administration, including the British governor/administrator, that was responsible for it.

277.33-34. **French Governor, . . . extinguish the devouring absurdity:** Carlyle recounts what seems to be a specific event, but the details he relates do not match recorded events in Dominica in the 1860s. Most likely Carlyle is relying heavily on what he gleaned from Alan Ker (see note to 277.3). His letter recounting Ker's visit refers in a general way to French intervention in Dominica: "They have to send f[or] Frenchmen even to quench riots" (*Letters* 35:64). Whatever role the French played in this instance, it was so small that we have not found any record of it.

278.22. **the crude, what we call unbred or *Orson* form:** Orson and his twin brother Valentine, characters in a medieval French romance, are the sons of Bellisant, sister of King Pepin, the eldest son of Charlemagne. Abandoned in the woods as babies, the two boys—though equally well born—experience different fates. Valentine is raised in the court of Pepin, while Orson is carried off by a bear and raised in the woods far from civilization. Eventually Orson is tamed and civilized by his brother Valentine.

278.22. **'men of genius':** See note to 281.23-24.

278.23. **Samuel Johnson:** Samuel Johnson (see note to 102.21-22) was famed both for his excellence as a writer and for his gruff demeanor.

278.27. **"New Era":** A stock phrase. See chapter 8 of "Chartism," entitled "New Eras," in which Carlyle observes, "One has heard so often of new eras, new and newest eras, that the word has grown rather empty of late. Yet new eras do come" (above 104).

279.6-7. ***annus mirabilis* of 1660:** "Annus mirabilis" is Latin for year of miracles; the phrase entered the English language in 1667, with the publication of John Dryden's poem *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders 1666*, the miracles or wonders referring primarily to the Great Fire of London. In that context, Carlyle's reference to 1660 as a year of miracles is ironic, in that the miraculous restoration of the monarchy was in his view the beginning of a long period of decline (see note to 274.29-31 and next note).

279.7. **Oliver Cromwell's dead clay was hung on the gibbet:** Upon his death in 1658, Cromwell (see note to 95.11-12) was accorded the honor of burial in Westminster Abbey, but following the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, his corpse was disinterred and hung until sundown on the gibbet at Tyburn. Subsequently Cromwell's decapitated head was impaled on a pole and displayed on the roof of Westminster Hall for twenty-four years.

279.8. **a much easier "reign of Christ" under the divine gentleman called Charles II:** "Reign of Christ" refers to the debates about the form of government during the Commonwealth, some arguing for a millennial "reign of Christ" rather than government under any single "man . . . governing men" (*Cromwell* 3:8.88, see 3:9.261, 4:10.36). The phrase "reign of Christ" was in wide use by radical Puritans during the 1640s and 1650s and may refer to *The Personall Reigne of Christ Upon Earth* (1642), a treatise by the Fifth Monarchist Henry Archer; the book was popular during the 1650s, and Carlyle likely encountered it or references to it as he worked on *Cromwell*. Charles II (1630-1685), who ruled after the restoration of the monarchy, was notoriously hedonistic and hardly a divine gentleman (a possible reference to the principle of monarchic rule by divine right).

279.27. ***pecus*:** A Latin word meaning "herd," applied contemptuously

to human beings who are "low-minded" or servile. The context suggests that Carlyle is likely drawing on the etymological connection between pecus, herd, and pecunia, money, the wealth of the ancients consisting in the number of cattle one owned, to which he had alluded in *Sartor Resartus* (1.5.30).

279.27-28. **torpid and *ignavum*:** The Latin "ignavum," "slothful" or "idle," reinforces the English torpid, lethargic, or sluggish.

280.8-11. **Aristocracy by nature, . . . 'who derive their patent of nobility direct from Almighty God':** This phrase—referring to a "natural aristocracy" of character, not of social class, an "aristocracy" that lacks documents legitimizing its claim to nobility—has its roots in the title of Robert Burns's "Elegy on Capt. Matthew Henderson, A Gentleman Who Held the Patent for His Honours Immediately from Almighty God" (1790). Slightly altered from Burns's original, the concept and phrase had been in Carlyle's mind at least since a letter of 1822: "Kings & Potentates are a gaudy folk that flaunt about with plumes & ribbons to decorate them, and catch the coarse admiration of the many-headed monster, for a brief season—then sink into forgetfulness or often to a remembrance even worse: but the Miltons, the de Staëls—these *are* the very salt of the Earth; they derive their 'patents of Nobility direct from Almighty God,' and live in the bosoms of all true men to all ages" (*Letters* 2:132; see also 4:144). He returned to the phrase repeatedly. In "Burns," he cited the apothegm as an example of Burns's ability to make "a single phrase [depict] a whole subject, a whole scene" (*Literary Essays* 43). See also "State of German Literature" (*Essays on German Literature* 54).

280.14. **'Copper-Captaincy' as of France:** A "Copper-Captain" is a sham captain, one who assumes the title without any right to it. Although the idea that copper is a sign of fraud dates to at least the seventeenth century, "copper-captain" is a nineteenth-century coinage. In the 1850s and 1860s, "Copper Captain" was a dismissive British nickname for the nephew of Napoleon, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-1873), who was president of the Second Republic and then, following a coup d'état, ruled as Emperor Napoleon III.

280.14-15. **Russian Abolition:** Czar Alexander II (1818-1881) abolished serfdom and freed all serfs in 1861, though on terms more favorable to landowners than to the serfs themselves, with the result of increased revolutionary agitation in the late decades of the nineteenth century.

280.15. **Erasure as of Poland:** By means of three partitions between 1772 and 1795, Russia, Prussia, and Austria divided the Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth among them, effecting an erasure of Poland as an independent nation from the maps of Europe.

280.27. **Comte-Philosophy-ing:** Auguste Comte (1798-1857), French thinker of the mid-nineteenth century credited as a founder of sociology and of philosophic positivism. Influenced by the utopian socialist Saint-Simon, whose work played a role in Carlyle's own thinking in the early 1830s (see note to 96.38), Comte devised a secular "Religion of Humanity," with a "priesthood" of sociologists to guide the populace in its devotions as a replacement for older religious traditions. As recorded in a conversation with George Henry Lewes in 1852, Carlyle had found nothing of value in Comte: "I looked into Comte some years ago, and soon found he was one of those creatures that bind the universe up into bundles, and sets them all in a row like stooks in a field . . . I was soon done with him" (*Letters* 27:166 n. 3).

280.32. **Ἄριστοι:** The Greek word "aristoi," a plural adjective used as a substantive, means "the best ones," the bravest or noblest. It is the root of the English word aristocracy, meaning rule of the best. Carlyle had alluded to this origin in "Chartism: "What is an Aristocracy? A corporation of the Best, of the Bravest" (above 97; see also *Past and Present* 3.8.175-187). Identifying the best—those fit to lead—was among Carlyle's primary concerns not only in *On Heroes* but also in *Past and Present*.

280.35-36. **the oracle-response, "Life for you," "Death for you":** Carlyle does not quote any specific writing or tradition but rather indicates the life-and-death seriousness—and difficulty—of receiving and interpreting the oracle response to the "question of questions," whether the British aristocracy-by-title has a future and purpose in a democratic polity.

281.5. **"a company of poor men, who will spend all their blood rather":** Carlyle quotes—and slightly alters—a passage from a speech Oliver Cromwell delivered on September 17, 1656. Responding to a plot to assassinate him as part of a Royalist insurrection led by the exiled (and deposed) Charles II, as well as to reconcile "matters of religion" between the Puritans and the Church of England, Cromwell asserted that "there are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance!" (*Cromwell* 3:9.283).

281.14. **'while God lives':** In numerous religious exhortations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, religious writers such as Hannah Whitall Smith used this phrase, assuring their listeners that "while God lives," there is nothing to fear. It may derive from Psalm 9:7, which asserts that "the Lord shall endure forever."

281.23-24. **'men of *genius*' they all emphatically are, the 'inspired Gift of God' lodged in each of them:** From Milton's *The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty* (1642); see note to 146.29.

281.25-26. **'touched their lips with his hallowed fire':** Carlyle probably alludes to Milton' s *Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty*, which he has just cited (see preceding note) and which Milton defended as the fruit of "devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he praises" (preface to book 2). See also Milton's ode "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (1629), in which the poet commands his "Heav'nly Muse" to "join thy voice unto the angel quire, / From out his secret altar touch'd with hallow'd fire" (14, 27-28). Milton, in turn, echoes Isaiah 6:6-7: "Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged."

281.27. **the light of the world:** See Matthew 5:14, John 8:12, 9:5.

281.30. **Nevertheless it is not of these I mean to speak at present:** That Carlyle does proceed to discuss the "Speculative, speaking" class for the remainder of this section is explained in part by the fact that this section was added in the Chapman and Hall pamphlet edition, resulting as well in a renumbering of the remaining sections (see Historical Collation).

282.31. **Paternoster-Rows:** See note to 7.30.

282.36. **flinging-in his γε, μὲν, δὲ:** The Greek words "γε, μὲν, δὲ" are classified as particles, small words whose broad function is to affect the nuance of an entire sentence or to give emphasis to a particular word. Carlyle suggests that in the *Iliad*, Homer employs such particles as syllables empty of meaning but necessary to fill out his chosen meter, dactylic hexameter.

282.38. **'hangs on him with greed':** Nowhere in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* does the poet step outside the narrative to speak unambiguously about the audience's response to his words, but Carlyle's assertion that Homer himself claims that his audience "hangs on him with greed" has two likely sources. In book 8 of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is moved to tears as he listens to the blind bard Demodocus sing of Achilles and the Greek heroes on the plains of Troy; this passage, in which the household of Alcinous listens with rapt attention to Demodocus, can be interpreted as a self-conscious reference to the blind poet Homer. But if the dramatic situation derives from the *Odyssey*, the language of Carlyle's reference—'hangs on him with greed'—likely has its source in Carlyle's recollection of *The Morals and Manners of the Seventeenth Century* (1688; 1696), by Jean de la Bruyère, itself a transmutation of the *Characters* of Theophrastus, in which La Bruyère writes disparagingly of mediocre poets and ignorant audiences, and notes that weak poets declaim bombastically ("déclamer pompeusement") their indifferent verses while the people "listen greedily, and stare and gape, believing they please the poet" (Le peuple écoute avidement, les yeux élevés et la bouche ouverte, croit que cela lui plait)—something that does not happen with a great poet like Homer. It seems probable that Carlyle in this passage works from memory to link the episode featuring Demodocus with the language of La Bruyère—whose work Carlyle cited in the essay "Diderot" (*Essays on Literature* 273)—to praise Homer and the *Iliad*, that truest of fictions.

283.3-4. **"Fiction,"—my friend, you will be surprised to discover at last what alarming cousinship *it* has to *Lying*:** Carlyle signals his long-standing uneasiness with fiction by alluding to the word's origin in the Latin verb "fingere," which can mean to form or to shape but also to feign, to invent, or to fabricate. Carlyle's ambivalence toward fiction had its roots in his family's stern Calvinism. As he had written of his father, James Carlyle, "Poetry, fiction in general, he had universally seen treated as not only idle, but false and criminal. This was the spiritual element he had lived in almost to old age" (*Reminiscences* 13). Although Carlyle himself read and enjoyed much fiction, publicly he often disparaged it. In an 1833 letter, he had praised history writing, at its best, as "the highest kind of writing, far higher than any Fiction even of the Shakspeare sort. For my own share I declare I now enjoy no other Poem than the dim, shadowy, as yet only *possible* Poem, that hovers for me in every seen Reality. . . I simply love all Books that offer me the Experience of any man or men, that give me any fraction of the History of men" (*Letters* 6:402). He also described his "The Diamond Necklace" as "a kind of attempted *True*

Fiction, but not the best I can give," the qualifiers suggesting yet again his uneasiness with fiction (*Letters* 7:245).

283.13. **Grub Street:** Renamed Milton Street in 1830, London's Grub Street was notorious in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as home to cheap publishing houses as well as the impoverished hack writers and journalists who wrote for them, many of whom lived in garrets—cheap, uncomfortable attics—at the top of the district's buildings. In his dictionary, Samuel Johnson memorably defined Grub Street as "originally the name of a street in Moorfields in London, much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called grubstreet." As with the earlier reference to Paternoster-Row (282.31-32), Carlyle uses the term Grub Street as shorthand for literature as an enterprise pursued by impoverished strivers.

283.17-18. **like the Iceland geysers in our time:** Carlyle would have seen an illustration of Geysir, the proper name of a hot spring in Iceland northeast of Reykjavik, in Ebenezer Henderson's *Iceland; or the Journal of a Residence in That Island* (1818), which he had read in 1840 while researching the world of the Norse sagas in preparation for *On Heroes*. During the middle years of the nineteenth century, Iceland and its famous geysers were a popular destination for British tourists.

283.33-34. **slaving for his bread in the Bankside Theatre:** Rather than naming a specific building or institution, the term Bankside Theatre serves as a shorthand reference to the several theaters—the Rose, the Hope, the Swan, and most famously the Globe—built in the late sixteenth century in the Bankside district of Southwark. Shakespeare had connections with both the Rose and the Globe theaters. See also note to 109.36-37.

283.35-36. **Marlborough said, He knew no English History but what he had got from Shakspeare:** Carlyle repeats a well-known anecdote told of the great English general, John Churchill (1650-1722), 1st Duke of Marlborough, who is reputed to have made the claim of learning "no English History but what he had got from Shakspeare." The first appearance of the anecdote in print can be traced to Ferdinando Warner, *Remarks on the History of Fingal and Other Poems of Ossian* (1762).

284.7. ***sine quâ non*:** Latin for "without which nothing," the phrase in English is used to identify something as absolutely necessary or indispensable.

284.9. **Judah:** See note to 224.24.

284.17. **the Bottomless Pit:** Hell. See Revelations 9:1-2: "Then the fifth angel sounded: And I saw a star fallen from heaven to the earth. To him was given the key to the bottomless pit. And he opened the bottomless pit, and smoke arose out of the pit like the smoke of a great furnace. So the sun and the air were darkened because of the smoke of the pit."

284.19-20. **the one thing needed from them:** See note to 32.2-3.

284.35-36. **the eye of England were *couched*:** To couch an eye is to remove a cataract by using a needle to displace the opaque part of the lens below the axis of vision, thus allowing the eye to see once again.

285.5. **"accounting for the Moral Sense":** Carlyle expresses his disdain for the rationalist philosophical project of seeking the ultimate causes of the human capacity to make moral judgments, or "moral philosophy" (see note to 96.38) as well as the principles governing such judgments; the word "accounting" suggests the sort of moral calculus that Carlyle associated negatively with the Enlightenment as well as with nineteenth-century Utilitarianism (see next note).

285.14. **Greatest Happiness Principle, Greatest Nobleness Principle:** On the "greatest happiness principle," see note to 5.18. In *Past and Present*, Carlyle had noted with dismay that "we construct our theory of Human Duties, not on any Greatest-Nobleness Principle, never so mistaken; no, but on a Greatest-Happiness Principle" according to which the satisfaction of appetites seems paramount (3.4.155). See also *Sartor Resartus* (2.9.182 and 2.3.117).

285.16-18. **'Two things,' says the memorable Kant, deepest and most logical of Metaphysical Thinkers, 'Two things strike me dumb: the infinite Starry Heaven; and the Sense of Right and Wrong in Man':** Carlyle translates his favorite lines from Immanuel Kant (see note to 51.38-52.2), the opening to the conclusion of the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (Critique of Practical Reason, 1788). In an 1878 conversation with his friend William Allingham, Carlyle would identify this aphorism as "the best bit for me in Kant" (Allingham 264), and he had twice quoted these lines in his letters, in 1846 and 1848 (*Letters* 21:109, 23:123). Carlyle's poetic translation of Kant's more prosaic original, which Charles F. Harrold and William D. Templeman observe "is not literal, and does not accurately

express Kant's meaning" (Harrold 255), is noteworthy, as is evident from a recent English translation of the saying: "Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing admiration and awe, the more often and steadily we reflect upon them: the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me" (260). For a more detailed discussion, see the article on Kant in Cumming.

285.23. **'Reverence for God and for Man':** Reverence for God and reverence for man correspond roughly to two of the three reverences described in chapters 10 and 11 of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, which Carlyle had elucidated in his "Inaugural Address" the year before publication of "Shooting Niagara" (256.38-257.11 and note).

285.25. **'Christian Religion itself is not dead':** This sentiment rises out of the allegory in chapters 10 and 11 of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* (see especially 2:267). Though the statement seems at odds with Carlyle's impatience, allegorized in *Sartor Resartus*, with the old forms and rituals that encumber the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is consistent with his growing tolerance in old age for the virtues of Christianity, as expressed obliquely below (286).

285.26-27. **The noblest of modern Intellects, by far the noblest we have had since Shakspeare:** Carlyle refers to Goethe, who exerted a profound influence on Carlyle in the late 1820s and to a lesser degree throughout his life. Carlyle used virtually the same phrasing in his "Inaugural Address," saying of Goethe that "no clearer man, or nobler or grander intellect has lived in the world, I believe, since Shakespeare left it" (above 262). Earlier, in *On Heroes*, Carlyle had delineated more precisely what he took to be the nature of Goethe's greatness:

> For the last hundred years, by far the notablest of all Literary Men is Fichte's countryman, Goethe. To that man . . . there was given what we may call a life in the Divine Idea of the World; vision of the inward divine mystery: and strangely, out of his Books, the world rises imaged once more as godlike, the workmanship and temple of a God . . . I consider him to be a true Hero; heroic in what he said and did, and perhaps still more in what he did not say and did not do; to me a noble spectacle: a great heroic ancient man, speaking and keeping silence

> as an ancient Hero, in the guise of most modern, high-bred, high-cultivated Man of Letters! (136).

285.28-30. **'It is a Height to which the HUMAN SPECIES were fitted and destined to attain; and from which, having once attained it, they can never retrograde':** See note to 257.26-28.

285.33. **Ritualisms, Puseyisms, Arches-Court Lawsuits, Cardinals of Westminster:** The Oxford (or Tractarian) Movement of the 1830s and 1840s had sought to revive religious rituals and doctrines in the Church of England. "Puseyism," an alternative, often dismissive, name for the movement, refers to Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1892), for fifty years the Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford and, along with John Henry Newman and John Keble, the driving force of the Tractarians, who argued that the Church of England had drifted from its sixteenth-century foundation as a true branch of the apostolic Christian church. Second-generation followers of Pusey and Newman in the 1840s, though not Pusey himself, argued for the revival of "catholic" liturgical rituals—the use of incense, the ringing of bells, the sign of the cross, the wearing of vestments—that had disappeared from Anglican services in the seventeenth century; the controversy over ritualism persisted through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Legal disputes over worship practices were adjudicated in the Court of Arches, the ecclesiastical court of the Church of England with jurisdiction over the southern half of England. Meanwhile, the abolition of legal restrictions on the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church resulted in the reestablishment of dioceses—and therefore bishops—in England for the first time since such structures and church leaders were outlawed in the sixteenth century. Unable by British law to establish a Catholic archdiocese of Canterbury—that historical name having been appropriated by the Church of England—the Catholic Church organized instead the Archdiocese of Westminster.

286.1. **making night hideous:** From Hamlet's speech on encountering the ghost of his father: "What may this mean, / That thou, dead corse, again in complete steel / Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon, / Making night hideous" (*Hamlet* 1.4.54).

286.1-2. **For a time and times and half a time, as the old Prophets used to say:** See Daniel 12:7: "And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that it

shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." See also Revelation 12:14: "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent."

286.3. **One of my hoping friends, yet more sanguine than I fully dare to be:** We have been unable to identify the "sanguine" friend to whom Carlyle refers, though much of what follows—the "Battle of the Giants," the *Dung*-Pelion" and the "Dung-Ossa"—is Carlylean language familiar to his readers since *Sartor Resartus*. Indeed, Carlyle's fictional alter ego from *Sartor*, Diogenes Teufelsdröckh (God-born Devil's-dung), is the likeliest identity of the "hoping" friend.

286.6-7. **"Battle of the Giants" flinging their *Dung*-Pelion on their Dung-Ossa:** See note to 16.18-19.

286.15. **"Hebrew old-clothes":** From the early 1830s, Carlyle used variants of the phrase "Hebrew old-clothes" as a metaphorical reference to the fabric of Judeo-Christian beliefs that had once clothed authentic spiritual truths but were now, in his view, worn-out tatters that needed replacing if there were to be a true spiritual rebirth, and it is an important element of the central clothing metaphor of *Sartor Resartus*. That Carlyle identifies them as "Hebrew" is explained by the chapter of *Sartor* titled "Old Clothes" in which Diogenes Teufelsdröckh discourses on the secondhand clothes market and its Jewish clothes brokers along Monmouth Street in London (3.6.178-179). In the late 1840s, Carlyle considered writing a book to be called "Exodus from Houndsditch," which would detail the necessity of replacing the outworn Judeo-Christian story—"Hebrew old-clothes"—with new spiritual vestments, but he gave up on it, Froude asserts, because he came to see "the Exodus from Houndsditch" as "impossible . . . The 'Hebrew old clothes' were attached so closely to pious natures that to tear off the wrapping would be to leave their souls to perish in spiritual nakedness; and were so bound up with the national moral convictions that the sense of duty could not be separated from a belief in the technical inspiration of the Bible" (*Life in London* 1:423). In 1850 Carlyle still hoped for such a transformation, writing in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, that "we shall all yet make our *Exodus* from Houndsditch, and bid the sordid continents, of once rich apparel now grown poisonous *Ou'-clo'* [old

clothes], a mild farewell" (410-411). These depictions are consistent with contemporary caricatures of Jews.

286.19. **Sinai:** The biblical mountain on which, according to the account in the book of Exodus, God gave Moses the tablets of stone on which were engraved the ten commandments.

286.20-21. **Königsberg in Prussia, . . . Charing-cross in London:** Königsberg is the city where Immanuel Kant (see notes to 51.38-52.2 and 285.16-18) was born and spent his entire life; Charing Cross, an area immediately south of Trafalgar Square, has been considered since the eighteenth century the center of metropolitan London.

286.32-34. **his chivalry is still somewhat in the *Orson* form . . . the fit *Valentinism*:** A reference to the legend of twins Orson and Valentine (see note to 278.22). In this context, Valentinism is shorthand for the cultivation expected of an aristocrat.

287.8. ***brass* guineas:** A guinea was a British gold coin worth twenty-one shillings (or one pound, one shilling); brass guineas counterfeit the appearance of gold but would be worth much less.

287.11. **to change *nomadic* contract into *permanent*:** See note to 268.17-18.

287.18. **"4 eights":** The "four eights" of the mid-nineteenth-century labor movement are expressed in the rhyme that Carlyle quotes. This formulation seems to have its roots in an earlier slogan, dating to 1817 and credited to the industrialist and utopian socialist Robert Owen: "Eight hours labour, eight hours recreation, eight hours rest." Associated with the British Trade Union movement, the "four eights" rhyme was sufficiently popular to be cited retrospectively in the 1880s and 1890s and well into the twentieth century, but no definite source for the "doggerel rhyme" has been identified.

287.20. **Blue Books:** Official reports on public matters issued by the British Parliament or the Privy Council, so called because they were bound in dark blue paper covers.

287.21-22. **touching on our Ark of the Covenant, on sacred "Free Trade":** The Ark of the Covenant is the chest within which were placed the stone tablets engraved with the ten commandments given to Moses on Mount

Sinai (Exodus 25:10-16). While Carlyle uses the idiomatic "touching on" in the sense of referring to, he also evokes the prohibition against touching the ark (Numbers 4:15). Given Carlyle's views of free trade (see note to 117.5-6), the implication that Free Trade is an untouchable Ark is, of course, ironic.

287.23. ***Cheap and nasty*:** See note to 266.7.

287.39. ***Reformed Workman's Pisgah Song*:** Carlyle's name for the rhyme—the "*Reformed Workman's Pisgah Song*"—appears to be his own invention, a reference to workers living during the era of the impending further Reformed Parliament. Mount Pisgah is the mountaintop from which Moses views the Promised Land that he will never enter (Deuteronomy 34:1-4).

288.4. **Demiurgus or Eternal World-builder:** A Latinized form of the Greek "δημουργός" (public worker or craftsman), the Demiurgus (in English, Demiurge) is a name for the rational creator of the universe in the Platonic tradition. In Plato's *Timaeus*, the Demiurgus or divine Craftsman produces an orderly universe out of preexisting chaos. From the 1820s forward, Carlyle addressed the struggle to produce cosmos (an orderly world) out of chaos—in a person, a nation, the world as a whole—as the essential activity of human life.

288.5. **Diabolus or Denier and Destroyer:** From the Greek "διάβολος" (meaning accuser, calumniator, slanderer, traducer), the word "Diabolus" in Jewish and Christian use acquired the specific meaning of the Devil or Satan. In "Goethe's Helena," Carlyle had written of Mephistopheles: "He calls himself the Denier, and this truly is his name; for, as Voltaire did with historical doubts, so does he with all moral appearances; settles them with a *N'en croyez rien* [I believe in nothing]" (*Essays on German Literature* 147). Carlyle elsewhere associates denial with the philosophes, deeming Voltaire a "Destroyer and Denier" and Diderot a "Denier" ("Goethe," *Essays on German Literature* 198; "Diderot," *Essays on Literature* 266). See also "Characteristics" above 52, *On Heroes* 148.

288.10. **the National Debt:** The British national debt (see note to 184.30-31) increased greatly during the Napoleonic Wars but then declined sharply throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century; in 1867 the debt was still roughly 70 percent of gross domestic product.

288.13-14. **Pandora's Box of evils:** In Greek myth, Zeus gave Pandora—in

Greek, the "all-endowed"—a jar or box filled with the evil spirits of toil, illness, and pain, which she released, thus accounting for the evils that trouble humankind.

288.15. ***shoddy* and Devil's-dust:** See note to 170.30-33.

288.26-27. **Etruscan Pottery . . . is some 3,000 years of age:** The Etruscan civilization flourished in the first millennium B.C. in central Italy before being absorbed by ancient Rome. The British became familiar with ancient pottery particularly through the vases and other objects collected by Sir William Hamilton, ambassador to the Kingdom of Naples, who sold them to the British Museum in the 1770s. Carlyle's description of Etruscan pottery as three thousand years old is approximate, as most examples of Etruscan pottery that he may have encountered would likely have dated no earlier than the eighth century B.C., at most some twenty-six hundred years before the writing of "Shooting Niagara."

288.28-30. **a well-made brick,—we have them here, at the head of this Garden (wall once of a Manor Park), which are in their third or fourth century (Henry Eighth's time, I was told):** The Carlyles' house at 24 Cheyne Row, Chelsea, was built on land that constituted part of what was once Chelsea Manor, an estate dating to before the Norman Conquest that later served as a royal residence during the reign of Henry VIII (see note to 16.34-35). In the seventeenth century the manor was sold to Charles Cheyne, 1st Viscount Newhaven, after whom Cheyne Row is named. Carlyle had described the brick wall surrounding their back garden in a letter of May 21, 1834 (*Letters* 7:172).

288.33. **one indignant gentleman:** The speaker has not been identified, but is likely Carlyle himself. In April 1864, for the sake of Jane's health, the Carlyles took a house in the coastal town of St. Leonard's. In his reminiscence of Jane Carlyle, written in July, 1866, about a year before he wrote this essay, Carlyle expressed contempt for the town of St. Leonard's, which had been newly developed since the 1830s: "The very 'houses' they were building, each 'a congeries of rotten bandboxes' (as our own poor 'furnished house' had taught me, if I still needed teaching), were 'built' as if for nomad apes, not for men" (*Reminiscences* 151). The fact that "congeries of plastered bandboxes" is in quotation marks suggests that this phrase was already Carlyle household coterie speech, though the only other instance of it that we can locate also dates to the sojourn in St. Leonards, in a letter to Jane of July 18, 1864 (*Letters* 40:140).

289.11. **sons of Adam:** See note to 122.5.

289.12. **esurient Phantasms and sons of Bel and the Dragon:** "Bel and the Dragon," a brief book in the Apocrypha, relates two stories in which Daniel (of the Old Testament Book of Daniel) proves that the gods Bel and the dragon, which King Cyrus and his people worshipped, were mere idols ("phantoms") composed of mundane materials. Both were "esurient" (hungry) in that they purportedly ate daily the food left for them, but Daniel demonstrates that the food left for Bel is actually eaten by the attendant priests and their families and then causes the dragon to blow up (see Bel and the Dragon 1:1-27). "Esurient" (from the Latin *esurire*) was most commonly used figuratively, following a well-known passage by the Roman satirist Juvenal, who wrote disparagingly of "Graeculus esuriens," that is, an "impecunious and greedy little Greek." In *The French Revolution*, Carlyle referred to Danton as "an esurient, unprovided Advocate" (2:4.4.136), a phrasing that suggests not only Danton's poverty but also his dangerous ambition.

289.18-19. **drowned in beer-butts, wine-butts:** A possible reference to the allegation that Richard the III had his brother, George, drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. See *Richard III* 1.4.283. See also next note.

289.20-21. **Meux and Co.'s Entire:** Entire is brown beer, mellowed in butts, that was favored by the working classes. Sir Henry Meux (1770-1841), owner of Meux and Company, was a major nineteenth-century brewer notorious for the disastrous London Beer Flood of October 1814 in which the collapse of a massive fermentation tank caused a fifteen-foot-high wave of some 320,000 gallons of beer to surge into the adjoining streets, leading to the collapse of two tenements and the death of eight people.

289.21. **Circe:** See note to 57.10.

289.25-26. **religious controversies . . . about faith, works, grace, prevenient grace, the Arches Court and *Essays and Reviews*:** Debates about prevenient grace centered on the question of human free will and whether a human being has an active role in his or her own redemption. "Faith, works, grace" more generally refers to theological debates about how one achieves salvation, whether (on the one hand) through good works or behavior or (on the other) through faith alone. Roman Catholics accepted the existence of a "prevenient grace" that came before all human willing and predisposed human beings to seek God, while strict Calvinists re-

jected this view of free will and therefore also this version of prevenient grace. The publication in 1860 of *Essays and Reviews*—a collection of seven essays written by leading liberal Anglican churchmen, including future Archbishop of Canterbury Frederick Temple and famed classicist/theologian Benjamin Jowett—rekindled debates about the interpretation of scripture in the wake of the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. Two of the contributors, Rowland Williams and Henry Wilson, were convicted of heresy in the ecclesiastical Arches Court (see note to 285.33), though the conviction was overturned on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1864. In a March 27, 1861, letter, Carlyle had noted that there was "Great emotion about 'the Oxford Essays,'—bless them! To me of no more interest than rig-ma-ree" (*Letters* 37:137-38). This claim is contradicted by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford and a leading opponent of the *Essays and Reviews* volume, who reported in his diary for January 28, 1862: "After luncheon, rode with Carlyle to Cheriton on the way to the Beacon. Carlyle against the essayists on dishonesty ground and atheistic" (*Letters* 38:43n14).

290.4-5. **Overend-Gurney Bankruptcies, Chatham-and-Dover Railway Financierings,—Railway "Promoters" generally:** Overend, Gurney, and Company was a prestigious London capital investment bank that placed large sums of its depositors' money in long-term investments without maintaining adequate cash reserves; when the price of stocks and bonds dropped precipitously in 1866, the bank was unable to repay its investors and was forced into bankruptcy, its directors subsequently tried for but acquitted of fraud. The London, Chatham, and Dover Railway struggled during the 1860s to acquire sufficient financing for the construction and operation of lines; chronically under-capitalized, reliant on complex, shady financial arrangements to borrow far more money than was legally permissible, the railway was forced into bankruptcy in 1867 in the wake of the failure of Overend, Gurney. Himself an investor in railway stocks, Carlyle had long been suspicious of "Railway 'Promoters'"; in *Latter-Day Pamphlets,* he employed the figure of financier George Hudson, the so-called "Railway King," as a symbol of distorted modern values.

290.6. **oakum or beating of hemp:** The unraveling of old ropes and the beating of hemp fibers into oakum to be used to caulk the seams of wooden ships was a duty commonly assigned to those confined in prisons or workhouses (see note to 72.6-7).

290.7. **Sheffield Sawgrinders and Assassination Company:** See note to 268.20-22.

290.7-8. **"Four eights," and workman's Pisgah Song:** See note to 287.39.

290.18-19. ***'Prestige, præstigium,* magical illusion':** Carlyle plays on the fact that "prestige," in modern English usage a word meaning an influence or reputation based on achievement, derives from the Latin "praestigia," a trick, deceit, or illusion. The OED dates the first positive (rather than pejorative) use in English to 1829. See also note to 290.28.

290.26. **Chancery:** See note to 122.16-18.

290.28. **The word was Napoleonic:** Two references cited in the OED corroborate Carlyle's assertion that "prestige" (see note to 290.18-19) is "Napoleonic": in 1816, Walter Scott wrote in *Paul's Letter to His Kinsfolk* that Napoleon "needed . . . the dazzling blaze of decisive victory to renew the charm, or *prestige*, as he himself was wont to call it, once attached to his name and fortunes" (80); in 1838, John Stuart Mill reaffirmed the word's ambivalent connection with Napoleon, observing that "the *prestige* with which he overawed the world is . . . the effect of stage-trick" (*Works* 1:493).

290.31-32. **one of the wisest and faithfullest German Friends I ever had:** Joseph Neuberg (1806-1867), Carlyle's friend, secretary, research aid, and translator, who died in London on March 23, 1867, not long before he wrote this essay. Neuberg was a manufacturer turned scholar naturalized in England in 1845 who was indispensable to Carlyle during the long labor on *Frederick the Great*; in 1852 and 1858, he personally guided Carlyle on trips to Germany, including tours of Frederick's battlefields. Though his regard was tinged with anti-Jewish sentiment, Carlyle nonetheless would note that Neuberg "for the last twenty or twenty-five years . . . had been my most attached adherent, ever-loyal, ever-patient, ardent, ever-willing to do me service in every kind" (*Reminiscences* 127n1).

291.10. **Orsonism:** See notes to 278.22 and 286.32-34.

291.30-31. **ruling "by the Grace of God":** A translation of the Latin "Dei Gratia," the phrase "by the Grace of God" is part of the title of Christian monarchs, a relic of the era of kings and queens who claimed regal authority directly from God. At the time of "Shooting Niagara,"

Victoria was officially styled "Her Majesty Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith." Strictly speaking, the hereditary aristocracy that Carlyle praises could not claim authority "by the Grace of God," as its members owed fealty—and their positions—to the monarch, not directly to God.

291.34-35. **Kaiser Barbarossa, Henry Fowler (*Heinrich der Vogeler*), Henry Fine-Scholar (*Beau-clerc*), or Wilhelmus Bastardus the Acquirer:** Barbarossa (Italian for "Red Beard"; Rotbart in German) is the nickname of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I (1122-1190). Henry Fowler (Heinrich der Vogeler) is Henry I (876?-936), Duke of Saxony and later the elected king of the Germans. Henry Fine-Scholar (Henri Beau-clerc) is the nickname of Henry I (1068?-1135) of England, brother of William II "Rufus" and son of Wilhelmus Bastardus the Acquirer, Carlyle's name for the illegitimate William I (William the Conqueror; see note to 85.28-31).

292.6-8. **the question would arise (as it did with a late Noble Lord still in wide enough esteem), "What is merit? The opinion one man entertains of another!":** Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865), who had served at various times as Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister (see Carlyle's footnote below) famously defined merit in a March 1855 debate; although similar issues were involved, it was concerned with army appointments, not, as Carlyle's footnote implies, a civil service examination proposal. Unhappiness about the performance of British officers during the Crimean War (see note to 294.23) coupled with ongoing attempts to establish a Civil Service based on merit rather than on political patronage—an effort that bore fruit in May 1855, in the wake of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report (see note to 259.14-16)—led to a similar proposal in the spring of 1855 to make military promotion a matter of merit rather than social rank or political patronage. During debate on March 27, 1855, Palmerston voiced his skepticism that merit could ever be determined objectively:

> The fact is, that when you say that promotion should go by merit, nothing in the world is easier than to make such an assertion; but nothing in the world is more difficult than to carry such a system into practice. If you would establish a rule that promotion should go by stature—that no man should be promoted who did not stand six feet high—that promotion should go by physical qualities discernible by the eye—it would be easy in

> that case to establish a rule, and to ensure its most rigid execution. But what is merit? Merit is opinion—merit is the opinion which one man forms of another. (Hansard 137:1239-1240).

293.28-29. **Goethe has shadowed out a glorious far-glancing specimen of that Non-vocal, or very partially-vocal kind of School:** See *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, chapters 10 and 14, which Carlyle had discussed the year before in his "Inaugural Address" (see note to 285.23).

293.29-31. **I myself remember to have seen . . . at Glasnevin in Ireland about fifteen years ago:** While visiting Ireland for the second time, in July 1849, Carlyle was taken by Alexander McDonnell, resident commissioner of the board of education in Ireland, to view a model farm and school at Glasnevin in Dublin. He was much impressed by the pedagogical value of what he saw there, as he noted in a letter of July 9, 1849: "National School of *Agriculture* (whither a Dignitary Macdonnell had driven me in the afternoon) was far the hopefullest thing I saw yet in Ireland: 45 rough peasant Lads, from the far west as from other regions, all getting themselves actually trained and bred not to be Irish blackguards, but effective, cleanly, decent methodic men and tillers of the soil,—sure to be missionaries of Order, irrefragable preachers of much that is needfullest here, wherever they go" (*Letters* 24:108). Carlyle extended these observations of the farm and school in his *Reminiscences of My Irish Journey in 1849*, in which he noted that the Glasnevin model farm was

> nearly the *best thing*, to appearance, I have yet seen in Ireland. Modest slated buildings, house, school, and offices, for real use, and fit for that. Slow-spoken, heavy-browed schoolmaster croaks out sensible, pertinent speech about his affairs: an Ulster man (from Larne, I think; name forgotten), has forty-five pupils from seventeen to twenty-one years; they are working about, dibbling, sorting dung-heaps, sweeping yards. Mac. [Alexander MacDonnell] speaks to several: coarse, rough-haired lads, from all sides of Ireland, intelligent well-doing looks through them all. Schooling alternates with this husbandry work. Will become National Schoolmasters . . . Clearly, wherever they go they will be practical missionaries of good order and wise husbandry, these poor lads: *anti*-chaos missionaries these. Good luck go with them! (56-57)

293.37. **succedaneum:** See note to 35.1.

294.10-12. **By Drill-Sergeant understand, not the man in three stripes alone; understand him as meaning all such men, up to the Turenne, to the Friedrich of Prussia:** On Carlyle's use of the figure of the drill sergeant, see note to 197.17 (see also note to 277.15). Here he treats the rank of sergeant—the noncommissioned officer responsible for training soldiers in military exercises, whose rank is indicated by chevrons with three stripes—as a metaphor for all military commanders who make soldiers orderly. Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne (1611-1675), marshal of France, was the most capable French general during the Thirty Years' War and through the first half of the reign of Louis XIV. It is not clear whether by "Friedrich of Prussia" Carlyle means Friedrich Wilhelm or his son, Frederick the Great. In *Frederick the Great*, Carlyle had referred to the younger Friedrich as "Friedrich of Prussia" (e.g., 1:1.14), but elsewhere in his history, he had denominated Friedrich Wilhelm the "great Drill-sergeant of the Prussian Nation" (1:4.3.263). Carlyle's emphasis on Friedrich Wilhelm's militarism suggests that the nod may go to the latter.

294.13-14. **Captain-General of England, Defender of the Faith:** Titles held by the British monarch. Captain-General of England—equivalent to the American "commander in chief"—dates to the sixteenth century and designates the monarch as head of Britain's military forces, though the title was used more commonly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to refer to the actual commander of Britain's military than to the monarch as titular commander (the OED lists the word as obsolete in Carlyle's time). The title Defender of the Faith (Fidei defensor) was bestowed by Pope Leo X in 1521 on King Henry VIII in acknowledgment of Henry's writing a pamphlet condemning Martin Luther's proposed reforms of the Catholic Church and was claimed thereafter by every British monarch. Carlyle employed the title primarily to satirize the British monarchy, as is evident both in letters and his published works. See, for example, his letter of July 19, 1835, in which he claims that a bystander, observing King William IV bedecked with a great plumed hat, "might have taken our Defender of the Faith for some singular species of Clocker [brood hen] coming thither" (*Letters* 8:181). Carlyle found particularly galling the resumption of the title in 1660 by Charles II, whom he refers to in *Cromwell* as "the Nell-Gwynn Defender of the Faith," a reference to Charles' longtime mistress, as an index of the dissolute Charles's moral character (2:6.279, 334). Carlyle elaborates his distaste for the title in the chapter "Gospel of Mammonism" in *Past and Present*, referring to "these

last two centuries of Atheistic Government (near two centuries now, since the blessed restoration of his Sacred Majesty, and Defender of the Faith, Charles Second)" and noting with incredulity that in Britain in recent memory, the genius Robert Burns was set to "gauge ale-barrels in the Burgh of Dumfries," while "George the Third is Defender of something we call 'the Faith' [and] head charioteer of the Destinies of England" (3.2.149, 2.9.89).

294.18-19. **he alone of the three stripes, or of the gorget and baton:** Military insignia, the sergeant's stripes and the gorget baton of the general or marshal (see note to 294.10-12).

294.23. **marvellous Crimean expeditions, marvellous Court-martial revelations:** Carlyle refers to the bungled expeditions that characterized the British management of the Crimean War (1853-1856); he may have in mind the disastrous Battle of Balaklava of October 1854, in which 40 percent of the Light Cavalry Brigade commanded by George Bingham, the Earl of Lucan, was cut down during its ill-fated charge, the result of an ambiguous and confused order from the field marshal and commander in chief of the British forces, Lord Raglan. Lucan was summoned back to England in 1855, where he demanded a court-martial, which was refused him. The quality of Lucan's—and, by extension, of Lord Raglan's—military leadership was the subject of spirited debate in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords in March 1855. See also note to 292.6-8 and next note.

294.26. **"thorough Army reform":** The subject of reform of the British army was raised and debated in Parliament during and in the years following the Crimean War (see preceding note and note to 292.6-8) and the Indian Rebellion of 1857, both of which revealed systemic weakness and incompetence in the Army's organization, administration, and command structure. There was considerable resistance to such reform, but proposals for army reform continued to be raised. The army reform movement—its fate in large measure connected with that of electoral reform more generally—reappeared with the approach of the Reformed Parliament that Carlyle knew would follow the passage of the Reform Act of 1867.

294.28. **and if the sky fall, we shall catch larks:** Proverbial for a very unlikely outcome, emphasized by the fact that larks are known for flying very high.

294.36-37. **Poor Wilderspin knew something of this; the great Goethe evidently knew a great deal:** Samuel Wilderspin (1791-1866)—likely styled "poor Wilderspin" because he had died the year before Carlyle wrote this passage—was an educational reformer and theorist who devoted his life to developing and implementing "infant schools" (what Americans now call preschool and kindergarten) that had been originated in Europe by Jean-Frédéric Oberlin and at New Lanark in Scotland by Robert Owen and James Buchanan. For Goethe's views of education, see the note to 293.28-29 as well as Chapters 10 and 11 of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*.

295.4-5. **From correct marching in line, to rhythmic dancing in cotillon or minuet:** Cotillon (now more commonly spelled cotillion) is the name of any of several dances consisting of intricate steps and figures; a minuet is a formal, stately dance with complex movements. Carlyle links military drill to dancing not only because of the similar rhythmic movements in both activities but also because both Goethe and Wilderspin emphasize the mingling of intellectual and physical activity, including music and dance, in their theories of education. As the Overseer in the Pedagogical Province tells Wilhelm in *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, "Song is the first step in education; all the rest are connected with it, and attained by means of it. . . . Nay, even what religious and moral principles we lay before our children, are communicated in the way of Song" (2:262-63).

295.6. **"first reverence":** See note to 285.23.

295.11-12. **A richer mine than any in California:** See notes to 252.24 and 260.18-19.

295.27-28. **the vulgarest Cockney crowd, flung out millionfold on a Whit-Monday, with nothing but beer and dull folly to depend on for amusement:** The term "Cockney" has been used since the early seventeenth century for persons born in the city of London and in particular the working-class residents of the East End, which was largely populated by the working classes. The week beginning on Whit-Monday was during the middle ages a spring holiday for laborers from feudal obligations, and it later became known for its celebrations such as parades, fairs, and unruly crowds. Carlyle had originally written "Whit Sunday," the Christian feast of Pentecost.

295.38. **Penny Newspapers:** See note to 265.18.

296.27-28. **A company of poor men (as friend Oliver termed us):** See note to 281.5.

297.3-4. **as every blackest cloud in this world has withal a 'silver lining':** A common English saying suggesting that there is cause for optimism even in difficult circumstances. Both the OED and the *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* identify John Milton's *Comus* as the source of this phrasing: "Was I deceiv'd, or did a sable cloud / Turn forth her silver lining on the night?" (221-22).

297.6. **"Sanitary regulation":** Carlyle likely refers to the Sanitary Act of 1866, which required local authorities throughout Britain to carry out sanitary inspections and gave them the authority to address nuisances, as well as to punish those who broke quarantine in times of infectious diseases. The Sanitary Act coincided with the last major cholera outbreak in London in 1866, which claimed more than five thousand lives.

297.9-10. **'Healthy' once more becoming synonymous with 'Holy':** See note to 260.35-261.3.

297.14. **Dilettantism:** See note to 21.20.

297.23. ***Vox Clamantis e Deserto*:** A phrase from the Book of Isaiah 40:3 in the Latin Vulgate Bible that is translated in the King James Version as "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness." All four of the New Testament gospels cite this verse to announce the mission of John the Baptist as precursor of Jesus (Matthew 3:3, Mark 1:3, Luke 3:4, and John 1:23).

297.27-28. **Chaos . . . into Cosmos:** See note to 288.4.

297.34. **'Bench of Bishops':** The body of bishops of the Church of England in their capacity as members of the House of Lords, where they originally sat on simple wooden benches.

297.36-37. **what beneficent unreported '*Parliamenta*,'—actual human consultations and earnest deliberations:** On Carlyle's criticisms of Parliament, see notes to 111.19 and 117.14-15. See also the chapters on "Democracy" and "Bribery Committee" in *Past and Present* (3.13.208-18; 4.2.249-53) and the chapter on "Parliaments" in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (214-53).

297.37. **'*Buncombe*':** See note to 223.7-9.

298.9. **third reading:** For a bill to move through Parliament on the way to becoming a law, it must pass through three readings in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the requirements, in other words, for final passage.

298.25. **Acherontic sewers:** On the River Acheron, see note to 147.35; on sanitary reform, see note to 297.6.

298.26. **doomed to eat dust, as the Old Serpent was:** Genesis 3:14: "And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou *art* cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life."

298.28. **men in bombazeen:** Carlyle associates men in bombazeen—a twilled cloth commonly used in clothes for mourning and for official business—with legal officialdom. In *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, he had written: "My humane friends, I perceive this same sacred glow of divine wrath, or authentic monition at first hand from God himself, to be the foundation for all Criminal Law, and Official horsehair-and-bombazeen procedure against Scoundrels in this world" (79).

299.11. **Plebs:** See note to 276.7.

299.23. **Nimrod:** According to the Book of Genesis, Nimrod "was a mighty hunter before the Lord" (10:9).

299.24. **Game-preserving, Highland deer-stalking:** "Highland deer-stalking"—the hunting of deer in private forests in the Scottish Highlands—became a favored aristocratic sport in the nineteenth century; sporting estates in Scotland became fashionable especially after Prince Albert and Queen Victoria acquired the Balmoral hunting estate in 1852. In the middle decades of the century, vast tracts of land in the Highlands were acquired by wealthy aristocrats (as well as by *nouveaux riches* who made their fortunes in commerce and industry) and set aside—off limits to those who had previously grazed their sheep there—as deer forests, hence the reference to "Game-preserving." On Carlyle's disdain for game laws, see note to 65.23; "Chartism" had similarly concluded with a call for the aristocracy to abandon this unproductive pastime and set to work governing the nation (130; see note to 130.1-14).

Notes to "Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71"

301.4-5. **this cheap pity and newspaper lamentation over fallen and afflicted France:** The Franco-Prussian War was covered extensively in British newspapers, especially in London. The utter defeat of Napoleon III at Sedan in early September 1870, the subsequent Prussian siege of Paris, and the Prussians' insistence on annexing the French territories of Alsace and Lorraine (see next note) led many British newspapers to express sympathy with the plight of France and to call for Prussian forbearance. The *London Daily News*, on October 19, 1870, noted that "The war has changed its character. The well-earned victory of Germany and the well-deserved defeat of France have gone to their extremes, and there is a wide and growing impression that France has suffered to the full; that the calamities of the nation have been almost in excess of its sins, and that Germany has done enough for honour, for safety—even for vengeance" (4). On the following day, October 20, 1870, the *London Standard* observed that calls for German "gentleness and moderation" were now universal and further noted that "it is not a little gratifying to those who, like ourselves, have steadily resisted the German claims to Alsace and Lorraine, to find the entire voice of the English press echoing our views" (4). See also the *Examiner*, September 24, 1870, 610.

301.6-7. **the cession of Alsace and Lorraine by France to her German conquerors:** Germany insisted on annexing the territories of Alsace and the northern part of Lorraine as part of the war's terms of settlement. Historically, the Alsace-Lorraine region had once been part of German territory, and it continued to have a significant German-speaking population. Sentiment in France was overwhelmingly against ceding any territory to the Germans; nevertheless, the annexation would be formalized as part of the Treaty of Frankfurt in May 1871.

301.10-11. **The question for the Germans, in this crisis, is not one of 'magnanimity,' of 'heroic pity and forgiveness to a fallen foe':** Appeals to German moderation and magnanimity in regard to its "fallen foe" were common in the British press. The October 29, 1870, *Leeds Times* called on Germany to be "magnanimous to her fallen foe" (5); the November 11, 1870, *London Standard* asserted that "the magnanimous moderation of the conqueror" would make France a "faithful ally in place of remaining his inveterate enemy" (6); the November 12, 1870, *London City Press* insisted that the Germans "were bound then to be magnanimous in recognizing

the desirability of peace" (4); and the November 12, 1870, *York Herald* opined that Germany should "respect the dignity of her fallen foe" (8). See also note to 301.4-5.

301.13-14. **Germany has an experience of 400 years on this point:** Carlyle alludes to the history of recurring conflict between France and Germany, including the struggle over the Duchy of Burgundy in the late fifteenth century, the rivalry between Francis I and Charles V in the sixteenth century, the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century, the various wars involving Louis XIV and the Holy Roman Empire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century. Carlyle had reviewed this history in *Frederick the Great*, which in books 1-2 covers the years from 928 to Frederick's birth in 1712.

301.17-18. **Louis XI. and Kaiser Max:** Louis XI (1423-1483) successfully appropriated Burgundian territories after the death of Charles the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy. He was opposed by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459-1519) and his wife Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold.

301.19-20. **a wonderful record of these things, the *Weisse König* ("White King," as he called himself:** In his autobiographical but unfinished *Der Weiss Kunig* (1755), Maximilian (see preceding note), using allegorical terminology, dubs himself the Young White King, his father the Old White King, and his wife Mary the Queen of the Flaming Iron. The text includes an account of the death of Charles the Bold, Maximilian's marriage to Charles's daughter Mary, and the subsequent struggle against Louis XI.

301.20-21. **"Red King," or perhaps "Black," being Louis's adumbrative title:** In *Der Weiss König*, the king of France, Louis XI, is referred to as the Blue King. Carlyle either recalls incorrectly, or, as the "perhaps" may indicate, suggests colors associated with war (red) and evil (black).

301.21. **engravings by the best artist of his time:** Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531), who designed the images but did not execute the engravings.

302.1. **younger Louis:** The "younger Louis" is Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, who ruled the Second French Empire as Emperor Napoleon III (see note to 280.14) and led the French Army at the disastrous Battle

of Sedan in September 1870 (see note to 308.3). The Germans referred to the emperor mockingly as "Louis" (see Wawro 31). Carlyle disliked Napoleon III, and in a July 21, 1859, letter had predicted his downfall: "Of the so-called French Emperor &c I have been taking the minimum of note. Among human mountebankeries of a sanguinary and atrocious nature I have seen none more disgusting,—none surer of a bad end, if I have any weather-wisdom!" (*Letters* 35:154-55).

302.5-6. **Burgundy did not get re-united . . . remains French to this day:** See note to 301.17-18.

302.7. **Max's grandson and successor, Charles V:** Charles V (1500-1558), Holy Roman Emperor, whose empire was frequently at war with France, which was led by Francis I (see next note).

302.8-9. **Francis I., . . . trying to be elected German Kaiser:** As stipulated by Charles IV's Golden Bull of 1356, the Holy Roman Emperor was chosen by a small group of powerful prince electors. In 1519, after the death of Maximilian I, the two front-running candidates were Francis I (1494-1547) and Maximilian's grandson (see preceding note), who was eventually elected and ruled as Charles V. The efforts of both included attempts to bribe the electors.

302.11-14. **swore eternal friendship with the young Charles . . . was in hot war with Charles:** The Duke of Bouillon, Robert II de La Marck (1468-1536), switched his allegiance to Francis I in exchange for money and a retinue of professional soldiers and subsequently invaded Luxemburg, leading to the Italian War of 1521-1526.

302.21-24. **Francis I. in covenanting with Sultan Soliman, . . . sunk to *caput mortuum* . . . upon Christendom and the German Empire:** In 1536, France and the Ottoman Empire, led by Suleiman I, "the Magnificent" (1494-1566), entered into an alliance that would endure until Napoleon invaded Egypt at the very end of the eighteenth century. Suleiman had by this time completed most of his conquests in eastern Europe, though they were not completed until 1544. Carlyle's use of the term "*caput mortuum*" (in Latin, literally "dead head") to indicate the degree to which the Ottoman Empire had declined by the mid-nineteenth century alludes to the Victorian habit of referring to the Empire as the "sick man of Europe," an epithet said to have been coined by Tsar Nicholas I of Russia.

302.28-32. **Richelieu's trade again was twofold: . . . coercing and drilling into obedience to their own Sovereign . . . tormenting the German Empire:** Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis, the Duke of Richelieu, commonly known as Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), was the chief minister to the king of France, Louis XIII, 1624-1642. In domestic politics, Richelieu succeeded in consolidating power in the monarchy through the suppression of dissent and the elimination of local autonomy. His foreign policy focused on containing the threat to France posed by the Habsburg monarchy, rulers of the Holy Roman Empire and Spain, utilizing methods that were either covert (by subsidizing foreign invasion forces) or overt (by waging open warfare).

302.32. **"He protected Protestantism there?":** Supporting German Protestant princes against their Catholic Holy Roman Emperor was the pretext Richelieu used to justify France's participation in the Thirty Years' War (see note to 302.34); his true motive, however, was to gain German territory for France. At home, Richelieu was willing to tolerate French Protestantism as a form of religious dissent, but not as a form of political dissent that threatened his efforts to centralize state power in the monarch. See also next note.

302.32-33. **Yes, and steadily persecuted his own Huguenots, bombarded his own Rochelle:** In 1598 the Edict of Nantes granted the Huguenots, who were Protestants, civil rights within Catholic France. During the reign of Louis XIII, however, state tolerance for the Huguenots eroded, and during the 1620s the Huguenots were frequently in rebellion against the monarchy. In 1627-1628, French troops, at times under the personal command of Richelieu, besieged the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle, a town on the western coast of France. Carlyle refers to the town as "his own Rochelle" because Richelieu, earlier in his career, was Bishop of Luçon, near La Rochelle.

302.34. **Thirty-Years War:** The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which began mainly as a struggle among Protestant and Catholic states within the Holy Roman Empire, soon expanded into a larger geopolitical contest involving France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and others. Richelieu's contribution included subsidizing the Swedish army, which invaded northern Germany in the early 1630s and, when that effort failed, leading France into open war with both Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor.

302.38. **Napoleon I:** In 1805, the troops of Napoleon Bonaparte (see note

to 27.21) decisively defeated combined Austrian and Russian forces at Austerlitz, leading to the end of the Holy Roman Empire. The following year, his army defeated the Prussians, and Napoleon gained control, directly or indirectly, over considerable German territory.

303.4. **Louis XIV.'s four grand plunderings and incendiarisms of Europe:** Under the rule of Louis XIV (1638-1715), the French fought in several major European conflicts: the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678), the War of the Reunions (1683-1684), the Nine Years' War (1688-1697), and the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). As Carlyle goes on to suggest, these wars involved acquisition of territory and consolidation of power. See *Frederick* 1:288.

303.7-8. **those that animated our poor forefathers in the time of William III. and Queen Anne:** William III (1650-1702), and Queen Anne (1665-1714), William's sister-in-law and cousin. William III took part in the Nine Years' War (1688-1697); under Anne, Britain took part in the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714).

303.8-9. **Belleisle and Louis XV.'s fine scheme to cut Germany into four little kingdoms:** Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet (1684-1761), marshal of France and Duke of Belle-Isle, was dispatched by Louis XV (1710-1774) in 1741 to Germany in an effort to thwart the Austrian Habsburgs by ensuring that Charles Albert, the Bavarian elector and an ally of France, would be selected the next Holy Roman Emperor. Charles Albert was indeed elected, assuming the title Charles VII, and, as Carlyle had explained in *Frederick the Great*, Belle-Isle could now proceed with his vision for a divided Germany: "Let me see, thinks Belleisle. Germany with our Bavarian for Kaiser; Germany to be cut into, say, Four little Kingdoms: 1. Bavaria with the lean Kaiserhood; 2. Saxony, fattened by its share of Austria; 3. Prussia the like; 4. Austria itself, shorn down as above, and shoved out to the remote Hungarian parts: *voilà*" (4:12.11.164). Carlyle discusses Belle-Isle extensively in *Frederick*; see especially 4:12.7.66-72, 4:12.11.147-52, 4:12.11.160-74, and 4:13.6.281.

303.10-13. **for to France herself this latter fine scheme brought its own reward: loss of America, loss of India, . . . the French Revolution:** The machinations of Belle-Isle in 1741 took place in the larger context of the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). While this war resulted in some losses, Carlyle refers here primarily to the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), in which France lost control of its interests in both North America and

India to the British, as settled by the Treaty of Paris (1763). France's war debts led to a financial crisis in the 1770s, which was deepened by French involvement in the American Revolutionary War; the resulting financial crisis in turn contributed to France's political instability, setting the stage for the revolution.

303.16-17. **The Revolution and Napoleon I., and their treatment of Germany, are still in the memory of men and newspapers:** In 1792, France, under the revolutionary government, declared war on the Austrian Habsburg monarchy and invaded Germany, capturing several key Rhineland cities. In 1796, French forces, now under the command of Napoleon (see note to 302.38), again invaded German territory. During the War of the Third Coalition (1803-1805), Napoleon-led France captured Vienna and defeated the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. Napoleon's victory led to a reconfiguration of Germany into the Confederation of the Rhine (1806-1813), a large assemblage of German kingdoms, duchies, and principalities under the influence of France, with Napoleon as their "Protector." When Carlyle states that these events are "in the memory of men," he may be drawing on the fact that he himself could recall some of these events.

303.20. **"Siege of Paris":** After their resounding defeat of Napoleon III at Sedan (see note to 308.3), Prussian forces marched on Paris, besieging the French capital for four months, from September 19, 1870, to January 28, 1871. The city finally surrendered after the Prussians began a heavy bombardment on January 25.

303.21-22. **"*marche à Berlin*":** "March to Berlin." Wawro notes that "as word of the mobilization order spread [in mid-July 1870], crowds formed on the streets of Paris shouting 'à Berlin! à bas Guillaume! à bas Bismarck!'—'On to Berlin! Down with Wilhelm! Down with Bismarck!'" (38).

303.36. **Alsace and Lorraine:** See note to 301.6-7.

304.1. **Richelieu screwed them loose:** Richelieu orchestrated France's entry into what would become known as the Thirty Years' War (see note to 302.34). In exchange for supporting German Protestant princes against their Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, Richelieu planned to gain German territory for France, including Alsace and Lorraine, while weakening the empire. By the time the war ended in 1648, France had control of Alsace, though it was forced to give up Lorraine, retaking it in 1670.

304.3-5. **Turenne, I think, was mainly German by blood and temper, had not Francis I. egged on his ancestor, the little Duke of Bouillon, in the way we saw, and gradually *made* him French:** Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne (1611-1675), Viscount de Turenne was Protestant but not German; although his father was duc de Bouillon, Turenne was not in fact related by blood to Robert II de La Marck, as Carlyle suggests. See also the next note.

304.5-9. **Louis le Grand, with his Turenne . . . which Louis had to get done by another:** "Louis le Grand" (Louis the Great), is one of several epithets for Louis XIV (see note to 303.4). In 1643, Turenne (see preceding note) was made marshal of France, and he played a significant role leading troops in the closing campaigns of the Thirty Years' War. It was during the Dutch War (1672-1678), however, that Turenne led his troops into Germany; in the summer of 1674, Turenne's army defeated imperial troops near Heidelberg and took control of the Palatinate, adopting a scorched-earth policy that included burning villages that refused to deliver money and resources to the French, as well as destroying crops and livestock to prevent them falling into enemy hands. Although Turenne's devastation of the Palatinate was brutally effective, the destruction of the same region in 1688-1689, under the orders of Louis XIV's secretary of war, François Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1641-1691), was more wide-ranging and ruthless.

304.10-11. **The great Louis's "*Chambres de Réunion*," Metz Chamber, Brissac Chamber:** In 1679, Louis XIV formed the Chambers of Reunion, a type of court, in order to take advantage of the vague treaty language that granted France particular territories without clearly defining their borders. The chamber at Breisach awarded France essentially all of Alsace, while the chamber at Metz granted France nearly all of Luxembourg. These court decisions, along with aggressive French military action to secure the granted territories, led ultimately to the War of the Reunions (see note to 303.4), which ended with a truce, and France retained the territory it had gained through the Reunion courts.

304.14-15. **He styled himself on his very coins (*écu* of 1687, say the Medallists), EXCELSUS SUPER OMNES GENTES DOMINUS:** Latin: Lord of all nations (literally, Lord high above all nations); the phrase comes from Psalm 112:4 of the Latin Vulgate Bible. The écu was a common silver coin during the reign of Louis XIV. We have not been able to identify the "Medallists" or verify the existence of such a coin.

304.15-16. **attorneyism of the worst sort was one of his instruments in this conquest of Alsace:** A reference to the ruling of the Chamber of Reunion at Breisach. See *Frederick the Great:* "*Els*-*sass* (Alsace, *Outer*-seat), with its *Road*-Fortress (*Stras*burg), plundered from the Holy Romanish Reich by Louis XIV., in a way no one can forget; actually plundered, as if by highway robbery and *attorneyism* combined, on the part of that great Sovereign" (4:14.5.425; emphasis added). See also next note.

304.18-20. **Strasburg was got in time of profound peace by bribing of the magistrates to do treason, on his part, and admit his garrison one night:** Although the Reunion court at Breisach awarded France all of Alsace, the city of Strasbourg remained independent. In September 1681, thousands of French troops surrounded the city, and Strasbourg capitulated on September 30. Carlyle may have derived his allegation that bribery was involved from Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in which Voltaire identifies Louis XIV's secretary of war, Louvois, as the one who employed "l'or, l'intrigue et la terreur" (gold, intrigue, and fear) to pave the way for his entry to Strasburg (*Ouevres* 23:155-56).

304.21-23. **Nor as to Metz la Pucelle, nor any of these Three Bishoprics, was it force of war that brought them over to France; rather it was force of fraudulent pawnbroking:** The three bishoprics were Metz, Verdun, and Toul, all located in Lorraine; the French called Metz "la Pucelle," the Virgin, due to the inviolability of its fortifications. It was the Chamber of Reunion at Metz that validated Louis XIV's entitlement to the Three Bishoprics and their surrounding areas. See also *Frederick* 4:14.5.425.

304.23-24. **King Henri II. (year 1552) got these places,—Protestants applying to him in their extreme need,—as we may say, in the way of pledge:** On January 15, 1552, the Catholic Henry II (1519-1559) signed the Treaty of Chambord with three Protestant German princes led by Maurice of Saxony; Henry was granted control over the Three Bishoprics (see preceding note) in exchange for military support of the princes' rebellion against Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

304.24-26. **Henri entered there with banners spread and drums beating, "solely in defence of German liberty, as God shall witness":** Carlyle refers to Henry II's representation of himself as a defender of German freedom against the Holy Roman Emperor, rather than as a monarch with ulterior motives. As David Potter explains, "Henri II's manifesto of 3 February [1552], printed at Marburg, had at its head a Phrygian bonnet between

two daggers and a scroll with the word 'libertas.' The French King was entitled 'Henry II King of the French defender of German liberties and of the captive Princes.' The text of this declaration was widely circulated, translated into French and included in Bouchet's *Annales*" (21).

304.30-32. **The great Charles V., Protestantism itself now supporting, endeavoured, with his utmost energy and to the very cracking of his heart, to compel him, but could not:** By August 1552, Charles V had come to terms with the rebellious Protestant princes, and he soon mounted an unsuccessful siege of Metz. His efforts to regain control of the Three Bishoprics did not end until August 1554, when Henry II's army defeated the emperor's forces, enabling France to maintain possession of its newly acquired territory. Thus defeated, and with his physical health in decline, Charles V would soon abdicate the throne.

304.32-33. **The present Hohenzollern King:** Wilhelm I (1797-1888), king of Prussia and German emperor, was a member of the House of Hohenzollern.

304.35-37. **by well fortifying her own old *Wasgau* ("Vosges"), Hundsrück (*Dog's-back*), Three Bishoprics, and other military strengths, secure herself in time coming against French visits:** At the end of the Franco-Prussian War, the Prussians maintained control of land on the eastern side of the mountain range in Alsace and in Lorraine to the north of the Vosges. In early August 1870, at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, the imperial First Army headed south from the Hunsrück region to engage the French. The Germans called the Vosges Mountains, which form a strategically important natural border between France and Germany, the *Wasgau*. The Hunsrück is a range of small mountains, north of the Vosges in the Rhineland-Palatinate; as Carlyle suggests, the name has often been understood to mean "dog's back."

305.1-3. **The French complain dreadfully of threatened "loss of honour;" and lamentable bystanders plead earnestly, "Don't dishonour France; leave poor France's honour bright":** The French viewed the cession of Alsace-Lorraine as an attempt by the Prussians to demean and dishonor their country. As reported in the September 23, 1870, *London Standard,* Jules Favre, the chief French negotiator, insisted that

> the dismemberment of France would be to her an everlasting dishonor and therefore a cause of continual

> conflicts. To seize on Alsace and Lorraine is for the victor to place his knee on the breast of the vanquished, groaning, until death or until released. True policy requires the destruction of all the seeds of discord, while the conditions of M. Bismarck will render conflicts in the future more cruel and more inevitable. Why does Prussia seek to possess the two provinces? Is it that she may have easy access to the heart of our territory? It is not security for Germany, but humiliation for France. (6)

Already on September 10, the *Examiner* was suggesting that with the victory at Sedan, the Germans had achieved their legitimate objective of self-defense ("so long as the contest was to repel attack, the quarrel of Germany was just") and that if they "continue to fight it can only be for vengeance or for spoil" (577). On October 13, 1870, the conservative *London Standard* editorialized in favor of the French position: "We shall never be brought to blame the French nation for resisting, almost despairingly, the dishonourable mutilation of its territory. We shall never offer a word to excuse an opinionated and violent Government—which may obtain the most ample pecuniary compensation—dismantling the strongholds on the eastern frontier of France, and fiercely laying hands upon strips of territory for the purpose of subjugating to its yoke a free and courageous people" (6). Two days later, October 15, the *Examiner* contended that the Germans are determined to "accomplish the uttermost humiliation of a once great and still noble country" (657). Not all of the London papers editorialized against the cessation of French territory, however. While the "*Standard*, the *Globe*, and the *Economist*" were "especially notable for their denunciation of the Prussian claims," Dora Neill Raymond observes, "The *Times* looked on the transfer as a necessary evil. The *News*, alone, pretended to see justice in it, claiming France was protected by no favored-nation clause that made inviolate her territory" (191).

305.10-11. **the *First* Napoleonic, much more the *Third*:** The First French Empire (1804-1815), led by Napoleon Bonaparte, brought France to the height of European power in the years 1810-1812, but it ended with Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815. The Second French Empire was led by Napoleon III (thus "the Third" Napoleonic) from 1852 to 1870, and was brought to an end by the Franco-Prussian War.

305.18-20. **Ministers flying up in balloons ballasted with nothing but outrageous public lies, proclamations of victories that were creatures**

of the fancy: Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), the French republican leader, served as minister of interior in the Government of National Defense, formed after Napoleon III's defeat and capture at Sedan in early September 1870. On October 7, Gambetta departed from a besieged Paris via hot air balloon in order to direct resistance efforts from Tours. Despite his balloon coming under Prussian fire, Gambetta landed safely, albeit upside down, in an oak tree near Montdidier. As reported in the October 15, 1870, *Examiner*, on October 9, Gambetta issued a proclamation to the French people urging them to rally to the national cause and declaring that "Paris is impregnable," that it "cannot be captured nor surprised" and that "the Prussians will be decimated one by one by our arms, by hunger, and by nature" (667; see also *Times* [October 11, 1870]: 5). The *Examiner* also commented that Gambetta "beats all his competitors in the field of official boast" (657).

305.26-27. **'refuges of lies' were long ago discovered to lead down only to the Gates of Death Eternal:** See Isaiah 28:15: "Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us: for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves."

306.10-17. **the mournfullest symptom in France is the figure its "men of genius," its highest literary speakers, . . . a veritable new Gospel out of Heaven:** Carlyle uses "men of genius" here, as he had elsewhere, ironically; see, for example, *Sartor Resartus*: "By degrees, those same established men, once partially inclined to patronise him, seem to withdraw their countenance, and give him up as 'a man of genius;' against which procedure he, in these Papers loudly protests" (2.4.95; see also 2.5.108). Carlyle mocks these men for depicting France as the "new Mount Zion," associated with the City of David and thus Jerusalem (see 2 Samuel 5:7).

306.18-20. **France made her Great Revolution; uttered her tremendous doom's voice against a world of human shams, proclaiming, as with the great Last Trumpet, that shams should be no more:** Carlyle's oft-stated summation of the significance of the French Revolution. See, for example, *The French Revolution*, in which he writes: "This day, sentence of death is pronounced on Shams; judgement of resuscitation, were it but afar off, is pronounced on Realities. This day, it is declared aloud, as with a Doom-trumpet, that *a Lie is unbelievable*" (1:4.4.133). Carlyle reiterates this theme later in his history: "Was the meaning of our so glorious

French Revolution this, and no other, That when Shams and Delusions, long soul-killing, had become body-killing, and got the length of Bankruptcy and Inanition, a great People rose and, with one voice, said, in the Name of the Highest: *Shams shall be no more?* So many sorrows and bloody horrors, endured, and to be yet endured through dismal coming centuries, were they not the heavy price paid and payable for this same: Total Destruction of Shams among men?" (2:4.9.189). The "Last Trumpet" is an allusion to the book of Revelation; after the seven seals are opened, the seven trumpets are sounded, with the last trumpet announcing the establishment of the kingdom of God (11:15-19).

306.25. **From side to side of the civilized world:** See note to 212.6-7.

306.28. ***coûte qu'il coûte*:** A French phrase, more commonly "coûte que coüte," meaning "cost what it may" or "at all costs."

306.36. **The German race, not the Gaelic:** Carlyle evinces a tendency, apparent since *The French Revolution*, to distinguish Europeans as either Germanic or Gaelic. The term Gaelic, according to the OED, conventionally refers only to the languages and peoples of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, though it should be noted that it was of relatively recent (seventeenth-century) coinage. In *The French Revolution,* Carlyle frequently designates French character as Gaelic; see, for example, "Gaelic impetuosity" (3:5.6.237, 241). This depiction seems to derive in part from a conflation of "Gaelic" with "Gaulish":

> This People is no longer called Gaulish; and it has wholly become braccatus, has got breeches, and suffered change enough: certain fierce German Franken came storming over; and, so to speak, vaulted on the back of it; and always after, in their grim tenacious way, have ridden it bridled; for German is, by his very name, Guerre-man, or man that wars and gars. And so the People, as we say, is now called French or Frankish: nevertheless, does not the old Gaulish and Gaelic Celthood, with its vehemence, effervescent promptitude, and what good and ill it had, still vindicate itself little adulterated?" (2:3.2.109-10)

However, there is no etymological relationship between Gaelic and Gaulish or Gallic. The basic division is an organizing principle for his *Frederick the Great*. See also Carlyle's views on the Celts (107.5-6 and note).

306.38-307.1. **France, with a dead-lift effort, now of 81 years:** That is, since 1789, the year the French Revolution began.

307.2-3. **Her prophets prophesy a vain thing:** See Jeremiah 23.16: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you: they make you vain: they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord."

307.5. **'Given up to strong delusion,' as the Scripture says:** See 2 Thessalonians 2:11-12: "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." See also *On Heroes*, where Carlyle alludes to this passage twice in reference to Napoleon I (206, 208).

307.8-9. **They believe that they are the "Christ of Nations":** The depiction of France as a sacrificial martyr was actively promoted by *La Figaro* as reported in the *London Daily News*:

> But thou, O country, never diest. Bled in all thy veins by the butchers of the North, thy divine head mutilated by the heels of brutes, the Christ of nations, for two months nailed on the cross, never hast though appeared so great and so beautiful. Thou neededst this martyrdom, O our mother, to know how we love thee. In order that Paris, in which thre [*sic*] is a genius which has given her the empire of the world, should fall into the hands of the barbarians, there must cease to be a God in heaven. As God she exists, and as God she is immortal. Paris will never surrender. (October 11, 1870: 5).

307.11. ***non plus ultra*:** Literally "nothing more beyond." Latin phrase meaning the height or pinnacle of something.

307.12-16. ***Cartouche* of Nations, . . . in the end there was no salvation for Cartouche:** Louis Dominique Garthausen (1693-1721), widely known as "Cartouche," was a thief and the leader of a band of robbers in Paris, who was eventually captured, tortured, and publicly executed by being broken on the wheel. Lauded for his polite manner and his penchant for stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, Cartouche was a popular figure whose exploits were recounted in poetry and song. Carlyle had

previously referred to Cartouche in "Voltaire" (*Essays on Literature* 111) and "Goethe's Works" (*Essays on German Literature* 577).

307.17. **Teutsch:** Carlyle uses an older form of the word for "German." In modern German, the term is "deutsch."

307.19. **Chevalier Bayard:** The epitome of chivalry and moral rectitude, Pierre Terrail, seigneur de Bayard (1473-1524), a celebrated French knight best known as the Chevalier de Bayard, was also known as "le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche" (the knight without fear and beyond reproach) or, more simply, "le bon chevalier" (the good knight).

307.23-25. **nor could all Europe, if it did, at this moment prevent that awful Chancellor from having his own way. Metz and the boundary-fence, I reckon, will be dreadfully hard to get out of that Chancellor's hands again:** In August 1870, the Prussians began their siege of Metz, in Lorraine; the French surrendered the city on October 27, 1870, just days before Carlyle began writing this letter. The "boundary-fence" is Alsace-Lorraine, the territory the Germans insisted on annexing as part of the war's terms of settlement. Otto von Bismarck (see note to 266.28-29) had become in 1867 federal chancellor of the North German Federation, which aligned several smaller German states with Prussia; he had successfully maneuvered to prevent involvement of Austria and Russia.

307.27-37. **A hundred years ago there was in England the liveliest desire, . . . to recover Alsace and Lorraine from the French. Lord Carteret, . . . has none such to remember:** John Carteret (1690-1763), secretary of state for the Southern Department and George II's leading diplomat for a crucial period during the War of Austrian Succession (see note to 303.10-13), did not assume the title of the Earl of Granville until the death of his mother in 1744. The first Earls Granville line expired with the death of the heirless 3rd Earl Granville in 1776; the title was re-created in 1833, and at the time of Carlyle's writing was held by Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Granville (1815-1891). Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne and 1st Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne (1693-1768), secretary of state for the Southern Department and later Prime Minister, fluent in German and knowledgeable about international affairs, attempted to forge a complicated alliance in the 1740s between Britain, the Austrian House of Habsburg, and Sardinia, in order to counter the Bourbon rulers of France and Spain. Among other goals, he thought such a configuration of nations, oriented against the Bourbons, would be

able to scale back territorial holdings, including Lorraine, that the French and Spanish had gained during the War of Polish Succession (1733-1738). Because of its strategic location, Carteret viewed the Alsace-Lorraine region as a desirable acquisition for the Austrians. In 1743, he was able to broker an agreement between the Holy Roman Emperor and Austria, but the agreement was scrapped when the Duke of Newcastle, and in turn the British government, refused to support it. As Carlyle describes it in *Frederick*: "On the Hanau scheme, united Teutschland, with England for soul to it, would have fallen vigorously on the throat of France, and made France disgorge: Lorraine, Elsass, the Three Bishoprics,—not to think of Burgundy, and earlier plunders from the Reich,—here would have been 'cut and come again' for her Hungarian majesty and everybody!—But Diana, in the shape of his Grace of Newcastle, intervenes; and all this has become chimerical and worse" (4:14.5.442). In the summer of 1744 the Austrian army invaded Alsace, and Carteret's diplomatic balancing act fell apart, with Prussia declaring war on Austria. As a result, the Austrians withdrew from Alsace to defend Bohemia against the Prussians. Back home, Carteret had already been roundly criticized for allegedly putting German interests (and those of his royal supporter, the German-born King George II) ahead of England's. The Duke of Newcastle, who had always viewed Carteret as a rival, now insisted on his dismissal. Carteret's unwillingness to court the favor of members of Parliament undermined his political strength, and he resigned in November 1744. Carlyle paraphrases Horace Walpole's *Memoirs*: "It is difficult to say whether [Carteret] was oftener intoxicated by wine or ambition: in fits of the former, he showed contempt for every body; in rants of the latter, for truth" (1:168-69). The conclusion of this passage refers to William Pitt the elder (see note to 105.31-32). On these events, see also Carlyle's account in *Frederick* (4:14.5.438-43).

308.3. **cataclysm at Sedan:** On September 1, 1870, superior Prussian forces encircled and defeated the French army at Sedan, in northern France. Emperor Napoleon III led the French army, personally surrendering himself and his troops on September 2, after the French had suffered approximately seventeen thousand dead and wounded. The humiliating defeat at Sedan left France without its largest army and without an official government. With Metz still under siege, the Prussians now had a clear route to Paris, and the outcome of the war was all but inevitable.

308.11-12. **'Slow fire makes sweet malt':** Traditional proverb, sometimes rendered as "Soft fire makes sweet malt." In a March 22, 1824, letter to

Jane Welsh, Carlyle had urged his future wife to "Remember Ralpho's proverb given in Hudibras 'slow fire does make sweet malt'" (*Letters* 3:52 and n. 3). However, as the editors of the *Collected Letters* note, it is Hudibras who says this, not his squire Ralpho: "Hold, hold, quoth Hudibras, Soft fire / They say, does make sweet Malt. Good Squire, / Festina lente, not too fast; / For haste (the Proverb says) makes waste" (Samuel Butler, *Hudibras* 1.3.1251-54).

308.19-23. **The English newspapers, nearly all of them, seem to me to be only getting towards a true knowledge of Bismarck, but not yet got to it. The standing likeness, circulating everywhere ten years ago, of demented Bismarck and his ditto King to Strafford and Charles I. *versus* our Long Parliament . . . has now vanished from the earth:** In Britain, it became common, particularly in the press, to draw an analogy between the roles of Otto von Bismarck and King Wilhelm during the Prussian constitutional crisis in the early 1860s and the roles of the Thomas Wentworth (1593-1641), 1st Earl of Strafford and principle advisor to Charles I, in their struggle with the Long Parliament (see note to 110.16-17). This Parliament tried Strafford for treason and he was executed in 1641, civil war ensued, and Charles I was tried and executed in 1649. (Carlyle had recounted Strafford's trial in "Baillie the Covenanter," *Historical Essays* 258-69 and *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* 1:2.110-19). The *London Daily News* for May 9, 1864, explicates the analogy:

> Just before the outbreak of the war the constitutional struggle in Prussia had reached the critical stage at which any yielding on the part of the national representatives, any concession to the minister [Bismarck] who had insolently trampled on their rights and defied their power, would amount to a virtual surrender of the vital interests at stake. We had just such a crisis in our own history when Stafford, having defied the representatives of the nation, and being resolved to suppress parliamentary government, prepared the way for the triumph of despotism by raising a large army nominally to protect English interests in the midst of a rival nationality. In that supreme hour had the guardians of constitutional right been deceived for a moment by the specious pretext, or allowed their passion against a hostile nationality to obscure in any degree the clear judgment of their sovereign duty, the national cause would have been lost for half a

> century at least, and the ultimate triumph of freedom indefinitely postponed. Happily they were faithful to their first duty, and steadfastly refused to place in the hand of their sworn enemy the instrument of their own destruction. The constitutional party in Prussia, unhappily for the interests of the nation, have not been equally clear-sighted, or equally faithful to their first duty. They have allowed M. DE BISMARCK to use their passions and prejudices for his own sinister ends, and the triumph of his despotic policy is now virtually complete. (4)

It should be noted, however, that just two years later the August 21, 1866, *Morning Post* would point out how utterly wrong this analogy proved to be: "When the great constitutional struggle between the King of Prussia and his subjects commenced a few years since persons of every shade of opinion in this country were never tired of repeating that WILLIAM the First of Prussia would share the fate of CHARLES the First of England. Between Bismarck and Strafford the parallel was of course complete, and the world was called on to notice the singular fancifulness with which history was repeating itself. . . The manner in which each and all of these predictions have been falsified is by no means flattering to human sagacity" (4).

308.22-23. ***as* like as Macedon to Monmouth, and not liker:** Carlyle ridicules the comparison between Bismarck and Strafford by likening it to the portion of Shakespeare's *Henry V* in which Captain Fluellen "proves" through faulty reasoning that Henry of Monmouth and Alexander the Great of Macedonia ("*as* like as Macedon to Monmouth") are uncannily similar: "I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the orld, I warrant you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is poth alike. There is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river. But 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in poth. If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Monmouth's life is come after it indifferent well; for there is figures in all things" (4.7.20-31).

308.24-26. **That pathetic Niobe of Denmark, reft violently of her children (which were stolen children, and were dreadfully ill-nursed by Niobe Denmark):** In Greek mythology, Niobe, daughter of Tantalus, offended Leto by boasting of her many children. In retaliation, Leto sent her two

children, Apollo and Artemis, to kill Niobe's offspring. Bereft of her children, Niobe was turned into a weeping stone. Carlyle refers to the conclusion of the Second Schleswig War (1864), when Denmark lost the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Prussians and Austrians, both of which had claimed it. His assertion that the duchies were stolen in the first place by the Danish probably refers to the outcome of the First Schleswig War (1848-1851), which resulted in the duchies being placed under the personal rule of the Danish king, though not fully integrated into the Kingdom of Denmark. Denmark's attempt to fully integrate Schleswig under a single constitution triggered the second war in 1864.

308.27-29. **Bismarck, as I read him, is not a person of "Napoleonic" ideas, but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic; shows no invincible "lust of territory," nor is tormented with "vulgar ambition":** Although Carlyle selected Napoleon as one of his "Hero as King" exemplars, he was critical of Napoleon, identifying ambition in particular as his most serious flaw: "An element of blameable ambition shews itself, from the first, in this man; gets the victory over him at last, and involves him and his work in ruin" (*On Heroes* 204). Criticism of Bismarck as a man of ambition with a Napoleonic lust for territory became increasingly common as the siege of Paris continued. The *Examiner*'s October 22, 1870, editorial, "Does Germany Covet Alsace?" points out that after Sedan, Bismarck could have dictated peace "on any terms short of annexation," but he did not, because "the lust of conquest would not have been appeased, and no valid excuse would have been secured for keeping up a vast military establishment on a permanent footing" (673). A week later, on October 29, 1870, a letter to the editor in the *Examiner* characterized Prussia as a "Bonaparte among nations," likely to be unsatisfied even with Alsace-Lorraine (690). On November 25, 1870, Carlyle received a telegram from a German official, assumed to be Bismarck, thanking him for his support (Froude, *Life in London* 2:433; Kaplan 495).

Notes to "The Portraits of John Knox"

309.title. **JOHN KNOX:** John Knox (1514?-1572) was the leader of the Protestant reformation in Scotland and largely responsible for the establishment of Presbyterianism as the national church of Scotland. Carlyle made a close study of Knox in 1832-1833 in part with the idea of writing an essay on him (see *Letters* 6:261, 7:71, 102), but nothing came of it. In his 1841 *On Heroes,* however, he included Knox (at the end of a longer section on Martin Luther) as a "Hero as Priest," describing him as "a

children, Apollo and Artemis, to kill Niobe's offspring. Bereft of her children, Niobe was turned into a weeping stone. Carlyle refers to the conclusion of the Second Schleswig War (1864), when Denmark lost the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Prussians and Austrians, both of which had claimed it. His assertion that the duchies were stolen in the first place by the Danish probably refers to the outcome of the First Schleswig War (1848-1851), which resulted in the duchies being placed under the personal rule of the Danish king, though not fully integrated into the Kingdom of Denmark. Denmark's attempt to fully integrate Schleswig under a single constitution triggered the second war in 1864.

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brave and remarkable man; but still more important as Chief Priest and Founder, which one may consider him to be, of the Faith that became Scotland's, New England's, Oliver Cromwell's" (122) and elsewhere as "the one Scotchman to whom, of all others, his country and the world owe a debt" (125). He had also discussed portraits of Knox in his "Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" (above 233-34). The Carlyles were under the impression Jane Welsh was a descendent of John Knox, but this belief was eventually proved erroneous (*Letters* 3:420n9). See also notes to 229.12-15, 234.16-19.

309.1. **Theodore Beza:** Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605), an influential Protestant Reformation leader, based primarily in Geneva, where he worked closely with the reformer John Calvin. He was the author of numerous works, including poetry and drama in addition to theological tracts, historical writings, and biblical translations.

309.7-8. **Volume of perhaps 250 pages, but in fact not numerically paged at all, which is sometimes described as 4to, but is in reality 8vo:** The book is actually 316 pages, though, as Carlyle says, the pages are not numbered; the index uses page signatures, which are cited in these notes. Quarto (4to) and octavo (8vo) are book sizes, quarto being a fourth of a sheet (because folded twice) and octavo (folded three times) an eighth of a sheet of paper, or approximately 12 inches by 9.5 inches and 9 inches by 6 inches, respectively. The copies of Beza that we have inspected are, contrary to Carlyle's claim, quartos, as identified by the horizontal chain lines in the paper. We do not know what copy he consulted, but the exemplars at the two likely sources—the London Library and the British Library—are quartos. Given that Carlyle remarks below (322) that the British Library does not possess a copy of Goulart's translation of Beza, it seems likely that he consulted their copy of the original.

309.9-11. **King James VI. of Scotland; . . . the chief Protestant King then extant:** James VI (see note to 109.11-12) assumed the throne upon the abdication of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, when he was just over one year old; although his mother was Catholic, James was raised in the Church of Scotland.

309.20-24. ***Icones, id est Veræ Imagines, . . . M.D.LXXX*: *Icons, that is, True Portraits of the men, illustrious for learning and piety, by whose ministry chiefly, on the one hand, the studies of good letters were restored, and, on the other, true Religion was renewed in various regions of the Christian World within our***

memory and that of our fathers; with the addition of descriptions of their life and work; *to which are added some pictures, called Emblems*. *Theodore Beza, Author.—Geneva. Published by Jean de Laon. 1580.*

310.6-8. **Dominus Georgius Buchananus, the *facile princeps* in various literary respects, and Dominus Petrus Junius (or Jonck, as it is elsewhere called, meaning 'Young'):** On Buchanan, see note to 234.16-19; the epithet "*facile princeps,*" meaning "obvious leader" (literally, "easily first"), is Carlyle's means of indicating his stature. Peter Young (1544-1628), scholar and later diplomat, who studied for a time at Geneva with Theodore Beza. Both served as tutors to James VI.

310.10. **The Royal Icon:** Drummond contends that the portrait of James VI was based on one of the portraits by Vaensoun discussed below (317), but Borgeaud suggests that it was based on a nearly identical portrait used on the twenty-pound gold coin minted in 1575-1576 (Drummond 238, Borgeaud 22).

310.14-18. **Some Four Score other personages follow; . . . the individual who should have filled it, given:** Carlyle has miscounted. There are ninety, not eighty (four score) personages. The total of thirty-eight icons must include the frontispiece portrait of James, for only thirty-seven of the ninety frames have portraits.

310.20. **Simon Goulart:** Simon Goulart (1543-1628), French theologian, historian, and translator, was a colleague of Beza and his successor as leader of the Company of Pastors at Geneva. His translation of Beza's *Icones* (published in Geneva in 1581) is entitled *Les vrais pourtraits des homes illustres en piété et doctrine, du travail desquels Dieu s'est servi en ces derniers temps, pour remettre sus la vraye Religion en divers pays de la Chrestienté. Avec les Descriptions de leur vie & de leurs faits les plus memorables. Plus, quarante quatre Emblemes Chrestiens. Traduicts du latin de Theodore de Besze* (The true portraits of pious men illustrious for piety and doctrine, whose works God employed in these late times to restore the true religion in the various Christian nations. With the description of their life and most memorable acts. Also, forty-four Christian emblems. Translated from the Latin of Theodore Beza).

310.22-23. **He has added from his own resources Eleven new Icons:** As Carlyle states, in Goulart's volume there are eleven new portraits that fill in absences in Beza's original.

310.24. **Wickliffe:** See note to 16.34-35.

312.1-15. ***Wickliffe*.—'Let this, England, be thy greatest honour forever that thou didst produce John Wickliffe . . . at Oxford in the year 1410':** Carlyle translates Beza's entire Latin entry on Knox (A.ij). The date and place of death (1387) given by Beza are incorrect; Wycliffe died in 1384 and, as Carlyle indicates below, at Lutterworth, not Oxford. The phrasing might seem to imply that he died because of the "diverse combats," but Beza probably means only that it was after many combats, as the cause of his death was a stroke.

312.3. **Roman Harlot:** Common Protestant epithet for the Roman Catholic Church, derived from the Whore of Babylon in Revelation (see note to 39.14).

312.11. **when thy bones were burnt to powder by Antichrist:** In 1428, by order of the Council of Constance (see note to 312.16-30), Wycliffe's remains were exhumed, burned, and thrown into the River Swift, near the town of Lutterworth.

312.16. **No not at Oxford, but at Lutterworth in Leicestershire:** See note to 312.1-15.

312.16-30. **as old Fuller memorably tells us: 'Such the spleen of the Council of Constance,' . . . all the world over':** Thomas Fuller (1607/8-1661), English historian, preacher, and author of *The Church History of Britain* (1655), which was frequently reprinted in the seventeenth century and then not again until 1837 and several times thereafter. Carlyle's *Historical Sketches* (53, which quotes Fuller 1:493) cites 1837, and the punctuation here more closely matches this edition than the original. Carlyle had also cited him in his *Cromwell* (1:27-28).

312.33-35. **Erasmus, a tolerably good portrait, . . . is one of his figures:** Beza C iij; Goulart 24. Desiderius Erasmus (1467?-1536), Dutch classical scholar and humanist, well known for taking a moderate position in regard to the ongoing controversy between Lutheranism and Catholicism. Carlyle saw the statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam in 1853 while on his way to Germany, writing to Jane, "I have seen Erasmus in bronze, all defiled with the nastiest pollutions" (*Letters* 27:262).

312.35-36. **The Printers, Etienne, Froben, for their eximious services**

in the cause of good letters, *bonarum literarum*: Robert Estienne (1503-1559), Parisian printer, published the first complete version of the Bible in Latin (1528; Beza Y.ij; Goulart 158) as well as many classical works by Greek and Roman authors. Johann Froben (1460?-1527), Swiss printer, published many scholarly works at Basel, including the first Greek New Testament (1516) with Erasmus's Latin translation (Beza S.iiij; Goulart 129). "Good letters" glosses the Latin; Carlyle refers to the title of Beza's text (see 309.21).

312.36-313.3. **King Francis I. is introduced in gallant beaver and plume, . . . the primitive fact that he was Beza's King:** Francis I (see note to 302.8-9) was well known for his support of the arts. In his comments, Beza alludes to the Collège Royal, now the Collège de France, a humanist institution founded by Francis I in 1530 (Beza T.ij; Goulart 131-33). In "Latter Stage of the French-German War," Carlyle had been highly critical of Francis I's foreign policy, particularly his rivalry with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (see above 301-4).

312.39. **Fuller's *Church History*, Section ii. Book iv:** See note to 312.16.

313.3-5. **'Sham Bishops, *pseudo-episcopi*,' 'cruel murderers of God's messengers,' 'servants of Satan,' . . . is traceable in Beza:** As Carlyle indicates, "pseud-episcopi" means "false Bishops." The term "pseud-Episcopi" appears in Beza's entries on John Knox and Thomas Cranmer (Ee.iij, Dd.ij), but it does not appear in Goulart. "Servants of Satan" may refer to "supposts de Satan" in Goulart (194), but there is no equivalent in Beza. We have not located "cruel murderers of God's messengers."

313.8. **Forty Emblems, '*picturæ quas Emblemata vocant*':** Latin: "pictures which are called Emblems"; this is the last portion of the full title of Beza's *Icones*. There are, in fact, forty-four such emblems in Beza's text, not forty. The emblems are placed at the end of the text, after the icons.

313.11-12. **without the much censured erotic, or other impure elements, which caused so much scandal in his younger days:** Written in his youth, the Latin poems in Beza's *Juvenilia* (1548) were widely praised, but they were also targets of criticism due to their erotic imagery and themes. The year his poems were published, Beza converted to the Reform movement, relocated to Geneva, and renounced his youthful poetry.

313.14. **Patrick Hamilton:** Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528), Scottish re-

former and preacher, was convicted of heresy and burned at the stake at St. Andrews in 1528 and was thus the first martyr of the Scottish Reformation. See Beza Ff.j; Goulart 209-10.

313.16. **'Johannes Cnoxus Giffordiensis Scotus':** Latin: John Knox, a Scotsman of Gifford (Beza Ec.iij; see Goulart 201-5).

313.18-19. **the following strange Icon:** Reproduced below (314) from Beza Ec.iij. Carlyle probably first saw Beza's icon in volume 1 of Laing's edition of the *Works of Knox*, upon which he commented in a June 18, 1847 letter (see note to 315.2-3).

313.27. **at his ease in Zion:** Amos 6:1: "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria, which are named chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel came!"

313.28-29. **sleep in a whole skin:** To escape being wounded or injured.

313.29-33. **Knox, you can well perceive, in all his writings and in all his way of life, was emphatically of Scottish build; . . . or had clear record of:** An echo of Carlyle's assessment of Knox in *On Heroes*: "In fact, he has very much the type of character we assign to the Scotch at present: a certain sardonic taciturnity is in him; insight enough; and a stouter heart than he himself knows of" (129). After reading the second volume of Laing's *Works of John Knox*, Carlyle wrote to Laing on August 20, 1848, with high praise:

> You have done me, and all true souls that can read this Book, a real pleasure and benefit; truly it is a long while since I have had such a bit of wholesome genuine and fruitful reading! One of the truest Books evidently; and to a high degree significant of the Writer too. I never saw Knox half so clearly before. A strange vein of rough rustic geniality runs thro' the earnest prophetic man; vivid picturesque touches, shining like bits of native gold; raspings of honest pungent sarcasm, sardonic banter, a genuine sense of humour and ridicule (which is one of the things I like best in Knox);—on the whole, a most vernacular man; Scotch every fibre of him, Scotch to the marrow of the bone! And certainly a better Scotchman, of his kind, was never yet made, that I heard of.—As-

> sure yourself you do a right good service, to this and all future times, in making such a man legible again. (*Letters* 23:94-95)

314.1-3. **a pure, and mainly silent, tenderness of affection is in him, touches of genial humour are not wanting under his severe austerity:** Regarding Knox's silence, Carlyle had written in *On Heroes*: "He has the power of holding his peace over many things which do not vitally concern him,—They? what are they? But the thing which does vitally concern him, that thing he will speak of; and in a tone the whole world shall be made to hear: all the more emphatic for his long silence" (129). For Carlyle on the virtue of silence, see note to 34.38. As for Knox's humor, Carlyle had written in *On Heroes*: "Withal, unexpectedly enough, this Knox has a vein of drollery in him; which I like much, in combination with his other qualities" (129; see also "Inaugural Address" above 261). Carlyle often ascribed a sense of humor and capacity for laughter to his heroes; in "Schiller," he had remarked that "Humour has been justly regarded as the finest perfection of poetic genius" (*Essays on German Literature* 422), and in his introduction to Richter in *German Romance*, he had written: "Yet, if I mistake not, Humour is his ruling quality, the quality which lives most deeply in his inward nature, and most strongly influences his manner of being. In this rare gift,—for none is rarer than true humour,—he stands unrivalled in his own country; and among late writers, in every other" (2:122). Among those to whom he attributed a powerful capacity for humor and laughter were Shakespeare, Swift, Jonson, Sterne, Cervantes, Goethe, Tieck, and Burns, as well as the fictional Teufelsdröckh (see *Sartor Resartus* 1.4.33-34).

315.2-3. **more like the wooden Figure-head of a ship than a living and working man:** When Laing sent Carlyle the first volume of his edition of Knox's *Works* in 1847, Carlyle described the Beza portrait as a "blotch" (*Letters* 21:236). In a letter of March 21, 1874, when he was in the midst of his researches on the portraits, Carlyle wrote: "I have accordingly examined and studied all the pictures that are discoverable of Knox, some eight or nine in whole; . . . There are about five of them that do not strictly resemble a human creature at all any more than the wooden Highlander at the door of snuff shops does" (NLS 528.8; see also a later letter to Laing, University of Edinburgh #51). On April 10, he wrote that the Beza was "more like a figure-head of a ship than like Knox or any other Son of Adam" (NLS 3706.91; see also a letter to Charles Eliot

Norton, Harvard #8). Knight's *London* has an engraving of a snuff shop Highlander (3:336); it is reproduced as plate 11.

315.4. **physiognomic reader:** Physiognomy posits a direct correlation between a person's character and his or her physical features, which could thus be "read" or interpreted as signs of a person's temperament and moral character. Although it was an ancient practice, physiognomy enjoyed a major revival in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of his investigation of the portraits, Carlyle wrote to David Laing about what he at the time thought was the Torphichen but was probably the Somerville portrait: "In no other portrait Iron or Image of Knox is there the least of a physiognomy that I can believe to be Knox" (Edinburgh #49). On April 23, 1874, he would assert that the Somerville depicts a "man typically *Scotch* in every feature, with Knox's character written on it throughout" (Harvard Houghton #8).

315.7-12. **The year of Knox's birth is unknown to Beza, the place very indistinctly known . . . ever a university student elsewhere at all:** Beza says Knox was raised in the town of St. Andrew and does not give a date of birth (Ec.iij); Knox was born about 1514 but the exact year is uncertain. John Major, or Mair (1467-1550), renowned Scottish philosopher and scholar, was professor of theology at Glasgow and then St. Andrews in the 1520s. Carlyle is most likely deriving his information about Knox and Major from the first volume of Laing's *Works of John Knox*, in which Laing states that Major "was for a short time (1518-1522) Principal Regent in the College of Glasgow, where Knox himself was his pupil" (1:37n2). In his "Chronological Notes," Laing further states that "there is no evidence to shew that he [Knox] afterwards proceeded to St. Andrews, as is usually stated, either to complete his academical education, or publicly to teach philosophy" (*Works of Knox* 1:xiii). The assertion that Knox first encountered Major at St. Andrews appears in Thomas M'Crie's *The Life of John Knox* (see note to 325.19-20), which states, "John Mair, better known by his Latin name, Major, was professor of philosophy and theology at St Andrews, when Knox attended the university," and further that Major "was the preceptor of Knox" (1:7).

315.15. **neological:** In this context, "neological" means characterized by the adoption of novel (especially rationalistic) views or doctrines.

315.16. **Cardinal Beaton:** David Beaton (1494?-1546).

315.18-21. **'to Hameston,'—a town or city unknown to geographers, . . . *unicum tunc piorum asylum*:** Beza's text reads "*ut Hamestonum unicum tue piorum asylum perfugere cogeretur*" (Ec.iij), that is, Knox was forced to flee to the religious asylum of Hameston.

315.23-24. **'Langudrius, a principal nobleman in Scotland':** Carlyle translates "Langudrio præcipuæ notilitatis viro" (Ec.iij).

315.28-29. **that 'Hamestonum" the city of refuge is Cockburn the Laird of *Ormiston's*:** Presumably from M'Crie (1:39-49), though both also appear in Laing's *Works of John Knox.*

315.33-37. **the one certain fact we come upon is that of Knox's taking leave of his congregation, . . . Beza must have had exact information, not mere rumour:** Carlyle refers to the last portion of Beza's entry on Knox (Ec.iv). Knox's hand-picked successor, James Lawton, was installed on November 9, 1572; Knox died fifteen days later, on November 24.

316.1-2. **From all this we might infer that Beza had never personally had the least acquaintance with Knox:** As Drummond points out, Carlyle's view differs from those of his sources, M'Crie and Laing, both of whom believe Beza and Knox were acquainted (244). Drummond also notes that Carlyle inexplicably ignores two surviving letters from Beza to Knox, reprinted by Laing in the *Works of John Knox*, the tenor of which suggests that they were well acquainted (245-49; Laing, *Works of Knox* 6:562-65, 613-15). However, Borgeaud suggests they were not so well acquainted that Beza would be able to judge the accuracy of the portrait twenty years after Knox's departure from Geneva (24-25).

316.4. **Bayle's:** Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697). Carlyle's copy of the fifth edition, published in four volumes at Amsterdam in 1740, is in the Carlyle House collection (Tarr, "Libraries" 260).

316.5-6. **Knox's journeys to Geneva, and his two several residences, as preacher to the Church of the English Exiles there:** Knox preached in both Frankfurt and Geneva in 1554-1555. From 1556 to early 1559, Knox was again in Geneva, preaching to English-speaking exiles at the Chapel of Notre-Dame-la-Neuve.

316.8-9. **Beza was at Lausanne, teaching Greek:** Drummond makes the

point that Lausanne is "but a few miles from Geneva" (244), though it is actually about forty.

316.11-12. **Apology for Calvin's burning of Servetus:** Michael Servetus (1509/11-1553), the controversial Spanish theologian, was tried and convicted of heresy and then burned at the stake in Geneva in 1553. John Calvin (1509-1564), the influential French reformer, was the main force behind Servetus's condemnation. In *De haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis* (1554), Beza defended Calvin's role in the execution of Servetus.

316.14-18. **During Knox's last and most important ministration in Geneva, Beza, . . . did not come to settle in Geneva till Spring 1559, several months after Knox had permanently left it:** In 1558, Beza traveled to Worms in an unsuccessful effort to persuade the German princes to come to the aid of the persecuted French Huguenots. Knox left Geneva in January 1559.

316.19-20. **forwarded a copy to Edinburgh, to the little patron Sovereign there:** That is, to James VI (see note to 309.9-11), who turned fourteen the year *Icones* was published.

316.22. **a short letter to Buchanan, the little King's Head-tutor:** See note to 310.6-8.

316.35. **owls to Athens:** The owl was associated with Athena and thus became the symbol of Athens; the ancient idiomatic expression "bringing owls to Athens" thus indicates a pointless or unnecessary task.

316.36-38. **My late Paraphrase of the Psalms, if it has reached your country, will I hope inspire you with the design of reprinting your own:** Beza's *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum prophetarum, libri quinque: Argumentis & Latina Paraphrasi illustrati, ac etiam vario carminum genere latine expressi* (Psalms of David and other prophecies, in five books; illustrated with arguments and Latin paraphrase, and also printed with various kinds of poems, 1579). Some of Buchanan's paraphrases were published in a 1556 Paris edition of the Psalms entitled *Davidis Psalmi aliquot* (Some of the Psalms of David). A complete (but undated) version was published, probably in Geneva around 1566, with the title *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis poetica, nunc primum edita, authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto, poetarum nostri saeculi facile principe. Eiusdem Davidis Psalmi aliquot a Th. B. V. versi. Psalmi aliquot in versus ite Graecos nuper a diversis translati*.

317.7. **Mr. David Laing:** See note to 229.1.

317.10-12. **'*Itim*, To Adrianc Vaensoun, Fleming painter, . . . (14*s*. 2*d*. sterling):** In modern English: "Item, To Adrian Vaensoun, Flemish painter, for two pictures painted by him, and sent to Theodore Beza, agreeing to the order as the same produced upon payment of the account." David Laing had offered this entry as proof that the Beza was based on an authentic portrait. When Robert Horn wrote to Carlyle conveying this discovery, he summarized Laing's description of it as a "payment to an Artist (with some foreign name) for portraits of James VI and John Knosc [*sic*] 'sent to Mr Beza of Geneva'" (NLS 1771.72). David Laing sent his transcription of this entry, which does not specify the subjects of the portraits, to Carlyle in a letter dated August 20, 1874 (NLS 1771.118).

317.13-18. **In Painters' Dictionaries there is no such name as Vaensoun; but there is a famous enough Vansomer, or even family or clan of Vansomers . . . Paulus Vansomer . . . *Eximius pictor*:** Adrian Vaensoun, more typically spelled Vansoun, was a Flemish painter living and working in Edinburgh who became court painter to James VI in 1584. Paul van Somer (1577/8-1621/2) was a Flemish painter in the court of James I (James VI of Scotland) in London. Carlyle's source appears to be Michael Bryan's *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (1849), which lists Paul Vansomer, but not Vaensoun, and describes Vansomer as "*Eximius Pictor*" (superb painter) (834). Carlyle's copy of Bryan is in the Carlyle House collection (Tarr, "Libraries" 252). Drummond suggests that Vaensoun can be found in "Painters' Dictionaries" under the name Fanzone or Faenzone (240), but the artist of this name in Bryan and other dictionaries is Italian, not Dutch, and there is no indication that he ever was in Scotland.

317.22. **in *rerum naturâ*:** Latin: "in the nature of things," "in existence."

317.23-24. **these *twa picturis* might be portraits of His Majesty and Johannes Cnoxus:** See note to 317.10-12.

317.28-29. **Simon Goulart had got out his French translation of Beza's Book:** See note to 310.20.

317.30-31. **contradicted one of the above two Icons, that of 'Jean Cnoxe de Gifford en Ecosse':** See Goulart 204 and note to 317.36-318.1

317.34. **'wrote twenty-one books':** Not identified.

317.36-318.1. ***Apud Joannem Laonium*:** Latin: Printed/Published by Jean de Laon.

318.1-2. ***postscript*, for it is introduced at the end of the Icons, and before his translation of the Emblems:** Goulart's "postscript" appears after the Emblems, at the very end of the text (two pages after 284, page unnumbered), not after the Icons.

318.11-18. '***Au Lecteur. Du consentement de M. Theodore de Besze, . . . mettre la main*:':** In English translation: "To the Reader. With the consent of Mr. Theodore Beza, I have translated this book as accurately as it was possible for me. Moreover, after the description of the illustrious people, I have added to each some French verses, representing the best I could the author's Latin epigrams when there were any, and I furnished other verses of my own rough invention. In doing so, I wanted you to understand this so that the author would not be blamed for things he could have written much better if he had had the time and if he had been so inclined to try his hand at them."

318.26-27. **Jean Diaze,—a tragic Spanish Protestant, fratricidally murdered at Neuburg in the Oberpfalz, 1546:** Juan Díaz (1510-1546), Spanish reformer whose murder was orchestrated by his brother Alfonso, an attorney with the Papal Court of Rome. Protestant accounts of the murder, such as Beza's, often associated Díaz's death with Cain's fratricidal murder of Abel (Genesis 4:1-8).

318.27-29. **Melchior Wolmar, . . . from whom Beza, at Orleans, had learned Greek:** In December of 1528, Beza was sent to Orléans to study under Melchior Wolmar (1497-1560), the renowned German teacher and scholar.

318.31-33. **This is the one mistake or palpable oversight discoverable in Goulart's accurately conscientious labour:** Drummond challenges Carlyle's claims for Goulart's accuracy (241). Borgeaud points out that in some exemplars of Goulart the error is corrected, indicating that it was detected before the print run was complete (33).

318.36-38. **Goulart has, of his own head, silently altogether withdrawn the Johannes Cnoxus of Beza, and substituted for it this now adjoined**

Icon: When he was investigating the portraits, Carlyle initially treated this substitution as a new discovery, writing to Laing on March 26, 1874, that in Goulart's book "Beza's Icon of Knox is silently withdrawn altogether . . . This it seems to me quite puts Beza out of court, and closes his mouth as a witness on the point in question" (Edinburgh #51). He had apparently forgotten that in the preface to the first volume of Knox's *Works* Laing had concluded that the substitution was the result of "the original cut having been either injured or lost; and not from exhibiting a more correct likeness of the Scotish [*sic*] Reformer," to which he added the conjecture that owing to its "marked resemblance" (he does not say to what), he is "convinced" that the Goulart portrait was "intended for William Tyndale" (1:viii n. 2). Laing's response to the letter from Carlyle is lost, but he must have reminded him of this footnote, for in two subsequent letters Carlyle described it as "unspeakable" (NLS 528.104, 3706.91). Drummond concurs with Laing and adds that the error of the use of the Diaze portrait to depict Wolmar (see 318.26-27 and note) undermines his case (241). Borgeaud would mount an elaborate argument that the Goulart is the true Knox.

319.2, 36. **William Tyndale translator of the Bible, a fellow exile of Knox's at Geneva:** William Tyndale (1494?-1536?), English reformer, who had relocated to continental Europe in 1524 and produced the first full English translation of the New Testament (1528). Carlyle accepts the explanation given by Laing in Knox's *Works* (1:viii), but Borgeaud would argue that the portrait supposedly of Tyndale, to which Laing compares it, is of doubtful authenticity (29-30).

320.3. **explicable only on the vague hypothesis:** When Carlyle first learned of Goulart's substitution, he posed a different hypothesis: "The icons must have been cut in 1579 at latest: and the only conjecture I can form on the subject is that, in March 1580, or still more in Goulart's rejection of the Beza Knox in 1581, they must have given such a shock to the Court at Edinburgh that a resolution was formed to send poor Beza a pair of actual attempts at likeness; which Beza, one hopes with some slight pang of repentance, would put into his drawer, out of which drawer they would gradually go into utter darkness again by what steps no man can specify!—" (NLS 3706.105).

320.11. **Dromio:** The similarity between the identical twin servants Dromio of Ephesus and Dromio of Syracuse forms a part of the plot of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.

320.21-24. **a Dutch Theologian, one Verheiden, . . . a folio entitled *Præstantium aliquot Theologorum &c. Effigies*:** Jacob Verheiden (1590-1618), theologian and teacher, was the author of *Praestantium aliquot theologorum qui Rom. Antichristum praecipue oppugnarunt, Effigies: quibus addita Elogia Librorumq[ue] Catalogi; opera Iac. Verheiden* (Images of a number of outstanding theologians who have particularly attacked the Roman Anti-Christ; to which are added their praises and lists of their books; work of Jacob Verheiden, 1602), which includes fifty portraits of Protestant reformers, with biographies and bibliographies for each.

320.25. **Hondius:** Hendrik Hondius the Elder (1573-1650), Dutch engraver.

320.37-321.2. **This woodcut, it appears, pleased the late Sir David Wilkie . . . 'Knox preaching before Queen Mary':** On Wilkie's painting, see note to 233.25. The version of the title given by Carlyle ("Knox preaching before Queen Mary") presumes that the central female figure in the image is Mary, Queen of Scots; however, the Royal Academy's catalog description of the painting identifies her as the Countess of Argyll, Mary's half-sister (3:510). Laing says that "Sir David Wilkie, whose opinion in such matters was second to none, was inclined to prefer this [Knox portrait] of Verheiden to any at least of the later portraits of the Reformer." In addition, Laing mentions in a footnote that he had lent Wilkie "Verheiden's work, for the purpose of copying his portrait," but he implies that it was for a painting called "Knox dispensing the Sacrament," left unfinished at the time of Wilkie's death (1:ix).

322.2-4. **All artists agree at once that this of Hondius . . . Beza Figure-head:** Carlyle paraphrases Laing: "A similar head [to Beza's Knox portrait] engraved on copper, is to be found in Verheiden's 'Præstantium aliquot Theologorum, &c., Effigies,' published at the Hague, in 1602, folio; but this, I apprehend, is merely an improved copy from Beza, and not taken from an original painting" (*Works of Knox* 1:ix).

322.17-18. **no copy to be found in the British Museum:** In the nineteenth century, what is now known as the British Library was housed in the British Museum. While it is not possible to know when it was acquired, the British Library does possess a copy of the 1581 edition. Carlyle is correct that many more copies of Beza survive.

322.28-32. **In *Les Portraits des Hommes Illustres qui ont le plus contribué au Rétablissement des belles lettres et de la vraye Religion* . . . Beza denom-**

inated Knox: Knox's portrait appears in the section "Les Roys, Reines, Princes & Doctevrs d'Angleterre et d'Escosse de la Religion Reformée" (English and Scottish Kings, Queens, Princes and Doctors of the Reformed Religion). The portrait of Knox is the same as in Goulart's translation of *Icones*, as Carlyle states, and the portrait of Beza (identified as "Theodore de Beze Pasteur & Professeur en Theologie") is indeed identical to the portrait of Knox in Beza's *Icones*, though the decorative frame is different.

322.33. **Jacobus VI:** The Latin form of James VI (see note to 309.9-11).

322.34-35. **chaos thrice confounded:** An echo of *Paradise Lost* 2.993-96: "I saw and heard, for such a numerous host / Fled not in silence through the frighted deep / With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, / Confusion worse confounded." Carlyle frequently uses the phrase "confusion worse confounded," which appears in his letters as early as January 17, 1826 (*Letters* 4:17); see also *Two Note Books* 191, "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter" (*Essays on German Literature* 31), "Goethe's Works" (*Essays on German Literature* 593), "Boswell's Life of Johnson" (*Essays on Literature* 180), "Diderot" (*Essays on Literature* 242), *Sartor Resartus* 1.3.19, and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* 1.

322.35. **Egyptian darkness:** See Exodus 10:21-22: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt. And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days."

323.2. ***Granger*:** James Granger (1723-1766), *Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution, consisting of Characters dispersed in different Classes, and adapted to a Methodical Catalogue of Engraved British Heads* (1769), which includes biographical sketches with lists of portraits; readers soon supplemented his work with illustrations taken from other books, in a process that became known as "grangerizing." Carlyle was most likely looking at a "grangerized" *Biographical History*, as he mentions encountering such volumes in a letter dated September 23, 1841: "I have found many Portraits and *Illustrated Graingers* here, but can derive but little profit from them" (*Letters* 13:259-60). In the fourth edition of Granger's *Biographical History* (1804), Knox is mentioned twice (1:166, 222-23).

323.3. **latter part of Elizabeth's reign:** Elizabeth I (1533-1603), queen of England and Ireland, 1558-1603.

323.9-11. **the most famed and trusted of Scottish Knox Portraits has been that in the possession of the Torphichen family, at Calder House:** Torphichen is a peerage title that Lord Torphichen first bestowed on James Sandilands (see note to 330.25-26) in 1564. Calder House, the Sandilands family seat, is about fifteen miles from Edinburgh. As Carlyle writes below, the Torphichen Knox was widely circulated through Thomas M'Crie's *Life of John Knox* and Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (1835). See 325.19-20, 21 and notes.

323.11-12. **This Picture was public here in the Portrait Exhibition in 1869:** Carlyle's date is incorrect. There were three special exhibitions of national portraits at the South Kensington Museum from 1866 to 1868. The first of these, in 1866, included the Torphichen portrait of Knox. The catalog entry for the portrait offers these details: "Bust; long beard, black cap, clerical habit; book in r. hand. Canvas, 30 x 25 in" (South Kensington Museum 57). See the introduction on Carlyle's initial belief that the only authentic portrait was the Torphichen, which he may at that time have regarded as the original of the Somerville.

323.14-16. **By the great kindness of the now Lord Torphichen, the Picture was, with prompt and conspicuous courtesy, which I shall not soon forget, sent up again for inspection here:** James Walter Sandilands, 12th Lord Torphichen (1846-1915); see note to 323.9-11. On May 5, 1874, Ralph Smyth had suggested that Lord Torphichen would be willing to answer questions (NLS 1771.49), which he did in a letter of July 6: "I know nothing of the picture beyond that it has been for several generations in the family, but when or whence it came to [his home at] Calder I cannot tell" to which he added that he has "no satisfactory information as to the date or the name of the painter or where we got it from" (NLS 1771.82). On July 17, Torphichen offered to send the painting to London for inspection (NLS 1771.91; see 1771.96). On August 3-4, Carlyle delivered his verdict that the Torphichen was "a worthless & totally incredible piece of 'portraiture' done *from* the primitive Beza figure-head, which you know so well instead vice-versa" (NLS 528.14).

323.16. **examination by artistic judges:** On Carlyle's plan to have artistic judges examine the portrait, see 348.3-9 and note.

323.23. **a copy of the late Mr. Penny of Calder's engraving:** William Penny (1788-1867), artist and engraver. David Laing, in his preface to the first volume of the *Works of John Knox*, says that the Torphichen picture "was

engraved for Dr. M'Crie's work: and, on a large scale, there is a most careful engraving of it, by a very ingenious and modest artist, Mr. William Penny of Mid-Calder" (viii n1). On April 10, 1874, anticipating the arrival of the Somerville portrait, Carlyle wrote seeking a copy of Penny's engraving, which as he says here, he was unable to find in London (letter to Robert Horn, NLS 3706.91).

323.25. **Mr. Graves's:** Henry Graves (1806-1892), the leading print seller in London.

323.35. ***vox populi*:** Latin: voice of the people.

325.11. **The so-called original Knox, still in Glasgow University:** Drummond explains that this is a late derivative work: "Amongst such [i.e., inaccurate] portraits I am afraid we must include the portrait of Knox hanging in the Museum of the University of Glasgow, one of a series of made-up portraits there, among which are those of Luther and Wishart. It is a profile, evidently suggested by the Beza or Hondius portraits, and was engraved in 1799 for Pinkerton's Gallery of Scottish Portraits" (250). On Pinkerton's *Gallery*, see note to 325.14.

325.12. **Mr. Robert Tait, Queen Anne Street:** Robert Scott Tait (1816-1897), Scottish painter and photographer, best known for his painting *A Chelsea Interior* (1857-1858), a portrait of the Carlyles in their home. Tait resided at 5 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square.

325.14. **Pinkerton:** John Pinkerton, *The Scotish Gallery; or, Portraits of Eminent Persons of Scotland* (1799). The entry on John Knox begins with two engraved portraits. Of the first—an engraving "From a Picture in the College of Glasgow"—Pinkerton writes: "This portrait in profile, from the painting in the university of Glasgow, corresponds with the common delineations, and with that in Beza's Icones, who being the friend of this reformer could hardly be misled." Pinkerton thought the authenticity of the second—"From an Original in Holyrood House"— was questionable, explaining that "to satisfy curiosity a portrait, called that of Knox by Mr. Pennant, and others, is also given from the Hamilton apartments in Holyroodhouse. It is surely some other person; and, according to the report of the draughtsman, there is a pair of compasses in the hand" (not paginated; entry on Knox). Both portraits are labelled as published by the bookseller Isaac Herbert; the first has a publication date of March

1795, the second September 1, 1797. The work lacks pagination; the Knox portraits are no. 18 in the chronological list.

325.15. **'altogether weak and foolish head':** Carlyle presumably quotes from Tait's report, which, however, has not be located.

325.16. **the bronze figure in the monument at Glasgow:** In 1825, a statue of Knox designed by William Warren and carved by Robert Forrest was installed in what became in 1831 the Glasgow Necropolis, a large Victorian cemetery. This statue is sandstone, not bronze, but it is a "monument" atop a Doric column and the only statue of Knox at this time in Glasgow.

325.18. **Protean *pecus*:** On Proteus (the adjective protean meaning "changeable"), see note to 82.1; on pecus (Latin for herd), see note to 279.27. As indicated by the further allusion below (326.15-16), Carlyle refers to Proteus driving his herd of sea animals, most likely derived from Horace's Odes (1.2.7): "omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos / visere montis" (When Proteus drove his whole herd to the height of the mountains). Carlyle makes the same allusion in *Latter-Day Pamphlets,* referring to the proliferation of peers of dubious distinction: "A kind of Proteus' flock, very curious to meet upon the lofty mountains, so many of them being natives of the deep!" (284). See also Carlyle's September 25, 1838, letter, in which he exclaims, "I have Jesuits, Swedenborgians, old Quakeresses, *omne cum Proteus*,—God help me, no man ever had so confused a public!" and his June 18, 1853, letter: "The Era of Mooncalves, *omne cum P[r]oteus pecus egit altos* &c, has arrived upon us, for our sins!" (*Letters* 10:187, 28:175).

325.19-20. **M'Crie's frontispiece to the *Life of Knox*:** M'Crie's frontispiece bears the following caption: "Engraved from a Picture in the possession of Lord Torphichen by J. Bengo." Carlyle became acquainted with M'Crie's *Life of John Knox* (1812) in 1821 and may have read the biography at that time (see *Letters* 1:335, 2:93, *Note Books* 5). He certainly read it in 1832, when he undertook an intensive course of reading in the history of the Scottish Reformation (*Letters* 6:260), and it served as a source for his discussion of Knox in *On Heroes* (302).

325.21. **Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary*:** Robert Chambers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (1835). The Knox portrait, engraved by Samuel Freeman, appears between pages 324 and 325 in volume 3 and bears the caption: "John Knox, from the original in possession of Lord Torphichen at Calder House."

325.22-23. **'in the possession of Miss Knox of Edinburgh, painted by De Vos':** A line engraving of this portrait, by Thomas Trotter, dated 1798, is in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London; it closely resembles the Torphichen portrait. The caption reads, "From an original Painting in the Possession of Miss Knox at Edinburgh." De Vos is credited as the painter (see next note). Miss Knox remains unidentified.

325.26. **there is a whole clan of Dutch De Voses:** There were several Flemish artists with the name De Vos at work in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; among them were Marten, Cornelis, Simon, and Paul de Vos. Of these, the Antwerp-based artist Cornelis de Vos (1584-1651) was best known for his portrait painting. The de Vos who painted the Knox portrait, however, remains unidentified.

325.27-28. **Another picture not without impressiveness has still its original in Holyrood House:** See note to 325.14.

325.32. **ædilities:** Referring to the duties of an aedile, a Roman magistrate in charge of maintaining public buildings and other municipal matters. Carlyle indicates that the portrait is of an architect or builder, not Knox.

325.32-33. **A much stranger 'original Picture of Knox' is still to be found in Hamilton Palace:** As Pinkerton explains in *The Scotish Gallery* (see note to 325.14): "Another portrait, equally misnamed, is in the Duke of Hamilton's house at Hamilton. It may be Hamilton, the noted priest, whose life has been illustrated by Lord Hailes—or perhaps Archbishop Hamilton" (not paginated; entry on Knox).

325.35. **Merry Andrew:** A clown; the person depicted in the portrait appears to be laughing. See note to 326.11.

325.36-38. **J. E. Boehm . . . these words, dated January 28, 1874:** Joseph Edgar Boehm (1834-1890), Vienna-born sculptor and medalist, a favorite of Queen Victoria and her family. The Thomas Carlyle statue (1882), in bronze, on the Chelsea Embankment, London, is considered among his best works. Carlyle described him as "by far the cleverest Sculptor or Artist, I have ever seen" (*New Letters* 2:306). We have not been able to locate the original of Boehm's letter. Henry Merritt, the picture restorer whom Carlyle quotes later in the essay (see note to 352.5-6), had written Carlyle to the same effect on January 9, 1874, reporting that his engraving was apparently the same as that held by the National Portrait Gallery,

which in turn is the same as that published in the *Gallery of Portraits* and the *Pictorial History* (NLS 1771.2).

326.1-2. **Engraving of the *Somerville*:** The first publication of this engraving, by Benjamin Holl, accompanied the entry on John Knox in volume 6 of *The Gallery of Portraits: With Memoirs* (1833-1837), published by Charles Knight. Drummond encapsulates the limited known history of the portrait: "When do we first hear of it? It is supposed—for all about this picture is mere conjecture—that it was bought about 1760; but whether it was acquired by Lord Somerville as a portrait of the Reformer, or was merely his ideal . . . and consequently so called, nobody now can tell; that is all we know of its history, and some people may think that is all that is worth knowing of it, so far as it being a portrait of John Knox is concerned. One thing is clear, that nobody seems to have heard of this portrait until it was brought into notice by being engraved for Knight's 'Gallery of Portraits' in 1836" (250). Later in the essay, Carlyle mentions the publication in *The Gallery of Portraits* but goes on to indicate that he first saw this engraving of the Somerville in *The Pictorial History of England* (below 346). The catalog of the contents of the Carlyle House published in 1896 lists this engraving (Carlyle's House Memorial Trust 104), which remains in the collection of the Carlyle House.

326.7. **Lord Somerville:** James Somerville (1698-1765), the 13th Lord Somerville.

326.11. **a '*Hofnarr*':** German: fool, court jester; see note to 325.35.

326.15-16. **Proteus driving all his monstrous flock, product of chaos, to view the lofty mountains:** See note to 325.18.

326.26-27. **a Black or Gray Friar:** A Dominican or Franciscan mendicant friar.

326.37-327.25. **'The theme' (*text*) 'of his sermon was "Veritie is . . . are within the realm"':** See note to 327.35-38.

327.20-21. **a plack," (*say, farthing English*):** Carlyle glosses "plack"—a small Scottish coin having little value—by reference to the farthing, an English coin, also of little value, but more familiar to his audience.

327.29. **Teniers or Ostade:** David Tenier the Younger (1610-1690), Flemish

painter, and Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), Dutch painter, both known for their depictions of common people and village life.

327.33. **Wishart:** George Wishart (1513?-1546), early martyr of the Scottish Reformation. Threatened with a charge of heresy for teaching the New Testament in Greek, Wishart fled to England in 1538. After a short stint at Cambridge, he returned to Scotland in 1543 or 1544. A close friend of and significant influence on Knox, Wishart was soon preaching in various churches and sometimes in the open air, often incurring the wrath of the religious establishment. In 1546, Cardinal Beaton oversaw his trial and conviction for heresy. After Wishart's arrest, John Cockburn, Laird of Ormiston (see note to 315.28-29), was also apprehended and taken to Edinburgh Castle, but escaped by climbing over the wall (see *Works of Knox* 1:142). Ultimately, Wishart was hanged and then burned at St. Andrews. Beaton himself was murdered not long after, largely in retaliation for his persecution of Wishart.

327.35-38. ***The Works of John Knox, . . .* Edinburgh, 1846-'64: i. p. 37 *et seq.*:** For the section of Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* that Carlyle quotes in this paragraph, see *Works of Knox* 1:37-39. For Laing, see note to 229.1.

328.5-7. **Emery Tylney, still copiously testifies, in what is now the principal record and extant biography of Wishart,—still preserved in *Foxe's Martyrology*:** Laing explains that Tylney "is identified by Messrs. Cooper, in their 'Athenae Cantabrigienses' (vol. i. p. 559) as Emery or Edmund Tylney, one of the 'poor scholars' of Corpus Christi College, who appears to have taken no degree." As Laing observes, Tylney's account first appears in the fourth edition of John Foxe (1516/7-1587), *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perilous dayes* (1563), commonly known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (*Works of Knox* 6:670).

328.9. **Wishart returned thither in 1546:** Knox says Wishart returned to Scotland in 1544 (*Works of Knox* 1:125), but see also Laing's note on the difficulty of establishing the date (1:125n2).

328.14. **'planted himself between the living and the dead':** See Numbers 16:47-8: "And Aaron took as Moses commanded, and ran into the midst of the congregation; and, behold, the plague was begun among the people: and he put on incense, and made an atonement for the people. And he stood between the dead and the living; and the plague was stayed." On

Wishart's time in Dundee during the plague, see Knox's account (*Works of Knox* 1:130).

328.21-22. **Cardinal Beaton had in this case appointed a specific assassin, a devil-serving Priest:** Knox identifies the priest as "Schir Johne Wightone" (Sir John Wighton). In Knox's account, this occurs while Wishart is still in Dundee, not after he left. Wishart confronts his assassin, Wighton confesses, and Wishart then protects him from an angry mob (see *Works of Knox* 1:130-31). Carlyle has perhaps conflated two separate incidents: the assassination plot in Dundee and a plot to ambush Wishart near Montrose, the latter also orchestrated by Cardinal Beaton, according to Knox (see *Works of Knox* 1:131-32). See also Laing's note on Wighton (*Works of Knox* 4:670).

328.25-26. **'two-handed sword':** *Works of Knox* 1:139.

328.36. ***History of the Reformation*:** John Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, in five volumes, begun in 1559, but published posthumously in 1644. Knox did not write the fifth book; the author was likely either David Buchanan (who published the first complete edition in 1644) or Richard Bannatyne, Knox's secretary. The *History* forms the first two volumes of David Laing's edition of the *Works of John Knox*, to which Carlyle refers for his account of Wishart and Knox in this essay.

328.37-38. **'at the end of the Holy dayis of Yule,' 1546:** *Works of Knox* 1:136.

329.4. **what Knox calls 'reasonable':** *Works of Knox* 1:136.

329.6. **'so sclender, that many wondered':** *Works of Knox* 1:136.

329.7-9. **Earl of Bothwell, . . . gentleman of ambidexterous ways:** Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl of Bothwell (1512-1556), sheriff of Edinburgh and Haddington. In January 1546, he arrested George Wishart at Ormiston but offered to protect him from Cardinal Beaton. He succeeded for a time, but was pressured to give Wishart up for prosecution, which he did. On more than one occasion in the 1530s through the early 1550s, Hepburn was accused of treason for aligning himself with the English.

329.9-11. **privately intimating from his great Cardinal, that it might . . . do well to stay away:** See *Works of Knox* 1:137.

329.12-15. **Maitland, father of the afterwards notable Secretary Lethington . . . good and gracious to Wishart:** In his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Knox says simply that "the secound nycht, he [Wishart] lay in Lethingtoun, the Lard whareof was ever civile, albeit not persuaded in religioun" (*Works of Knox* 1:137). Richard Maitland (1496-1586), Lord Lethington, an attorney, high court judge, and a poet, was notable in the literary world for his efforts to collect Scottish verse. Richard Maitland's son, William Maitland of Lethington (1528-1573), better known as "Secretary Lethington," was secretary of state under Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and more often than not an opponent of John Knox, who accused Maitland of being an atheist.

329.16-330.16. **'before his passing to the sermon there came to him a boy with ane letter from the West land,' . . . as it were making his last testament':** *Works of Knox* 1:137-38.

329.35. **Second Table of the Law:** See note to 30.27-30.

330.1. **Clerk Play" (*Mystery Play*):** Laing's note: "Clerk Plays was another name for those dramatic entertainments, which in France and England were known under the title of *Mysteries*, and which were usually founded on some passage of Scripture" (*Works of Knox* 1:138n1).

330.17-27. **'he took his good night, . . . to Ormeston':** *Works of Knox* 1:139.

330.18-19. **Hew Douglas of Langniddry:** See note to 328.25-26.

330.25-26. **John Sandilands of Caldar younger' (*Ancestor of the now Lords Torphichen*):** John Sandilands was the eldest son of James Sandilands (d. 1559). James Sandilands's second son, also called James, became the first Lord Torphichen in 1564. When he died without children in 1579, the title was assumed by another James Sandilands, the grandson of John. See also note to 323.9-11.

330.26. **the Laird of Brounstoun:** Alexander Crichton, Laird of Brunstane, a supporter of George Wishart and opponent of Cardinal Beaton. After Wishart's arrest, Beaton ordered the apprehension of Brunstane, Ormeston, and Calder the younger, but Brunstane escaped on foot (see *Works of Knox* 1:142).

330.36. **to the grim old *oubliette* à *la* Louis XI., still visible there:** From

the French meaning "forgotten place," an oubliette is a type of dungeon accessible only via a trap door through which prisoners were dropped; oubliettes shaped like an inverted cone were attributed to Louis XI. The oubliette at St. Andrews Castle is a particular kind known as a "bottle dungeon"; the opening is very narrow and the interior cylindrical. Though the castle is in ruins, the bottle dungeon is still there, as Carlyle remarks.

331.1. **Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell:** See note to 329.7-9.

331.8. **Crozier-bearers:** Bearers of the bishop's pastoral staff.

331.10. **Dunbar Archbishop of Glasgow:** Gavin Dunbar (1490?-1547), archbishop of Glasgow from 1525 and chancellor of Scotland, served as tutor to James V. Dunbar was involved in the ongoing power struggle between Glasgow and St. Andrews by trying to maintain the independence of the Glasgow diocese from his rival, Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. See next note.

331.16-17. **he was *Legatus Natus* and Primate within Scotland:** Latin: "born legate." Cardinal Beaton was a legate of the pope by virtue of his position as archbishop of St. Andrews; as such, he would have primacy over the other bishops in Scotland, unless the pope granted an exemption for a particular diocese. Dunbar had received such an exemption from Pope Clement VII.

331.19-20. **Good Gukstoun Glaikstour' (*Gowkston Madster*):** Knox's epithet represents something of a crux and Carlyle's parenthetical gloss only complicates matters further. We have not found the name Gukstoun Glaikstour anywhere else besides this passage in Knox or quotations of it. Gukstoun has at least one precedent in the poem "Bird in a Cage" (1570?), which was written about the same time Knox was writing his *History* (Cranstoun 22:105). Cranstoun's notes to the poem gloss the phrase "Johne Gukstounis Eye to bleir" as "to throw dust in the eyes of a simpleton" and notes that "Gukstoun or gukstone seems to have been a common term for a fool" (109). His explanation, however, is circular, as its authority is this passage in Knox and his earlier statement that Dunbar "was knowin a glorious foole" (Laing 1:145). Glaikstour also seems to appear only in this passage. Other attempts to gloss the passage are also questionable. *Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scots* defines it as "a contemptuous designation, expressive of the combination of folly and vain-glory," derived from "*gowk*, a fool, and *glaiks*, the unstable reflexion

of rays of light." William Croft Dickinson's rendering of it as "Good Mr. Trifling Folly" probably derives from such sources (1:73n3). Finally, in a discussion of the humor of this passage, which describes two bishops vying to come first into the cathedral, Kenneth Farrow describes it as an "alliterative aptronym" (370), that is, "a name regarded as (humorously) appropriate to a person's profession or personal characteristics" (OED). Once again, however, it is not clear what characteristics the name points toward (Farrow seems to take Dickinson's gloss at face value). It should be no surprise that Carlyle saw the need for a gloss or that his gloss is just as conjectural. Gowkston does have a precedent, though it almost always appears in the phrase "to make John Gowkston of" a man, meaning to make a cuckold of him. While there is a tantalizing coincidence in the Christian name John in this phrase and "Bird in a Cage," the idea of cuckoldry is not present there and would seem to be at odds with an epithet for an archbishop. We have not located Madster anywhere else; it would seem to be a construction of Carlyle's (i.e., "Mad-ster," or madman).

331.32. ***Dispersit, dedit pauperibus*:** From the first part of the Vulgate Bible (Latin) text of Psalm 111:9: "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor." In a letter of March 14, 1875, shortly after he finished correcting proofs of the essay, Carlyle wrote his brother John: "There is a phrase in Laing's i.146, *Dispersit dedit pauperibus*, which I wanted to consult you on, not myself seeing the force of it, or applicability on the occasion. Nor is it necessary that I should; only I want your explanation. Were the Bishop's Crozier men in the habit of flinging money to the poor, on occasion of such procession & of using those words? or what meaning, if any, lies in them?" (NLS 528.31).

331.36. **rockets' (*rochets*):** Knox writes "rockettis war rent" (*Works of Knox* 1:147). Rockettis or rockats is Scots for surplice, a clerical vestment; rochet is the English equivalent.

332.9-10. **(*Abbacy of Arbroath in* 1523, *twenty-two years ago from his uncle,—uncle retaining half of the revenues*):** When James Beaton (1473?-1539), the archbishop of Glasgow, became the archbishop of St. Andrews in 1524 (not 1523), he resigned the abbacy of Arbroath in favor of his nephew, David Beaton, later Cardinal Beaton. It is Laing who points out that James Beaton resigned his position at Arbroath "with the reservation to himself of half its revenues during his life" (*Works of Knox* 1:13n1).

332.11. **This happened on the 4th June 1545:** Laing provides the date of

June 4, 1545, but he also notes that at least one source places the date earlier (see *Works of Knox* 1:147n5).

332.16-21. **no less a miracle, says Knox, than 'took place at the accusation and death of Jesus Christ, when Pilate and Herod, who before were enemies, were made friends . . . the Estate Ecclesiastical':** *Works of Knox* 1:145. Pontius Pilate, Roman prefect of Judea, presided over the trial of Jesus and ordered his crucifixion (see, for example, Matthew 27). Herod Antipater, ruler of Galilee in the first century, ordered the execution of John the Baptist (see Mark 6) and was involved briefly with the trial of Jesus, sending him back to Pilate after Pilate transferred custody to Herod (see Luke 23).

332.25. **Hinge of the Church:** In "The Diamond Necklace," Carlyle, alluding to the fact that the title of cardinal is derived from the Latin *cardo* (hinge), describes a "*Cardinal,*" as a "symbolical *Hinge* or main Corner of the Invisible Holy in this World" (*Historical Essays* 100).

332.26. ***quietus*:** Death. From Latin "quietus est," meaning "he is quit" (i.e., released from debt).

332.26-27. **"I am a priest, I am a priest: fy, fy: all is gone!" were the last words he spoke:** In Knox the two phrases are separate; Carlyle has combined and re-ordered them (*Works of Knox* 1:177).

332.29. **'Marion Ogilvy':** *Works of Knox* 1:174. Marion Ogilvy (d. 1575), daughter of Sir James Ogilvy and the mistress of Cardinal Beaton, with whom she had eight children.

332.30-32. **Melvin, the final swordsman, who 'stroke him twyse or thrise through with a stogsweard,' after his notable rebuke to Lesley and him for their unseemly choler:** *Works of Knox* 1:177. Knox says that John Lesley and Peter Carmichael struck Beaton once or twice each, but it was Melven who ran him through with his "stog sweard." The verb "stog" or "stug" means to "stab"; it can also be used as a noun to indicate anything with a sharp point. In this context, when used with "sweard," it means a short, sharp sword.

333.7-8. **siege of it by poor Arran, or the Duke of Chatelherault, as he afterwards became:** James Hamilton (1515?-1575), 2nd Earl of Arran, ruled Scotland as regent for Mary, Queen of Scots. In the aftermath of

Beaton's death, the conspirators and their allies occupied St. Andrews Castle, and soon Arran, whose son was being held in the castle as a hostage, placed the fortification under siege.

333.10-11. **He arrived there with his pupils 10 April 1547:** As Laing notes, Easter that year was April 10, so Knox arrived on that date or shortly thereafter (*Works of Knox* 1:185n1).

333.16-18. **The 'Siege' had dwindled into plain impotency of loose blockade, and even to pretence of treaty on the Regent's part:** After various negotiations, the residents of the besieged castle, including Knox, surrendered and were taken prisoner by the French.

333.19-32. **Knox tells us that 'he began to exercise them' (his pupils) 'after his accustomed manner. . . . the mouth of their preacher':** See *Works of Knox* 1:185-86.

333.25. **Maister Henry Balnaves:** Henry Balnaves (d. 1570) of HalHill, pro-English reformer, statesman, and diplomat.

333.25. **John Rough, preacher:** John Rough (1508?-1557), pro-English reformist preacher, served as chaplain to the group occupying St. Andrews Castle in the wake of Cardinal Beaton' murder.

333.31. **Sir David Lindsay of the Mount:** David Lyndsay (1486?-1555?), Scottish poet, whose family owned property in the Mount, in Fife.

333.36-334.7. **'directed his words to the said John, . . . many days together':** *Works of Knox* 1:187-88.

334.8-9. **In its rude simplicity this surely is a notable passage in the history of such a man, and has a high and noble meaning in it:** In *On Heroes,* Carlyle had recounted Knox's vexation at being exhorted to preach, stating: "It is worth remembering, that scene. He was in grievous trouble for some days. He felt what a small faculty was his for this great work. He felt what a baptism he was called to be baptized withal. He 'burst into tears'" (126).

334.12-13. **'with an army the like whereof was never seen in that firth before, came within sight of St. Andrews':** See *Works of Knox* 1:203.

334.14. **the Queen Dowager:** Mary of Guise (1515-1560), the French-born widow of James V, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots, and regent of Scotland. In 1855, Carlyle wrote an essay on the Guises that remained unpublished during his lifetime (see Tarr, "The Guises").

334.16-17. **'the pest within the castle,' says Knox, 'alarming some more than the French force without':** See *Works of Knox* 1:204. The "pest" is the pestilence or plague.

334.21-23. **'the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom, . . . and there miserable entreated':** *Works of Knox* 1:206.

334.29. **forsaris' (*forçats*):** Galley slaves; "forçat" is the French term.

334.31. ***Salve Regina*:** A Latin Catholic hymn to the Virgin Mary; the title comes from the first two words of the hymn, usually rendered in English as "Hail, Holy Queen."

334.33-34. **others were compelled to kiss a paynted brod' (*board, bit of wood*) 'which they call Nostre Dame:** Carlyle had recounted this episode in *On Heroes*, casting Knox in the role of the prisoner who rejects the image of the Virgin Mary: "Some officer or priest, one day, presented them an Image of the Virgin Mother, requiring that they, the blasphemous heretics, should do it reverence. Mother? Mother of God? said Knox, when the turn came to him: This is no Mother of God: this is 'a *pented bredd*,'—a piece of wood, I tell you, with paint on it! She is fitter for swimming, I think, than for being worshipped, added Knox: and flung the thing in the river" (126); he had earlier recounted it in *French Revolution* 2:2.6.99. Perhaps Carlyle places Knox in this role because Laing suggests it in a footnote: "Although no name is given in regard to the incident alluded to, this 'merry fact' evidently happened to Knox himself" (*Works of Knox* 1:227n3).

335.5. **licht aneuch:** Scots: light enough.

335.8-13. **a mighty French fleet with 6,000 hardy, experienced French soldiers, . . . an open French road into England thenceforth:** The English army defeated the Scottish army at the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh, near Musselburgh, Scotland, on September 10, 1547. The Duke of Somerset, serving as Lord Protector, and thus head of state, in the aftermath of Henry VIII's death, led the English forces. In June 1548, a large French

fleet headed for Scotland to assist Arran against the English. It was in the French interest to maintain a strong influence, if not outright control, over Scotland in order to better position themselves against their English rivals. On the Guises, see note to 334.14.

335.16. **'Maister James Balfour':** James Balfour of Pittendreich (1525?-1583), like Knox, was taken prisoner by the French when the Castilians surrendered St. Andrews Castle.

335.19-32. **'The said Maister James and John Knox being intil one galley . . . this last time to preache':** *Works of Knox* 1:228.

336.4. **Siege of Haddington:** The siege by French and Scottish forces began in July 1548, but the English fortifications held, and the siege was ended in August.

336.9-10. **royal little Mary, age six, crowned five years ago Queen of Scots, and now covenanted to wed the Dauphin of France:** The French plan was to have Mary, Queen of Scots, wed Henry II's son Francis (later Francis I), thus placing France and Scotland, as separate kingdoms, under one monarchy; they were married in April 1558. This plan countered Henry VIII's desire (still pursued by the Duke of Somerset after Henry's death) to have Mary wed his son Edward, which would have united Scotland and England.

336.17-18. **a Book on Protestant Theology, by his friend Balnaves:** Henry Balnaves's (see note to 333.25) work was eventually published under the title *The Confession of Faith, conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God, thereto led by Faith: with the Declaration of the article of Justification at length, &c.* (1584). See Laing's footnote on the treatise in *Works of Knox* 1:226n2. Knox's epistle and his summary of Balnaves's work appear in *Works of Knox* 3:7-28, and Balnaves's text is reprinted in the same volume (3:439-542).

336.19. **by help of English Ambassadors:** Knox does not mention the reason for his release in his *History of the Reformation*, and Carlyle's other source, M'Crie, says he can't be certain what the reason was (1:76). Carlyle may be deriving his information from Laing's introduction to Knox's sermon "A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry" (*Works of Knox* 3:31-32) in which Laing quotes from a letter by the English ambassador to France, John Mason, who was involved in

negotiating the release of Scottish prisoners. It remains unclear, however, if Mason was directly involved in Knox's release.

336.21-22. **Kirkcaldy of Grange:** William Kirkcaldy (1520?-1573) of Grange, one of the participants in the murder of Cardinal Beaton.

336.23. **King Edward VI:** Edward VI (1537-1553), king of England and Ireland, was the son of Henry VIII and a Protestant.

336.24. **Archbishop Cranmer:** Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), archbishop of Canterbury, controlled religious policy in England during the regency of Edward VI.

336.25. **the new Evangelical Doctrine:** That is, Protestantism. Cranmer had just directed English churches to use the new *Book of Common Prayer*, with liturgical services now to be conducted in English and congregations regularly taking communion.

336.27-29. **he was first appointed, doubtless at Cranmer's instigation, by the English Council, . . . in Newcastle:** The "English Council" is the Privy Council, the powerful group of leaders who advise the English monarch. As Carlyle states, Knox's first appointment was in Berwick, his second, in Newcastle.

336.30-31. **one of the Six Chaplains to Edward, . . . spreading abroad the reformed faith:** In 1552, the Privy Council appointed six chaplains to serve Edward VI; they were also given the charge of preaching throughout the kingdom in order to spread the tenets of Protestantism.

336.35-36. **especially to Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, for his too great detestation of the Mass:** The conservative Cuthbert Tunstal (1474-1559) was bishop of Durham and thus in charge of the diocese that included Berwick, where Knox was preaching. Knox argued that the mass was idolatrous because it presupposed the real presence of the body and blood of Christ and was thus a ritual that idolized sacrifice and killed Christ anew. See Knox's "A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry, 1550" (*Works of Knox* 3:29-70).

336.36-38. **To the Council, on the other hand, . . . candid an account of himself:** On April 4, 1550, Knox appeared before the Council of the North, which acted on behalf of the Privy Council where matters in the

north of England were concerned, to defend his position on the mass. No action was taken against Knox by the council.

337.2. **Allhallows, Bread Street, London:** Knox was offered an appointment as vicar of this church in February 1553.

337.3-7. **On each of these occasions he was again summoned by the King's Council to give his reasons; . . . dismissed by the Council:** Carlyle summarizes the account of Knox's appearances before the Privy Council from M'Crie's *Life of John Knox* (1:99-101).

337.15-16. **to avoid the too evident intentions of Bloody Mary, so soon culminating in her fires of Smithfield and marriage with Philip II:** Mary I (1516-1558), queen of England and Ireland, restored Catholicism to her kingdom. In July 1554, she married the Catholic Prince Philip of Spain (1527-1598) and by the end of the year the Heresy Acts were reinstated. From 1555 to 1558, nearly three hundred Protestants were executed as heretics, many of them burned at Smithfield—hence the nickname "Bloody Mary."

337.16-18. **Knox seems to have lingered to the very last; his friends, he says, had to beseech him with tears, almost to force him away:** Carlyle's source is M'Crie 1:120.

337.19. **Marjory Bowes:** Marjory Bowes (d. 1560) and John Knox were betrothed in 1553.

337.26-30. **'I will not mak you privy how rich I am, but off' . . . 'But that little troubles me':** Carlyle quotes from a letter to Knox's mother-in-law, Elizabeth Bowes (*Works of Knox* 3:372).

337.32. **French Huguenots:** See note to 302.32-33.

337.32. **Good Samaritans:** See Luke 10:33-35.

337.33-37. **He was, for about five months, Preacher at Frankfort-on-Mayn, . . . he felt constrained to depart:** Knox arrived in Frankfort-on-Main in late November or early December 1554, at the invitation of the English Protestant refugee congregation there and with the encouragement of John Calvin. At Frankfort, there was contention within the congregation concerning the order of service to be followed in worship; the conflict

escalated with the arrival of Richard Cox and his followers, the "intrusive High-Church parties" to which Carlyle refers. Knox was willing to compromise in the interest of keeping the congregation unified, but Cox and his party were not so willing, and soon Knox was forced to relocate to Geneva. For Knox's account of the Frankfort controversy, see "A Narrative of the Proceedings and Troubles of the English Congregation at Frankfurt on the Maine, M.D.LIV.—M.D. LV." as well as other documents related to this episode in *Works of Knox* 4:9-68.

338.4. **Goodman, an English colleague or assistant:** Christopher Goodman (1521/2-1603), English Protestant clergyman, met Knox in Frankfort and later joined him in Geneva, serving as pastor with Knox of the English congregation there.

338.12. **National 'Covenant' and its 'Lords of the Congregation':** The Lords of the Congregation were Scottish Protestant lords who organized in late 1557 and signed a covenant pledging themselves to the creation of a Protestant Scotland.

338.12-13. **His Marjory Bowes, in the meanwhile, he had wedded:** Carlyle infers that the marriage took place about this time, but his sources do not give a precise date.

338.22-23. **As Mr. Laing calculates, he occupied his forced leisure there by writing his widely offensive *First Blast against the monstrous Regiment of Women*:** Laing notes that the "First Blast was probably written at Dieppe towards the end of 1557" (4.352). Published anonymously at Geneva in 1558, Knox's notorious pamphlet, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (*Works of Knox* 4:365-420), argued vehemently against the rule of women such as Queen Mary I. Early in his text, Knox states his thesis plainly: "To Promote a Woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion, or empire above any Realme, Nation, or Citie, is repugnant to Nature; contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinance; and finallie, it is the subversion of good Order, of all equitie and justice" (*Works of Knox* 4:373).

338.29. ***hodie*:** Latin for "today," that is, St. Johnstone is today called Perth.

338.29-30**. the open fall of Dagon and his temples there:** Dagon is the god of the Philistines in the Hebrew Bible. Carlyle may be alluding to the story of Samson, who pulls down the pillars of the temple to Da-

gon (see Judges 16:23-31). On May 11, 1559, Knox delivered a sermon against idolatry, and later that day rioting ensued when a priest attempted to conduct mass in the same church. The rioters destroyed the church's images and icons, and they soon targeted the friaries as well (see *Works of Knox* 1:323).

338.35. **'in sore trouble of heart, whither God knoweth':** From the postscript to Knox's *A Godly Letter of Warning or Admonition to the Faithfull in London, Newcastle, and Berwick* (1554) (*Works of Knox* 3:159).

339.7-8. **Queen Elizabeth, mainstay of the Scottish Reformation itself, who never could forgive him for that *Blast*:** Elizabeth I supported the Scottish Protestants against the rule of Mary of Guise and her daughter Mary, Queen of Scots. Her displeasure with Knox's *First Blast*, which was published in May 1558, just six months prior to her becoming queen, prompted him to write to her a letter dated July 20, 1559 (*Works of Knox* 6:48; see also 6:126-27).

339.25-26. **his tenderness, his patient helpfulness in their sufferings and infirmities (see the Letters to his Mother-in-law and others) are beautifully conspicuous:** See, for example, the "Epistles to Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes, and her daughter Marjory, 1553-1554" (*Works of Knox* 3:331-402). Elizabeth Bowes in particular frequently sought Knox's advice and comfort regarding what Knox called the ongoing "troubled conscience upon her part, which never suffered her to rest but when she was in the company of the faithful, of whom (from the first hearing of the Word at my mouth) she judged me to be one" (3:333).

339.30-31. **Aristotle, Justin, the Pandects, the Digest, Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustin, Chrysostom, Basil:** As Carlyle indicates, Knox cites all of these authors: Aristotle's *Politics* (*Works of Knox* 4:374); the *Epitome* of Marcus Junianus Justinus, commonly called Justin or Justinus, third-century Roman historian (4:375); The *Pandects*, or *Digest* (*Digesta seu Pandectae*), a collection of Roman legal writings, first published in 533, produced during the reign of Justinian I (4:375); *De cultu feminarum* (*Concerning the Dress of Women*) of Tertullian (155?-220?) (4:381-82); *Hexaëmeron* (*On the Six Days of Creation*) of Saint Ambrose (339-397) (4:384); *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (*Against Faustus the Manichee*) and other works of Saint Augustine of Hippo (354-430) (4:383); the homilies of Saint John Chrysostom (347-407), (4:386-89); Basilius Magnus, Saint Basil the Great (329-379) (4:389).

340.8-10. **It is, therefore, a still higher title than 'Man of Genius' that will belong to Knox; that of a heaven-inspired seer and heroic leader of men:** Compare Carlyle in *Past and Present*: "'Man of Genius:' O Mecaenas Twiddledee, has thou any notion what a Man of Genius is? Genius is 'the inspired gift of God.' It is the clearer presence of God Most High in a man. Dim, potential in all men; in this man it has become clear, actual" (4.7.286). See also note to 281.23-24.

340.19-24. **the *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, has not been rendered far more extensively legible . . . leave the mountains of annotation victoriously cut off:** In an August 20, 1848, letter to David Laing, Carlyle suggested improving the textual apparatus in his *Works of John Knox* to enhance the readability of Knox's work:

> The Annotations, embodying such a mass of reading in the briefest compass, are as I believe models of exactitude; I found the quantity a little heavy now and then, and was sometimes forced to skip till I had finished the topic in the Text, and then revert: an inconvenience doubtless, but one very difficult to avoid. The question struck me, Whether a good deal could not be done by some kind of well-devised *Index*, biographical, historical, topographical, in the shape of a Dictionary, put down once for all at the beginning or in some conspicuous part of the work, ready for *constant* reference, *if* the reader required it, and not otherwise? Ask yourself with all rigour, What an ordinary reader will require to be aware of in order to understand what this Author says? and give the reader that, and scrupulously no more than that, by way of *viaticum*, once for all, before he *start*? I think such a 'Dictionary' need not be of great extent; it might contain most of what now stands in those Notes (a great advantage), should have accurate reference to every page where the given name is mentioned;—and would, there is no doubt at all, be a great *improvement* if you found it possible. (*Letters* 23:95)

340.34. **The battle of Pinkie:** See note to 335.8-13; for Knox's account of the battle, see *Works of Knox* 1:208-14.

340.35. **the battle of Carberry Hill:** The confrontation at Carberry Hill took place on June 15, 1567. For Knox's account, see *Works of Knox* 2:559-62.

341.3. **the affair of Cupar Muir:** The confrontation at Cupar Muir took place in June 1559. For Knox's account, see *Works of Knox* 1:350-55.

341.10-11. **the Earl of Argyle and Lord James (afterwards Regent Murray):** Archibald Campbell (1538-1573), 5th earl of Argyll. James Stewart (1531/2-1570), 1st Earl of Moray, half-brother of Mary, Queen of Scots, served as Regent of Scotland on behalf of James VI.

341.25. **The day was Monday, 11 June, 1559:** Carlyle is off by one day. Monday was June 12 and the Sunday that Knox preached at St. Andrews was June 11, 1559. See *Works of Knox* 1:349.

341.28. **Hamilton, Archbishop:** John Hamilton (1510/11-1571), Roman Catholic archbishop of St. Andrews and a strong supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots.

341.31-32. **'twelve culverings, the most part of which would land upon his nose':** *Works of Knox* 1:348.

341.38-342.2. **Her garrison refused to quit Perth, as per bargain, . . . before they would withdraw:** For Knox's account, see *Works of Knox* 1:358-59.

342.7-8. ***The Ribbands of St. Johnston*:** See note to 342.9-10.

342.8. **Knox makes no mention of it:** Knox does, in fact, mention that the Earl of Argyll and Lord James went with a contingent of men to Stirling and took the town, but he does not provide the details included in the "Ribbands of St. Johnston" account (see *Works of Knox* 1:362).

342.9-10. **we quote from *The Muse's Threnodie*, or rather from the Annotations to that poor doggrel; which are by James Cant, and of known authenticity:** Henry Adamson, *The Muses Threnodie; or mirthful mournings on the death of Mr Gall. Containing* [a] *variety of Pleasant Poetical Descriptions, Moral Instructions, Historical Narrations, and Divine Observations, with the most remarkable Antiquities of Scotland, especially of Perth* (1774). Carlyle paraphrases, rather than quotes from, Cant's note (126-27).

342.33. **siege of Leith:** Leith, which at the invitation of the Scottish

government had been occupied by French troops since 1548, was besieged by English forces in the spring of 1560. The siege was largely ineffectual, and, in the aftermath of Mary of Guise's death, negotiations finally led to the Treaty of Edinburgh and the withdrawal of French and English troops. For Knox's account of the siege of Leith and the peace treaty, see *Works of Knox* 2:57-83.

342.35-343.1. **'Quarrel Holes' (*quarry holes*), . . . 'the Craigs of Edinburgh':** Knox describes a meeting that took place "at the Querrell Hollis, betuix Leyth and Edinburght" (*Works of Knox* 1:379). Laing notes that these are the "Quarrel or Quarry Holes, afterwards called the 'Upper Quarries,' toward the east declivity of the Calton Hill, at the head of the Easter Road to Leith, opposite Maryfield" (1:379n2; see also 1:374n3). The reference to the "Craigs of Edinburgh" is from a sermon Knox delivered in 1563 (2:384). Carlyle's paragraph follows fairly closely the account given by M'Crie (279).

343.8. **The grand Italian Dante:** See note to 128.23-26.

343.9-10. **There is in Knox throughout the spirit of an old Hebrew Prophet:** Carlyle echoes *On Heroes*: Knox "resembles, more than any of the moderns, an Old-Hebrew Prophet" (127).

343.10-11. **Moses in the Desert at sight of the Burning Bush:** See Exodus 3, in which God speaks to Moses from a burning bush in a desert, commanding him to lead the Israelites out of their bondage in Egypt.

343.15. **a fine vein of humour:** See 314.1-3 and note.

343.17-20. **The interviews of Knox with the Queen . . . in behalf of Knox:** In *On Heroes*, Carlyle notes that "the harsh visits he [Knox] used to make in her own palace, to reprove her there, have been much commented upon. Such cruelty, such coarseness fills us with indignation. On reading the actual narrative of the business, what Knox said, and what Knox meant, I must say one's tragic feeling is rather disappointed. They are not so coarse, these speeches; they seem to me about as fine as the circumstances would permit!" (127).

343.37-344.1. **One Mass in Scotland, he more than once intimates, is more terrible . . . would be:** The Sunday after Mary's return to Scotland on August 19, 1561, a Catholic priest celebrated Mass with Mary and her

relatives in attendance. The Mass created an uproar among the Protestant lords, and the following Sunday (August 31) Knox preached against it (see *Works of Knox* 2:276).

344.7. **Hocuspocus (*Hoc est Corpus*):** "Hoc est Corpus" is Latin for "This is my body," the words spoken by the priest in consecrating the bread in the Roman Catholic mass and, according to Catholic doctrine, transubstantiating it into the body of Jesus Christ. According to the OED, the once-popular etymology of "hocus-pocus," a nonsense term used by jugglers and magicians, as being derived from "Hoc est Corpus" is spurious. On Knox's opposition to the mass because of the doctrine of transubstantiation, see note to 336.35-36.

344.10-11. **There are four or five dialogues of Knox with the Queen,—sometimes in her own Palace at her own request; sometimes by summons of her Council:** Mary, Queen of Scots, summoned Knox four times in 1561-1563, and they held five dialogues as a result (see *Works of Knox* 2:277-86, 2:331-35, 2:371-76, 2:386-89). There were other summonses as well, as Carlyle notes, but these were summonses to appear before the Privy Council, with the queen present, and so were not quite of the same nature as the direct conversations between the two.

344.18-20. **Mary often enough bursts into tears, . . . recanting or recoiling:** See Knox's account of their conversation that took place in late May or early June 1563 (*Works of Knox* 2:387-89) of which Knox reports that he "did patientlie abyde the first fume" (2:387).

344.33-34. **Clytemnestra or Medea:** Greek mythological figures whose lives are embroiled in tragedy. In Aeschylus's *Orestia* plays, Clytemnestra murders her husband, Agamemnon, and is in turn killed by her son, Orestes. In Euripides's *Medea*, Medea murders her children in retaliation for her husband, Jason's, betrayal of her.

344.34. **Fotheringay:** Fotheringay Castle, where Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed on February 8, 1587.

344.38-39. **Irving's *Life of Buchanan*:** Carlyle cites David Irving's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan* (1807). Carlyle's copy is in the collection at the Carlyle House (Tarr, "Libraries" 255).

345.12. **this Book of Knox's:** *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (see note to 328.36).

345.21-22. **Robertson's account:** William Robertson (1721-1793), Scottish historian and author of *The History of Scotland During the Reigns of Queen Mary and James VI* (1759). Carlyle had mentioned Robertson in "On History" and "Baillie the Covenanter" (*Historical Essays* 4, 242).

345.33-346.1. **in the next century it had produced English Cromwellian Puritanism, . . . in every zone of the earth:** Compare Carlyle's statement when he introduces Knox in *On Heroes*: "We must spare a few words for Knox; himself a brave and remarkable man; but still more important as Chief Priest and Founder, which one may consider him to be, of the Faith that became Scotland's, New England's, Oliver Cromwell's. History will have something to say about this, for some time to come!" (122).

346.2. **the authentic Prometheus:** See note to 110.32.

346.4-5. ***Somerville Portrait*:** See note to 326.1-2.

346.10-13. **In 1836 the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, . . . account of Knox's face and outward appearance:** See note to 326.1-2.

346.14-15. **of which Engraving a facsimile is here laid before the reader:** The facsimile may have been reproduced from Carlyle's own copy of the engraving, which remains at the Carlyle House. That copy is framed and lacks the text identifying the portrait as being in the possession of Lord Somerville as well as the fact that it was reproduced by Charles Knight. The word "autotype" below the lower right corner of the facsimile refers to a recently developed photographic process through which Carlyle had made about fifty copies of the engraving, which he sent to many correspondents. Both the content and the style of the text below the picture are different from what appears in the *Gallery of Portraits* and the *Pictorial History* (see note to 326.1-2).

346.15-16. **In 1849 the same Engraving was a second time published, in Knight's Pictorial History of England:** George L. Craik and Charles MacFarlane, *The Pictorial History of England: Being a History of the People, as well as a History of the Kingdom,* volume 2 (1849). The Somerville portrait of Knox is between pages 548 and 549.

346.16-18. **It was out of this latter that I first obtained sight of it; and as soon as possible, had another copy of the Engraving framed and hung up beside me:** This sets the earliest date at which Carlyle first saw the Somerville as 1849. The latest at which he could have obtained the engraving is 1866, in which year William Allingham recorded a visit to Cheyne Row, during which Carlyle showed several engravings to David Laing, pointing out a portrait depicting a man with "a shrewd humorous face with bald forehead and scanty beard": "They were looking over some engraved portraits, and C. singled out one, asking pointedly, 'Whose face do you call this?' Laing suggested that it might be So-and so, or So-and-so, C. saying 'No, no, no!' and at last, 'I perceive that you can throw no light on the matter.' It is his own conviction that this (a shrewd humorous face with bald forehead and scanty beard) is the only authentic portrait of John Knox" (138). As the Somerville Knox has both a bald forehead and a comparatively scanty beard while the Beza, Torphichen, and others have a forehead concealed by a cap and a very long and ample beard, Carlyle's engraving was almost certainly the former. The copy of the Somerville Knox at the Carlyle House has no identifying information, which would explain not only why, as discussed in the introduction, Carlyle apparently did not identify it as the Somerville until 1874 but also why, as Allingham relates in his diary, Laing was unable to identify it as Knox. Carlyle's assertion that he first saw the portrait in the *Pictorial History* of 1849 is complicated by his assertion in a letter of April 23, 1874, that the portrait he thought authentic "has been beside me for five & thirty years" (Harvard #8). This letter does not state that the portrait is the Somerville, as this was indicated on the copy, but he had sent several previous letters enclosing what he calls the Somerville.

346.25-27. **two or three years ago, in the immense uproar which arose in Scotland on the subject of a monument to Knox, and the utter collapse it ended in:** November 1872 marked the three hundredth anniversary of John Knox's death, prompting efforts to memorialize him. A meeting was held in late November in Edinburgh, with David Laing presiding, to discuss the creation of a national memorial. Despite differing opinions regarding how best to commemorate Knox, a committee was formed to raise funds through subscriptions for the construction of a large monument in Edinburgh. But by the end of that year some aristocrats objected publicly to the high subscription prices, fundraising efforts suffered, and in the first months of 1873, the proposed monument was scaled back to a large statue. In the end, as Carlyle indicates, the Knox project was not realized. On Carlyle's interest in the project, see next note.

346.29-30. **This raised an enquiry as to the outward appearance of Knox, and especially as to this Somerville Likeness:** The inquiry was prompted by Carlyle himself, who engaged in correspondence with Laing in late 1873 regarding the accuracy of various Knox portraits. On January 1, 1874, Carlyle wrote to his brother John:

> Ever since you heard last from me, I have been much occupied with the thought of a Public Statue to Knox; and especially with enquiries among sculptural or pictorial people I have had access to, about the possibilities of getting a real likeness of him and converting it into a Bronze Figure of real excellence. This seems to me the one difficulty in the matter; all other difficulties I consider to be easily superable. . . . Since Laing's last Letter, I wrote him a second, recording what researches I had made as to that Torphichen Portrait, and the considerable approach to complete conviction or persuasion, that here was the actual point to begin with, viz.: That a thorough enquiry by *experts* in Scottish History and in Pictorial Antiquities should be made into this Picture; that photographs should be taken of it, etc., etc.; and that in short, if reasonable conviction in the affirmative were once attained, the question should be put emphatically to all Scotland, Will you help us to make this into a suitable Bronze? Of the answer I have no doubt myself. . . . In fact I have considerably set my heart on seeing a real Monument set up to Knox, as probably the last thing I shall meddle with in this world; and I won't give it up, though Laing has failed. (*New Letters* 2:303-4)

See also Carlyle's December 10, 1873 letter to David Laing (Edinburgh #49).

346.33-34. **On the death of the last Baron Somerville, . . . the Somerville Peerage, . . . became extinct:** The title became extinct with the death of Aubrey John Somerville (1838-1870), the 19th Lord Somerville; on this subject, see Carlyle's letter of March 25, 1874 (NLS 528.9).

346.36. **Hon. Mrs. Ralph Smyth:** Selina Constance Somerville (1841-1910), daughter of Kenelm Digby, 17th Lord Somerville, had married Captain Ralph Smyth (1831-1890).

346.37-348.1. **on being applied to, kindly had a list of questions . . . which were drawn up by an artist friend, . . . minutely answered:** A letter of March 25 identifies the artist friend who drew up the list as Robert Tait (NLS 528.9; see note to 348.3-9). Carlyle initially contacted Mrs. Smyth through Lady Derby (March 23, 1874, British Library MS 44885) and expected that the answers would be supplied by Ralph Smyth. The replies were apparently enclosed in a letter of March 28, 1874 (NLS 1771.11), but the enclosure does not appear to have survived. While we do not have the list of questions, it seems likely that it involved matters of provenance. On April 1, Carlyle wrote to Mrs. Smyth thanking her for Mr. Smyth's replies and went on to remark that "there is little or no *external evidence* though the *in*ternal is so perfect" (British Library MS 44885).

348.2-3. **offered on her coming to London to bring the Picture itself hither:** In his March 23, 1874, letter to Lady Derby (see preceding note), Carlyle himself suggested that she might bring the picture to London. On April 24, 1874, Mrs. Ralph Smyth wrote to Carlyle advising him that she would be visiting London "with my picture of John Knox and shall be happy to see you at any time you may appoint to call" (NLS 1771.43). Two days later, on March 25, he wrote to his brother that Mrs. Smyth "volunteers to bring the Picture itself with her to London in about a month, when it can be investigated to the very bottom" (NLS 528.9). On April 11, he was to meet with Lady Derby to discuss the arrangements (Letter of April 7, British Library MS 44885), but there was a delay owing to an injury to Mrs. Smyth's wrist (NLS 528.12). Carlyle was finally able to collect the picture on April 29 (see *New Letters* 2:306, Carlyle to Mrs. Smyth, British Library MS 44885).

348.3-9. **the Picture was entrusted altogether to the keeping of these enquirers, and stood for above three months patent to every kind of examination . . . it was inspected, in some cases with the greatest minuteness, by the most distinguished Artists and judges of art that could be found in London:** As early as his December 10, 1873, letter to Laing, Carlyle proposed an "investigation with the aid of wise Artists Sculptors &c" (Edinburgh #49) and on January 1, 1874, he wrote his brother that he had proposed to Laing "a thorough enquiry by *Experts* in Scot. History and in pictorial antiquities" (*New Letters* 2:304). As discussed in the introduction, Carlyle initially thought the portrait he believed authentic was the Torphichen. While he eventually decided it was merely a copy of the Beza, he did arrange to have it brought to London for inspection as described above (323) and at that time had it photographed (presumably

for the reproduction in this essay). Once he learned that his preferred portrait was the Somerville, he arranged to have it brought to London (see introduction), his plan being, he wrote on April 11, "to have three Artists, or men really skilled in the History of Art to say, after earnest survey, what the certain or probably approximate date of the Painting is & to set their names to two or three words of testimony accordingly" (NLS 528.11). In a letter of April 27, just before the portrait arrived, Carlyle indicated that he would have "Tait and some of his adjutors . . . set to work" on evaluating the portrait (*New Letters* 2:306; see also NLS 528.9, 12). Tait had earlier produced a set of queries to the Smyths (see note to 346.37-348.1). After the examination was complete, Carlyle explicitly named Joseph Edgar Boehm as one of his experts, adding that he deemed him the "trustworthiest man to be found in this Country" for "insight sincerity & clearness of judgment in regard to pictures" (May 6, 1874, British Library MS 44885); Boehm had become involved at least by January 28, 1874, when he wrote the assessment of various portraits of Knox that Carlyle quotes above (326). As discussed in the introduction, Henry Merritt had on January 9, 1874, informed Carlyle that the engraving he long possessed was from an original owned by the Somerville family (NLS 1771.2); given the report quoted below, he almost certainly was one of the judges. All three provided "testimony" that Carlyle cites below. Carlyle also invited the eminent art historian William Stirling Maxwell to inspect the portrait, but there is no evidence that he did so (British Library MS 44885). Given that John Ruskin was a friend and regular correspondent and that it was Ruskin who apparently introduced Carlyle to Merritt (see note to 352.7), it seems possible that Carlyle might have also invited him to participate, but there is no evidence that Ruskin's participation extended beyond his recommendation of Merritt. Finally, as indicated below, the artist Samuel Laurence (see note to 348.34-35) painted a copy of the Somerville, but his involvement seems to have occurred after this inspection was completed. Although Carlyle describes the process as taking three months, the experts apparently reached their primary conclusions in a matter of days, for on May 4, Carlyle wrote to Lord Derby reporting in some detail on their findings (British Library MS 44885). There is some evidence, however, that some of them continued to investigate it. It was apparently not until late June that one of the experts concluded that Knox is holding the Geneva bible (see note to 349.9). On August 4, which would be about three months after he received the picture, Carlyle wrote to Mrs. Smyth again summarizing the experts' conclusions with, of course, additional details (British Library MS 44885).

348.5-7. **it was, by direction of its lady owner, removed to the Loan Gallery of the South Kensington Museum, where it still hangs:** In a letter dated August 7, 1874, Mrs. Ralph Smyth informs Carlyle: " I am making arrangements for the placing of it in the S. Kensington Museum as a loan, but before doing so will, with pleasure, allow Mr. Lawrence (*sic*) to take a copy of it in oils" (NLS 1771.105). On Samuel Laurence, see note to 348.34-35. The South Kensington Museum, founded in 1852, is now known as the Victoria and Albert Museum. The portrait did not remain there, and in the posthumous 1881 edition, as reported in the Historical Collation, someone has changed the wording to "where it still hangs."

348.12. **Godfrey Kneller's time:** Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723), the leading German portrait painter of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century; in other words, it was not painted during Knox's lifetime.

348.14-15. **costume as belonging to the Puritan rather than to Knox's time:** That is, belonging to the seventeenth century rather than the sixteenth century. Laing had also objected that the "dress" in the picture was "of the time of Cromwell, and so could not have been done from *life*" (NLS 1771.24). Carlyle in reply sent a picture of John Owen (1616-1683) in the hope that Laing "may convince himself that the Cromwellian divine wore bands instead of tippet & shaved away all beard, rational or otherwise" which, he suggests, conforms with the Somerville "tippet & small rational beard" and contrasts with the Hondius that "has a beard which unless he meant to tie it up every morning in a slip knot, seems . . . an *ir*rational" (NLS 3706.91). Laing in turn challenged Carlyle "to produce the portrait of any Protestant divine, *of date earlier than 1620*, with the 'tippet' which so much delights your eye in the Somerville portrait!" (NLS 1771.28).

348.17. **Mr. Robert Tait:** See note to 325.12.

348.19-32. **'The Engraving from the Somerville Portrait is an unusually correct . . . of Elizabeth's reign':** This quotation is evidently derived from what Tait describes as a "short monograph" he wrote for Carlyle in December 1874. Tait quotes from portions of his monograph in a letter dated May 19, 1875, to *The Scotsman* (published May 22), written in response to Drummond's criticism of these comments by Tait. As Tait explains, "In December last I wrote a brief monograph on the portraits of Knox at the request of Mr Carlyle . . . along with whom I had, to a great extent, investigated the subject; but Mr Carlyle found it convenient or desirable to give only some short extracts from my paper in his eloquent article

in *Fraser*, extracts which conveyed a very imperfect and even misleading impression of the bearing of what I had written; for I had been led, though quite against the grain, to opinions on several points a good deal at variance with those which he adopted" (8; see also Drummond 254-55). Tait complains that Carlyle omitted important details and concludes by affirming the authenticity of the Beza portrait. Tait's full "monograph" is untraced. See also next note.

348.30-31. **white collars or bands, of various shapes and sizes, were in use in Knox's time:** One of the most egregious distortions, according to Tait's *Scotsman* letter, was that Carlyle omitted the qualification that such bands were worn by attorneys and laymen, not clergy. See also 348.14-15.

348.34-35. **an excellent copy of it, painted a few months ago by Mr. Samuel Laurence:** Samuel Laurence (1812-1884), one of the leading English portrait painters of his era. The Carlyles met Laurence in 1838 when he offered to produce a portrait of Thomas; he eventually produced a portrait of Jane as well. Laurence painted another portrait of Thomas, which was exhibited at Royal Academy Exhibition in 1841. Two years later, Carlyle wrote to him: "Your Portrait of me, sublimely ugly as it may be, is the only decent attempt at a likeness I have yet fallen in with; and indeed seems to me to contain in it, very visibly, the elements of an excellent Picture" (*Letters* 15:170). He attempted another in 1848 and one of Jane in 1849. In a letter begun on August 3 and continued on August 4, 1874, Carlyle tells his brother that the interruption in writing was caused by Laurence's visit to inspect the painting (NLS 528.14). It appears that this visit was for the purpose of planning to paint a copy of the portrait, for by this time the expert examination was complete (see note to 323.16). Carlyle had sought to have the painting photographed (*Last Letters* 243), but as he wrote Mrs. Smyth the day after Laurence's visit, the photographs had proved unsatisfactory so he wished to have Laurence copy it.

349.9. **Geneva Bible:** The English translation of the Bible favored by Reformers and Puritans.

349.11. **a faithful inspector:** The identity of the inspector is unknown. This discovery appears to have been made in June, as Carlyle mentions it in a June 27 letter to Mrs. Smyth (British Library MS 44885; see also NLS 3706.105).

349.21. **I was informed by Mrs. Ralph Smyth:** In this paragraph Carlyle draws on two letters he received from Mrs. Smyth (see note to 346.36). In the first, sent to Carlyle on March 28, 1874, Mrs. Smyth says she believes the portrait "to have been in the possession of her great-grandfather James 13th Baron Somerville who died in 1765 at Somerville House." The house was subsequently sold by Mrs. Smyth's uncle, and "the family pictures removed to his house in Hill St. Berkeley Square" (NLS 1771.11). In the second letter, dated August 7, 1874, Mrs. Smyth explains that all the Somerville papers "were destroyed by fire some years ago in a solicitor's office in London" (NLS 1771.105).

349.26. **James, the thirteenth Baron Somerville:** See preceding note.

349.28-39. **Since this was first printed, Mr. Laurence . . . (6, Wells Street, Oxford Street, March 30, 1875)':** Carlyle added this footnote to the 1875 edition of his essay.

350.26-28. **Among scrutinizers here, it was early recollected that there hung in the Royal Society's rooms an excellent Portrait of Buchanan, undisputedly painted by Francis Porbus:** Frans Pourbus, the Elder (1545-1581), Flemish portrait painter, to whom was attributed a portrait of George Buchanan (see note to 310.6-8) at the Royal Society, then located at Burlington House, Piccadilly. On January 9, 1874, Henry Merritt suggested that the Somerville was a "copy of a portrait of the time of Francis Pourbus to whom we are indebted for the portrait of George Buchanan, which I believe is in the possession of the Royal Society" (NLS 1771.2). In an April 17, 1874, letter, Carlyle writes that Tait "asserts" that it is "probable" that the original was painted by Pourbus "who was in England (Tait asserts) in the last decade or Knox's Life" (NLS 528.12). In his letter to the *Scotsman* Tait would claim that the ascription to Pourbus was originally his idea, but he would also assert that Pourbus was never in England (8). Drummond questioned whether the portrait was really Buchanan and cited an investigation that compared the portraits "by measurement of the skull" of Buchanan, which cast some doubt on it but also left open the possibility that it might be authentic (257). Subsequently, Karl Pearson undertook a similar investigation that, for what it is worth, concluded that it may be authentic (256).

350.39. **Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Fitzgerald's edit. (London, 1874), ii. p. 434:** James Boswell (1740-1795), Scottish biographer; Carlyle refers to his *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. together with a Journal of a Tour to*

the Hebrides (1874), edited by Percy Fitzgerald (1834-1925). Fitzgerald's edition is dedicated to Carlyle: "Dear Mr. Carlyle, You were kind enough to encourage me to undertake the task of restoring the text of Mr. Boswell's great Biography: and, in addition, have allowed me to inscribe the work, now completed, to you. That my humble labour will be found worthy of such encouragement, I will not venture to affirm: but it has, at least, been directed by a reverential feeling, and, above all, is conceived in the spirit of that admirable view of Boswell's work and character which you gave the world many years ago. PERCY FITZGERALD" (viii). Carlyle had reviewed John Wilson Croker's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* in "Boswell's Life of Johnson." In a letter of August 3, 1874, Carlyle reports that he is "diligently reading" Fitzgerald's Boswell, which is "purged from all the Crokerisms Malonisms & other intrusive rubbish" (NLS 528.14). He twice wrote to Mrs. Smyth that Boswell mentions meeting Lord Somerville (August 4 and 19, 1874, British Library MS 44885 and 44885.A.78).

351.1-2. **visited thereupon, and examined, with great minuteness, whatever Porbuses we could hear of in London, or neighbourhood:** When the experts gave Carlyle the bad news that the Somerville was not painted in Knox's time and that it appeared to be a copy of an original from that era, he was initially doubtful about the attribution to Pourbus (BM 44855.A.67), but nonetheless had Boehm pursue the possibility, and by July 12 he was asserting that the portrait was by Pourbous (NLS 3706.105). In a July 15, 1874, letter, Boehm reports seeing several Pourbus portraits at Hatfield House, in Hertfordshire, north of London. About one of these portraits in particular, he writes, "I could well imagine [it] to be done by the Author of the original of that portrait of John Knox which you have shown me" and that Pourbus was the "most likely painter" to have produced it (Yale GEN MSS 677; see also NLS 1771.76, 78). In a September 30, 1874, letter to Carlyle, Boehm refers to Pourbus portraits that he and Carlyle saw together at "Bethnal Green," presumably the Bethnal Green Museum, whose collection included works by both Francis Pourbus the elder and the younger (Yale GEN MS 677).

351.5-6. **the above-named Baron Somerville's time; that is, before 1766:** James Somerville, the 13th Lord Somerville, died in 1765.

351.8-10. **not by our Buchanan Porbus, François Porbus, or Pourbus, called in our dictionaries, *le vieux*, but by his son and by his father:** Pieter Pourbus (1523-1584), Flemish painter, father of Frans Pourbus the Elder

(le vieux; see note to 350.26-28). Frans Pourbus the Younger (1569-1622), Flemish portrait painter and son of Frans Pourbus.

351.13-352.4. **'I will try, as best I can, to enumerate the reasons why I think that the Somerville Picture is a copy . . . of the great master.—J. E. Boehm':** Carlyle combines passages from two Boehm letters (Yale GEN MSS 677), one dated September 30, 1874, and the other January 4, 1875; in doing so, he has made changes to some of Boehm's wording and punctuation. The later letter incorporates parts of the earlier one, and was obviously written for inclusion in Carlyle's essay. The first two paragraphs and the first part of the first sentence of the third come from the January 4 letter. The most significant change made by Carlyle is in the first paragraph, which begins, "I will try & enumerate my Reason's [*sic*] as best I can. 'Why I think the Somerville picture a copy' & 'why a copy after Francis Porbus le jeune.'" Carlyle has streamlined the prose and deleted "le jeune." This is presumably Boehm's mistake for "le vieux," or perhaps it was Carlyle's, whose words Boehm appears to be quoting. Carlyle then begins quoting the earlier letter. The remainder of the first sentence of the third paragraph—"as judging by the fact that he painted Knox's contemporary George Buchanan, we may now fairly suppose was the case"—alters Boehm's statement, which is "though I did not then think or know that he might have worked in England at the period of John Knox." The next sentence is cobbled together from different parts of the letter, after which Carlyle quotes continuously. He omits, however, the qualifying introduction to the idea that he imagined he might find the original of the Knox "in a corner of one of the galleries": "I very much regret not to have the power of clearly divining all the reasons which make me give this assertion." Carlyle may have suggested this fantasy. In a letter of August 4, 1874, to Mrs. Smyth, he had written: "If at a future day, what is possible, though, alas, not very probable, the original *Porbus*, hidden in some dim, unexpected corner, do turn up, all this hypothesis may change itself into clear fact" (BL MS 44885).

351.21. **Holbein, Albrecht Dürer:** Hans Holbein the Younger (1497?-1543), German portraitist; Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), German artist and printmaker.

351.27-29. **Last autumn at Brüges, Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp, I carefully examined no less than forty portraits by Francis Porbus, *le vieux*:** Boehm most likely visited the Groeningemuseum Museum, at Bruges (see next note), the Museum of the Academy of Art in Ghent, the Royal

Museum of Painting and Sculpture of Belgium in Brussels, and the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, as well as other locations (cathedrals, for example) that may have had portraits by Pourbus.

351.29-30. **two pictures at Brüges in each of which are sixteen portrait heads:** Boehm's description accords with "Portretluiken van de Edele Confrérie van het Heilig Bloed" (Portrait Panels, Confraternity of the Holy Blood), 1556, Groeningemuseum, Bruges.

352.5-6. **Mr. Merritt of the National Gallery:** Henry Merritt (1822-1877), a picture restorer employed by the National Portrait Gallery, London.

352.7. **a common friend:** John Ruskin, as letters from Ruskin to Carlyle in November 1874 and January 1875 indicate (Cate 219, 223).

352.28. **in House of Commons' language, as 'frivolous and vexatious':** In Parliament, a petition, demand, or complaint can be rejected as being "frivolous and vexatious," a legal term meaning it lacks sufficient evidence and/or is the product of malicious intent. Compare Carlyle's use of the term in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*: "Nor would I, if it could be helped, much trouble my good Secretary with addressing Parliament: needful explanations; yes, in a free country, surely; —but not to every frivolous and vexatious person, in or out of Parliament, who chooses to apply for them. There should be demands for explanation too which were reckoned frivolous and vexatious, and censured as such" (116).

352.30-33. **In point of external evidence, . . .there can be none complete or final in regard to such a matter; but with internal evidence to some of us it is replete:** From early in his investigations, Carlyle made a distinction between the "internal" and "external" evidence. By the former he meant almost exclusively the evidence of physiognomy (see note to 315.4), while the former referred to historical documentation of provenance as well as other kinds of historical documentation. In a March 21, 1874, letter, he states that "of *in*ternal evidence this Somerville portrait seems to me altogether full" while for the Beza-related portraits "there is not one has the slightest external evidence now procurable" (NLS 528.8). His March 26 letter to David Laing asserted that "Beza's *Icon*, which might seem to have a solid external authority turns out to have none whatsoever" and that "of *external* evidence there is none whatsoever for any of the so-called portraits of Knox, the Somerville included; but that for the Somerville one the internal evidence is altogether, as complete as it could be and

for all the others, Glasgow & Torphichen included, *internal* evidence is altogether, or as good as altogether wanting (Edinburgh #51). On April 1, he lamented that "there is little or no *external evidence*" for the Somerville "though the *internal* is so perfect" (British Library MS 44885). Finally, on April 23, he wrote to Charles Eliot Norton "I will say only that to myself it appears there is as good as no external evidence whatever for any Portrait of Knox, & that for this alone [the Somerville] of them all the *internal* evidence is as complete, or nearly so, as such evidence can in any case be" (Harvard #8).

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TEXTUAL APPARATUS

EMENDATIONS OF THE COPY-TEXT

All departures of the present edition from the copy-text are listed below. For details on the choice of copy-text, see the Note on the Text. All variant readings found in the collated versions of the text are reported in the Historical Collation. Because the two lists serve distinct purposes, the variants reported below in the list of emendations are repeated in the Historical Collation.

In both lists, each item is keyed to the text by the number of the page and line on which the variant begins (essay titles are not counted as lines, but the titles of chapters within essays and the blank lines that separate some paragraphs are counted). The top line of each item gives the copy-text reading, followed by the symbol of the version serving as copy-text at that point. In the list of emendations, the second line in each item gives the variant reading adopted in the present edition, followed by the symbol of the version in which that reading first appeared (in cases where variants are adopted from more than one edition all are listed). Some entries in the historical collation contain more than one variant; the list of emendations gives only those variants that are adopted in the present edition. In both lists, variant readings adopted in the present edition are printed in boldface, and items treated in the Discussion of Editorial Decisions are marked with an asterisk.

Words enclosed in brackets are editorial comments; note in particular that [footnote] means a footnote begins here and [«»] signifies that a character or punctuation mark is absent at that point, but that there is extra blank space, suggesting lost or broken type. The symbol "¶" indicates that a new paragraph begins at that point. The symbol "/" is used when relevant to indicate the end of a line. The placement of a footnote marker is taken to be part of Carlyle's text, but the marker itself, whether a number or a symbol such as an asterisk, is not taken to be part of the text because the decision about which system to use in the various editions was not made by Carlyle. In the this listing, therefore, footnote numbers are always represented by a dagger, no matter what symbol was used in the particular text.

Symbol	Version
MSS	Manuscript of the essay where relevant.
UP	Uncorrected proof where releveant.
CP	Corrected proof where relevant.
29 et al.	The first appearance of the essay in a serial publication; the date is the date of this first appearance. Where appropriate a letter is added to the year to distinguish first publication from *Miscellanies*.
33	Bound volume of essays as first published with corrections by Carlyle.
38 or 39	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. First Edition. Boston: James Munroe, 1838-1839.
40	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Second Edition. London: James Fraser, 1840.
47	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Third Edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 1847.

57	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Volumes 2-5 of the Uniform Edition. 16 vol. London: Chapman and Hall, 1857–58. *Chartism*. Volume 5 of the Uniform Edition.
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3.0	*Signs of the Times*	29	4.17	¶And Old England	29
	SIGNS OF THE TIMES.	38		**¶Old England too**	40
3.12	reason?	29	4.29	church,	29
	reason;	40		**Church,**	40
3.14	Then calmly	29	5.4	gone, and sunk	29
	Calmly	40		**gone; sunk**	40
3.15	And fear not thou,	29	5.10	king	29
	Need'st not fear	40		**King**	40
3.15	brings!	29	5.10	church	29
	brings.	40		**Church**	40
4.10	Revolution! a whole people drunk with blood and arrogance—and then with terror and cruelty—and with desperation, and blood again!	29	5.16	announce	29
				announces	38
			5.17	assure	29
				assures	47
	Revolution, in these late times!	40	5.22	soon	29
				the sooner	40
			5.24	day	29
				Day	40

5.28 us then, 29
us, 40

6.18 nature; 29
Nature; 40

6.24 social system; 29
Social System; 40

6.32 Here, too, 29
Here too 40

6.33 Every thing 29
Everything 38

7.6 chicane—and yet, in effect, a very excellent machine 29
chicane; a machine 40

7.7 heathen. 29
Heathen. 40

7.13 Then 29
Mark too how 40

7.15 must each have 29
must have 40

7.16 periodical, 29
Periodical, 40

7.29 strengthened 29
strengthened, as 40

7.36 flattery: But any 29
flattery: any 40

8.1* Glypcothèques, Sechnothèques, 29
Glyptothèques, Technothèques, 33

8.18 tendency, we think, very distinctly, in 29
tendency in 40

8.28 desert this school of Metaphysics; 29
desert Metaphysics; 40

8.29 it, 29
their school, 40

8.30 Fenelon, 29
Fénelon, 69

8.37 physiological, and, in 29
physiological; in 40

9.4 its 29
their 40

9.8 Mathematics certainly than 29
Mathematics than 40

9.9 *Méchanique* 29
Mécanique 69

9.12 ¶From Locke's time downwards, 29
¶Nay, 40

9.12 have 29
itself, from Locke's time downwards, has 40

9.14 work, (for the 29
work (an estimation grounded, indeed, on the estimable 40

9.15 man entitled all he said to veneration,) 29
man), 40

9.17 is a 29
is not a philosophy of the mind: it is a 40

9.19 But the 29
The 40

9.20 mind's 29
Mind's 40

9.21 matter, 29
Matter, 40

9.22 universe, 29
Universe, 40

9.22 their 29
these 38

9.35 continental 29
Continental 40

9.37 Dr 29
Dr. 38

9.37 Cahanis, 29
Cabanis, 38

10.16 Vaucasson 29
Vaucanson 38

10.21 result—sufficiently 29
result,—sufficiently 40

12.1 freedom 29
Freedom 40

13.9	where-/ever, **wherever,**	29 38
13.22	or the unbelieving **or unbelieving**	29 40
13.31	as **(as**	29 40
13.31	star **star)**	29 40
14.13	Revolution, too, **Revolution too**	29 40
14.14*	battle, even in **battle, in**	29 38
14.14*	those days, **those old days,**	29 40
14.16	Here, too, **Here too**	29 40
14.21	nature **Nature**	29 40
14.24	into our mill-ponds, **into mill-ponds,**	29 40
14.25	in our gas-jars; **in gas-jars;**	29 40
14.35	people **People**	29 40
15.6	Dutch, too, **Dutch too**	29 40
15.8	appear **appears**	29 38
15.8	ourselves, also, **ourselves also,**	29 40
16.7	deep into men's **down into man's**	29 40
16.18	than a metaphorical **than metaphorical**	29 40
16.20	mechanical **Mechanical**	29 40
16.31	any thing, **anything,**	29 38
17.6	Luther to lead it, **Luther,**	29 40
17.11	every thing; **everything;**	29 38
17.33	any thing? **anything?**	29 38
18.14	Religion, too, **Religion too**	29 40
18.20	¶Literature, too, **¶Literature too,**	29 40
19.2	of all Beauty, **of Beauty,**	29 40
19.4	Molech! **Moloch!**	29 40
19.7	nature; **Nature;**	29 38
19.16	but that he, too, **that he too,**	29 40
19.20	we, too, **we too**	29 40
21.6	nature, **Nature,**	29 40
21.31	Whenever **Wherever**	29 40
22.11	space, **Space,**	29 40
22.12	time, **Time,**	29 40

"Characteristics" [31, 39, 40, 47, 57, 69]

23.0	*Characteristics.* **CHARACTERISTICS.**	31 38
23.23	Dr **Dr.**	31 38
23.23	Kitchener **Kitchiner**	31 40
24.1	'for **"for**	31 40
24.1	system.' **system."**	31 40
25.4	every where **everywhere**	31 38
25.18	For ever **Forever**	31 40

26.18	any thing	31	34.30	times,	31
	anything	38		**Times,**	40
27.22*	roots,	31	34.31	for ever true	31
	tools,	38		**forever true**	40
27.24	every where	31	34.31	for ever all-important,	31
	everywhere	38		**forever all-important,**	40
27.33	spontaniety,	31	35.4	any thing	31
	spontaneity,	38		**anything**	38
27.37	'Whenever	31	35.7	Constitutions',	31
	"Whenever	40		**Constitutions,'**	38
27.38	out.'	31	35.13	Observe, too,	31
	out."	40		**Observe too,**	40
28.16	moral	31	35.21	otherwise. ¶If	31
	Moral	40		**otherwise. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶If**	40
28.21	'To	31	36.31	Medicine,	31
	To	40		***medicine*,**	40
28.23	conscience.'	31	37.9	*Vous*	31
	conscience.	40		**"*Vous***	40
28.28	ineffectual,	31	37.9	*trop!*	31
	***in*effectual,**	40		***trop!*"**	40
28.34	suspicious;	31	37.10	outward, or as	31
	suspect;	40		**outward, as**	40
29.19	every where	31	37.23	every where,	31
	everywhere	38		**everywhere,**	38
30.7	every where	31	37.26	upon,	31
	everywhere	38		**upon:**	33Y
30.9	sick.' ¶To	31	37.35	every where.	31
	sick.' [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶To	40		**everywhere.**	38
30.17	for ever	31	38.23	every thing	31
	forever	57		**everything**	38
32.37	sovereign;	31	40.17	Leipsic	31
	Sovereign;	40		**Leipzig**	40
33.29	every where	31	40.18	'all	31
	everywhere	38		**all**	40
33.33	perhaps, too,	31	40.20	nothing.'	31
	perhaps too	40		**nothing.**	40
33.34	every where;	31	41.8	for ever	31
	everywhere;	38		**forever**	40
34.12	every where,	31	41.13	oldest	31
	everywhere,	38		**eldest**	40

41.14 Mr 31
Mr. 38

41.17 for ever 31
forever 40

42.1 every where 31
everywhere 38

42.2 ‘where 31
“where 40

42.3 shadow?’ 31
shadow?” 40

42.18 every thing 31
everything 38

44.20 principal 31
principle 40

45.32 every where 31
everywhere 38

46.9 Mr 31
Mr. 38

46.22 for ever. 31
forever. 47

47.13 ‘But 31
“But 40

47.13 gas?’ 31
gas?” 40

47.17 ‘that 31
that 40

47.19 countries.’ 31
countries. 40

47.23 for ever 31
forever 47

47.27 Schlegel, himself 31
Schlegel himself, 40

48.7 Mr 31
Mr. 38

48.30 forgotten. ¶For 31
forgotten. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶For 40

49.11 every where 31
everywhere 38

49.13 for ever 31
forever 47

49.32 species We 31
Species we 40

50.19 that is 31
which is 40

50.19 that anew 31
which anew 40

51.30 were 31
was 40

51.38 reason: yet 31
reason. Yet 40

52.2 Cousinlism, 31
Cousinism, 38

52.3 that 31
That 40

52.24 sans-cullotic, 31
sansculottic, 40

52.29 every where 31
everywhere 38

52.37 whisper audibly: 31
audibly whisper to himself: 47

52.38 ‘Go 31
“Go 40

52.38 Religion.’ 31
religion.**”** 40

53.7 ‘Man 31
Man 40

53.7 Man.’ 31
Man. 40

53.24 Eternity shine 31
Eternity there shine 47

“Death of Edward Irving” [35, 39, 40, 47, 57, 69]

55.0 *Death of the Rev. Edward Irving.* 35
DEATH OF EDWARD IRVING. 40

55.9 thunder,’ with 35
thunder,’—with 40

55.10 (that 35
that 40

55.10 ages), 35
ages, 40

55.11 (that belonged 35
that belong 40

55.12 gibber), has 35
gibber,—has 40

55.21 for ever. 35
forever. 40

55.22 man (as 35
man, as 40

55.22 not?) with 35
not,—with 40

56.1 Past.—Think (if thou be one 35
Past. Think, for perhaps thou art one 40

56.1 to do it) that 35
so to think, That 40

56.4 Tragedy (and 35
Tragedy, and 40

56.5 now) 35
now, 40

56.13 head (when 35
head, when 40

56.13 it) 35
it, 40

56.17 Border (and 35
Border, and 40

56.17 sort) 35
sort than that, 40

56.24 Town-hall; 35
Townhall; 40

56.26 Hume,—and (as 35
Hume; and, as 40

56.26 consequence) 35
consequence, 40

56.26 Dundas. 35
Dundas! 40

56.28 did (with 35
did, with 40

56.28 his); 35
his; 40

56.30 (and distorted) 35
and distorted 40

56.31 not (in 35
not, in 40

56.34 1822) a 35
1822, a 40
1822, **when he first arrived here, a** 47 → 69

56.34 product 35
Product 40

57.28* 'In 35
"In 40

57.28* Lord's.' 35
Lord's." 40

57.29 'But 35
"But 40

57.32 ever (after trial enough) 35
ever, after trial enough, 40

57.34 ¶'The 35
¶"The 40

58.6 Day!' 35
Day!" 40

"Petition on the Copy-Right Bill." [39E, 39, 40, 47, 57, 69]

59.0 THE CLAIMS OF AUTHORS TO AN EXTENSION OF THE COPYRIGHT BILL. 39E
PETITION ON THE COPYRIGHT BILL. 40

59.7 Mr 39E
Mr. 39

59.18 unsupportable, 39E
insupportable, 40

59.20 deserve 39E
deserves 40

60.22 for ever. 39E
forever. 40

60.27 at the shortest. 39E
at shortest. 40

"Chartism" [40L1, 40L2, 42, 57, 69]

68.21 man, 40L1
man,' 57

76.3 just 40L1
'just 57

81.28 eye-sight. 40L1
eyesight. 40L2

84.15 universe 40L1
Universe 57

89.23 universe 40L1
Universe 57

90.28 for ever 40L1
forever 57

91.9 universe 40L1
Universe 57

99.4* men! 40L1
man! 57

101.11 '*Mémoires*' 40L1
'***Memoires***' 40L2

102.32 d'Orleans 40L1
d'Orléans 69

105.12 Long-acre 40L1
Long-Acre 57

105.31 Shakspears, 40L1
Shakspeares, 40L2

106.23 whom. 40L1
whom.' 57

107.16 universe, 40L1
Universe, 57

108.1 Himmalayha, 40L1
Himmalaya, 69

109.10 assemble; 40L1
assemble, to assert, to complain and propose; 40L2

109.32 the 40L1
that 40L2

110.30 not 40L1
other than 40L2

112.9 universe, 40L1
Universe, 57

123.38 every thing! 40L1
everything! 57

124.26 calebash 40L1
calabash 57

130.38 239. 40L1
170. Strouse

"Dr. Francia" [43, 47, 57, 69]

131.0 *Dr. Francia*. 43
DR. FRANCIA.* 47

131.4 'British Packet and Argentine News,' 43
British Packet and Argentine News, 47

131.16 revolution, 43
Revolution, 47

131.17 continent 43
Continent 47

132.22 further 43
farther 69

132.34 emperor, 43
Emperor, 47

132.38 'A Statement of some of the principal events in the Public Life of Augustin de Iturbide: written by Himself. 43
A Statement of some of the principal Events in the Public Life of Augustin de Iturbide: written by Himself. 47

133.7 and he, in 43
and in 47

133.7 1825, rode 43
1825, he rode 47

133.21 wilderness; 43
Wilderness; 47

133.23 *Ex*-Generalissimo 43
Ex-Generalissimo 47

133.38 Memoirs of General Miller. 43

***Memoirs of General Miller*.** 47

134.21* farre 43
fare 47

134.34 bulls-hide. 43
bull's-hide. 47

135.6 further 43
farther 69

135.17 constellations 43
Constellations 47

135.27 for ever 43
forever 47

135.30 set! San 43
set!—San 47

136.12 highways. 43
Highways. 47

137.36 ship 43
Ship 47

137.38 clergy, 43
Clergy, 47

138.1 slaves. 43
Slaves. 47

138.9 piasters; 43
piastres; 47

138.39 Travels in Chile. 43
***Travels in Chile*.** 47

139.16 very 43
own 47

139.36 Doctor 43
Dr. 47

140.25 'Life of Francia,' 43
***Life of Francia*,** 47

140.33 book, 43
Book, 47

140.34 second 43
Second 47

140.34 list, 43
List, 47

141.19 book 43
Book 47

141.34 'Francia's Reign of Terror,' 43
***Francia's Reign of Terror*,** 47

141.34 books 43
Books 47

141.36 reviewer; 43
Reviewer; 47

142.1 Buenos-Ayres, thence 43
Buenos-Ayres, and thence 47

142.8 brothers 43
Brothers 47

142.13 brothers 43
Brothers 47

142.19 brothers 43
Brothers 47

142.24 brothers 43
Brothers 47

142.37 knowledge—had 43
knowledge,—had 47

143.2 book. 43
Book. 47

143.3 two volumes 43
Two Volumes 47

143.3 'Letters on Paraguay' 43
Letters on Paraguay 47

143.5 'Letters' 43
Letters 47

143.5 book 43
Book 47

143.7 free-glowing, 43
free-flowing, 47

143.13 book 43
Book 47

143.16 'Letters on Paraguay' 43
Letters on Paraguay 47

143.18 third volume, 43
Third Volume, 47

143.18 'Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror.' 43
***Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror*.** 47

143.19 reviewer 43
Reviewer 47

143.19 authors 43
Authors 47

143.21 book 43
Book 47

143.24 credit (of its kind) 43
credit, of its kind, 47

143.25 'Rengger and Longchamp,' 43
***Rengger and Longchamp*,** 47

143.29 volume 43
Volume 47

143.31 volumes 43
Volumes 47

143.32 'South America,' 43
***South America*,** 47

143.33 reviewer 43
Reviewer 47

143.35 three volumes, 43
Three Volumes, 47

143.37 three solid-looking volumes, 43
Three solid-looking Volumes, 47

144.17 world-history 43
World-history 47

144.28 last volumes, 43
last Volumes, 47

144.28 other volumes 43
other Volumes 47

144.39 Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale 43
Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique meridionale 47
Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique ***méridionale*** 57

145.4 earth, did 43
earth,—did 47

145.8 feracious, is voracious; 43
voracious, is feracious; 47

145.9 author corps 43
Author-corps 47

145.11 reading corps, 43
reading-corps, 47

145.20 work 43
Work 47

145.29 heaven. 43
Heaven. 47

146.6 infinitessimally 43
infinitesimally 47

146.8 cattle-breeder 43
Cattle-breeder 47

146.9 city 43
City 47

146.9 father 43
Father 47

146.16 mother 43
Mother 47

146.24 gospel, 43
Gospel, 47

146.24 divine offices, 43
Divine Offices, 47

146.32 priest, 43
Priest, 47

146.32 divine offices 43
Divine Offices 47

147.4 art, too, 43
art too, 47

147.32 we are 43
thou hast been 47

147.37 priest 43
Priest 47

147.38 lawyer 43
Lawyer 47

148.17 it, too, 43
it too, 47

148.21 universe; 43
Universe; 47

148.28 'Encyclopédie' 43
Encyclopédie 47

148.35 science, 43
Science, 47

148.35 politics and morals 43
Politics and Morals 47

149.13 city 43
City 47

149.14 advocates, 43
Advocates, 47

149.16 'Reign of Terror' 43
Reign of Terror 47

150.22 palladiums, 43
palladiums 47

150.22 parliament-houses—and 43
parliament-houses,—and 47

150.28 city, 43
City, 47

149.34 century 43
Century 47

149.35 volumes), 43
Volumes), 47

149.40 Letters on Paraguay. 43
***Letters on Paraguay*.** 47

150.11 flunkey 43
Flunkey 47

150.31 sun's 43
Sun's 47

150.36 editor. 43
Editor. 47

151.12 head, all 43
head, and all 47

151.34 mass-chantings, 43
mass-chauntings, 47

151.39 Letters on Paraguay. 43
***Letters on Paraguay*.** 47

152.10 law-business, 43
Law-business, 47

152.28 reviewer 43
Reviewer 47

152.34 law-case 43
Law-case 47

152.35 'Francia's Reign of Terror,' 43
***Francia's Reign of Terror*,** 47

153.1 ¶"It 43
¶'It 47

153.3 ¶"He 43
¶'He 47

153.5 doctor, 43
Doctor, 47

153.14 ¶"At 43
¶'At 47

153.16 doctor, 43
Doctor, 47

153.20 doctor 43
Doctor 47

153.22 ¶"'Machain,' 43
¶"'Machain," 47

153.22 lawyer, 43
Lawyer, 47

153.22 'you 43
"you 47

153.24 defence.' 43
defence." 47

153.25 ¶"The 43
¶'The 47

153.27 ¶"The 43
¶'The 47

153.27 'escrito,' 43
"escrito," 47

153.29 'My friend,' 43
"My friend," 47

153.30 'I 43
"I 47

153.30 silent.' 'I will try,' 43
silent." "I will try," 47

153.36 ¶"'*Salga* 43
¶"'*Salga* 47

153.36 *Usted*,' 43
***Usted*,"** 47

153.36 '*con* 43
"*con* 47

153.36 *casa*.' 'Out 43
***casa!* Out,** 47

153.37 house.' 43
house!" 47

154.1 ¶"Off 43
¶'Off 47

154.2 advocate 43
Advocate 47

154.8 ¶"The 43
¶'The 47

154.9 doctor's 43
Doctor's 47

154.10 wide." 43
wide.' 47

154.12 father, 43
Father, 47

154.18 law, 43
Law, 47

154.18 sciences, 43
Sciences, 47

154.23 philosophies—who 43
philosophies,—who 47

154.30 monk 43
Monk 47

155.2 say 43
say, 47

155.3 Abbe-Raynal 43
Abbé-Raynal 47

155.7 people 43
People 47

155.7 tyrants; 43
Tyrants; 47

156.15 Conventions of Aranjuez, 43
'Conventions of Aranjuez,' 47

156.16 Spanish Juntas, Spanish Cortes; 43
'Spanish Juntas,' 'Spanish Cortes;' 47

156.19 hemisphere 43
Hemisphere 47

155.22 hemisphere 43
Hemisphere 47

155.24 Had Dr. Rodriguez 43
Had Rodriguez 47

155.26 Dr. 43
Doctor 47

155.28 people 43
People 47

155.31 provinces 43
Provinces 47

156.2 congress 43
Congress 47

156.3 government 43
Government 47

156.7 Ancient History 43
Ancient History;' 47

156.8 Fulgenao 43
Fulgencio 47

156.17 books, 43
Books, 47

156.18 secretary, 43
Secretary, 47

156.24 civil and religious liberty 43
Civil and Religious Liberty 47

156.24 world, 43
World, 47

157.16 ¶"On 43
¶'On 47

157.21 '*Buen tiro*'—'a good shot.' 43
"*Buen tiro*"—"a good shot." 69

157.28 same." 43
same. 47

157.29 ¶"In 43
¶'In **47**

157.32 Doctor 43
Dr. 47

157.32 Francia." 43
Francia.' 47

158.5 ¶"He 43
¶'He 47

158.16 another." 43
another.' 47

158.19 government offices 43
Government-offices 47

158.26 colleagues; 43
Colleagues; 47

158.31 continent, 43
Continent, 47

159.8 *Consul's*-cloak, 43
Consul's *cloak*, 47

159.16 Rollin, 43
***Rollin*,** 47

159.20 horseback, 43
horseback again, 47

159.21 partridge-shooting. 43
partridge-shooting again. 47

159.24 government 43
Government 47

159.30 guardhouses, 43
Guardhouses, 47

159.31 river's 43
River's 47

159.31 frontiers: 43
Frontiers: 47

159.38 Congress of Lima, General Congress of Panama, 43
'Congress of Lima,' 'General Congress of Panama,' 47

160.1 congress 43
Congress, 47

160.5 frontier 'guardhouses' 43
Frontier 'Guardhouses' 47

160.15 perpetual dictatorship, 43
Perpetual Dictatorship, 47

160.20 perpetual dictatorship, 43
Perpetual Dictatorship, 47

160.21 'plots,' 43
'Plots,' 47

160.21 plots! 43
Plots! 47

160.24 Antigas's 43
Artigas's 47

160.25 victor, 43
conqueror, 47

160.28 letter 43
Letter 47

160.30 conspiracy, 43
Conspiracy, 47

160.31 conspiracy 43
Conspiracy 47

160.36 plot 43
Plot 47

161.4 perpetual dictatorship. 43
Perpetual Dictatorship. 47

161.5 plot 43
Plot 47

161.10 it. 43
it! 47

161.10 career of freedom, 43
Career of Freedom, 47

161.15 horse-subduer 43
Horse-subduer 47

161.15 heaven, 43
Heaven, 47

161.24 plots, 43
Plots, 47

161.37 sciences 43
Sciences 47

162.1 hope, under 43
hope,—under 47

162.3 two 43
Two 47

162.4 agriculture, 43
Agriculture, 47

162.7 foreign trade, 43
Foreign Trade, 47

162.11 plot, 43
Plot, 47

162.12 locust 43
Locust 47

162.12 improvement of husbandry 43
Improvement of Husbandry 47

162.13 guardhouses 43
Guardhouses 47

162.22 *'Æshthetische Briefwechsel'* 43
Æsthetische Briefwechsel 47

162.23 work 43
Work 47

162.28	remarks	43
	Remarks	47
162.28	anecdotes	43
	Anecdotes	47
162.31	¶"Pity,"	43
	¶'Pity,'	47
162.31	"that	43
	'that	47
162.32	'tremendous cheers!'	43
	"tremendous cheers!"	47
162.39	Rengger, 67,	43
	Rengger, pp. 67,	47
163.1	Thus, too,	43
	Thus too,	47
163.3	'tremendous cheers'	43
	"tremendous cheers"	47
163.3	alone!" [rule and extra leading between paragraphs]	43
	alone!'—— [extra leading between paragraphs]	47
163.5	¶"Like	43
	¶'Like	47
163.11	'tremendous cheers'	43
	"tremendous cheers"	47
163.12	alone!" [rule and extra leading between paragraphs]	43
	alone!'—— [extra leading between paragraphs]	47
163.14	¶"What	43
	¶'What	47
163.14	'love of power'	43
	"love of power"	47
163.14	'power'	43
	"power"	47
163.15	'love,'	43
	"love,"	47
163.20	'power?'	43
	"power?"	57
163.25	¶"And	43
	¶'And	47
163.34	is." [rule and extra leading between paragraphs]	43
	is.'—— [extra leading between paragraphs]	47
163.36	¶"Nay,	43
	¶'Nay,	47
164.1	'Nothing	43
	"Nothing,	47
164.1	yourself!'	43
	yourself!"	47
164.2	had."	43
	had.'	47
164.5	of Seven	43
	of the Seven	47
164.15	law-courts:	43
	Law-courts:	47
164.19	hero	43
	Hero	47
164.23	public offices	43
	Public Offices	47
164.36	'three-ball cartridges'	43
	'three ball cartridges'	47
165.2	unfortuate-females.	43
	unfortunate-females.	47
165.7	Funeral Discourse,	43
	'Funeral Discourse,'	47
165.8	'Argentine News'	43
	Argentine News	47
165.17	¶"Amid	43
	¶'Amid	47
165.17	revolution,"	43
	revolution,'	47
165.17	"the	43
	'the	47
165.18	Jose	43
	José	47
165.19	text,	43
	Text,	47
165.20	*them*."	43
	***them*.'**	47
165.21	¶"What	43
	¶'What	47
165.23	arms,	43
	Arms,	47
165.23	soldiers.	43
	Soldiers.	47

165.35	troops."	43	167.1	state	43
	troops.'	47		**State**	47
165.36	¶"What	43	167.2	enemies,"	43
	¶'What	47		**enemies,'**	47
165.36	highwaymen!"	43	167.2	"the	43
	Highwaymen!'	47		**'the**	47
165.37	"violence,	43	167.2	tax-gatherers,	43
	'violence,	47		**Tax-gatherers,**	47
166.5	guardhouse	43	167.5	year."	43
	Guardhouse	47		**year.'**	47
166.9	inspired."	43	167.6	¶"The	43
	inspired.'	47		**¶'The**	47
166.10	¶"But	43	167.11	workmanship."	43
	¶'But	47		**workmanship.'**	47
166.10	anarchy.	43	167.12	¶"Republic	43
	Anarchy?	47		**¶'Republic**	47
166.10	Oh!"	43	167.20	¶"Four	43
	Oh!'	47		**¶'Four**	47
166.11	"Oh,	43	167.20	fortresses	43
	'Oh,	47		**Fortresses**	47
166.12	brethren."—"It	43	167.22	people	43
	brethren.'—'It	47		**People**	47
166.16	feeling"	43	167.23	safe."	43
	feeling'	47		**safe.'**	47
166.16	"I,"	43	167.24	¶"The	43
	'I,'	47		**¶'The**	47
166.17	"am	43	167.25	fortresses	43
	'am	47		**Fortresses**	47
166.18	state's	43	167.27	republic	43
	State's	47		**Republic**	47
166.18	execution."	43	167.27	all.	43
	execution.'	47		**any.**	47
166.19	"Brethren,	43	167.28	¶"The	43
	'Brethren,	47		**¶'The**	47
166.22	death."	43	167.28	wall,	43
	death.'	47		**Wall,**	47
166.32	advocate	43	167.28	river	43
	Advocate	47		**River**	47
166.34	advocate,	43	167.30	quarter."	43
	Advocate,	47		**quarter.'**	47
167.1	¶"His	43	167.31	¶"The	43
	¶'His	47		**¶'The**	47

167.32 inhabitants," 43
inhabitants,' 47

167.32 "Thus 43
'Thus 47

167.33 Angles," 43
Angles,' 47

167.33 "His 43
'His 47

167.34 capital 43
Capital 47

167.34 republic, 43
Republic, 47

167.35 owners." 43
owners.' 47

168.10 heat, 43
heart, 47

168.15 throughfare 43
thoroughfare 47

168.21 further, 43
farther, 69

168.30 city, 43
City, 47

168.35 'Reign of Terror,' 43
***Reign of Terror*,** 47

169.18 bar 43
Bar 47

169.23 'Reign of Terror' 43
Reign of Terror 47

169.33 roughly, 43
roughly 47

169.34 *Débout*, 43
***Debout*,** 47

169.34 *Débout:* 43
Debout: 47

170.9 fortifications 43
Fortifications 47

170.10 people 43
People 47

170.13 surgeons, 43
Surgeons, 47

170.14 added[,] 43
added, 47

171.2 manner: ¶"In 43
manner: [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶'In 47

171.4 shoemaker, 43
Shoemaker, 47

171.8 ¶"Dictator:— 43
¶'*Dictator*. 47

171.8 'Take 43
"Take 47

171.8 *bribonazo* 43
***bribonazo*"** 47

171.9 'most impertinent scoundrel')—'take 43
"most impertinent scoundrel")—"take 47

171.10 times: and 43
times:—and 47

171.10 now,' 43
now," 47

171.11 'bring 43
"bring 47

171.12 it.' 43
it." 47

171.13 ¶"Shoemaker:— 43
¶'*Shoemaker*. 47

171.13 'Please 43
"Please 47

171.13 excellency 43
Excellency 47

171.13 best.' 43
best." 47

171.14 ¶"Dictator:— 43
¶'*Dictator*. 47

171.14 'Well, 43
"Well, 47

171.15 state's 43
State's 47

171.16 you.' 43
you." 47

171.17 ¶"Shoemaker:— 43
¶'*Shoemaker*. 47

171.17 'God 43
"God 47

171.17	excellency,	43
	Excellency,	47
171.20	excellency's	43
	Excellency's	47
171.20	liking.'	43
	liking."	47
171.21	¶"Dictator:—	43
	¶**'*Dictator*.**	47
171.21	'Off	43
	"Off	47
171.21	sentinel!'	43
	sentinel!"	47
171.22	¶"Sentinel:—	43
	¶**'*Sentinel*.**	47
171.22	'*Venga, bribon*:	43
	"Venga, bribon:	47
171.22	rascal.'	43
	rascal."	47
171.23	¶"Shoemaker:—	43
	¶**'*Shoemaker*.**	47
171.23	'Señor	43
	"Señor	47
171.24	excellency's	43
	Excellency's	47
171.24	pattern.'	43
	pattern."	47
171.25	¶"Dictator:—	43
	¶**'*Dictator*.**	47
171.25	'Well,	43
	"Well,	47
171.27	workmanship.'	43
	workmanship."	47
171.28	¶"Sentinel:—	43
	¶**'*Sentinel*.**	47
171.28	'*Vamonos*,	43
	"*Vamonos*,	47
171.28	supreme	43
	Supreme	47
171.28	it.'	43
	it."	47
171.29	"Off	43
	'Off	47
171.29	shoemaker	43
	Shoemaker	47
171.30	stall."	43
	stall.'	47
171.36	seven devils	43
	Seven Devils	47
172.4	ten-pound franchisers,	43
	Tenpound Franchisers,	47
172.12	seven devils!	43
	Seven Devils!	47
172.18	¶"I	43
	¶**'I**	47
172.20	edifice,	43
	Edifice,	47
172.22	structure	43
	Structure	47
172.23	city,	43
	City,	47
172.28	He	43
	¶**'He**	47
172.31	*matè*,	43
	***maté*,**	47
172.31	interior colonnade	43
	Interior Colonnade	47
172.37	Official Gazette.	43
	***official gazette*.**	47
172.38	outer colonnade,	43
	Outer Colonnade,	47
173.10	After	43
	¶**'After**	47
173.10	*matè*,	43
	***maté*,**	47
173.19	outer colonnade,	43
	Outer Colonnade,	47
173.21	himself."	43
	himself.'	47
173.23	[new line but no indent]	
	Francia's	43
	¶**Francia's**	47
173.30	time, also,	43
	time also,	47
174.3	none. Alas,	43

	none. "Move on!" for the third time:—alas,	47
174.7	great,	43
	considerable,	47
174.7	rapid.	43
	one of the rapidest.	47
174.9	'your Excellency's order;'	43
	"Your Excellency's order;"	47
174.13	science	43
	Science	47
174.17	tea. Botany?	43
	tea. With an eye to botany? Botany?	47
174.18	perhaps commerce	43
	perhaps to commerce	47
174.20	extraneous individual?	43
	extraneous French individual?	47
174.35	who	43
	such of them as	47
174.37	father	43
	Father	47
175.1	'was	43
	"was	47
175.1	was in	43
	use was	47
175.2	come.'	43
	come."	47
175.2	'The	43
	"The	47
175.3	heaven,	43
	Heaven,	47
175.4	reconciled.'	43
	reconciled."	47
175.7	father,	43
	Father,	47
175.13	If so	43
	If so,	47
175.13	psychological sciences.	43
	Psychological Sciences.	47
175.21	*matè.*	43
	maté.	47
175.26	inquestioned	43
	unquestioned	47
175.33	life	43
	Life	47
175.34	plot	43
	Plot	47
176.2	book	43
	Book	47

"Louis Philippe" [UP, CP, 48]

177.0	Louis Philippe.	ms
	LOUIS PHILIPPE.	Strouse
177.3*	long	ms
	long,	UP
177.3	past	ms
	past,	CP
177.4	excite,	ms
	excite	UP
177.4	men,	ms
	men	UP
177.12	enchanted	ms
	enchanted,	UP
177.14	grave	ms
	grave,	CP
177.15	Nemesis	ms
	Nemesis,	UP
177.16	[tracks]	ms
	tracks	UP
177.22	[th]an	ms
	than	UP
178.4	sad,	ms
	sad	UP
178.5	fellow men;	ms
	fellow-men,	UP
178.6	persistence	ms
	persistence,	UP
178.6	year,	ms
	years,	UP
178.7	there	ms
	there,	UP

178.8 reliance. Not ms
reliance;—not UP

178.9 what ms
whatever UP

178.10 tho' ms
though UP

178.15 Iniquity, ms
Iniquity Strouse

178.16 [B]ribery ms
Bribery UP

178.18 sordid ms
mean CP

178.19 Source ms
'source CP

178.19 Honour ms
honour' CP

178.20 agony, ms
agony UP

178.23 there,—he ms
so,—he CP

178.24 Abov[e] ms
Above, CP

178.26 Alas ms
Alas, CP

178.26 thro' ms
through UP

178.26 world ms
world, UP

178.28 Huge Swindle? ms
huge swindle? CP

178.28 Supreme Swindler ms
supreme swindler UP

178.29 Sovereign Ruler: ms
sovereign ruler UP
sovereign ruler**:** CP → 48

178.29 [other!] ms
other! UP

178.34 when,—the ms
when the UP

178.36 'thro' ms
'through CP

178.37 after long ms
after a long CP

179.2 Atreus ms
Atreus. UP

179.3 blame; ms
blame, UP

179.6 hearts once more all ms
hearts all UP

179.6 lightnings ms
lightnings, UP
lightning, CP

179.6 '92: ms
'92; UP

179.8* have to do as their grandfathers and their fathers did: Protest, ms
the fathers fought in 1830, they in 1848 are still fighting. To the third generation it has been bequeathed by the second and the first; by the third generation the immense problem, still to solve, is not deserted, is duly taken up. They also protest, UP

179.8 1830; ms
1830, UP

179.19 'streets, ms
streets, UP

179.20 nothing: "Begone, ms
nothing:—"Begone, CP

179.24 Barrica[des] ms
Barricades;' UP

179.24 [a]nd ms
and UP

179.25 [ini]quity, ms
iniquity, UP

179.25 hypocricy, ms
hypocrisy, UP

179.25 [the a]ppeal ms
the appeal UP

179.25 baseness, ms
baseness UP

179.32 Kaisers ms
Kaisers, UP

179.32 nature; ms
kind; CP

179.33 magnificence, ms
magnificence UP

179.34 *Concordat*, ms
Concordat UP

179.34 ("the ms
('the CP

179.34 religion, ms
religion,' CP

179.35 it) ms
it), UP

179.38 that." ms
that." ¶"All fictions are *now* ended," says M. Lamartine at the Ho5tel-de-Ville[.] May the gods grant it. Something other and better, for the French and for us, might then try, were it but afar off, to begin! CP

"Repeal of the Union" [UP, CP, 48][1]

181.5 [her, would] CP
her, would 48

182.34* the Gospel UP
the enlarged Gospel 48

182.36* "There is CP
there is 48

183.7 ¶Meanwhile, CP
[extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Meanwhile, 48

185.31 ag^{t} CP
against 48

186.30 Br^{n} or Ire^{d} CP
Britain or **Ireland** 48

188.33 improve^{ts}; CP
improvements; 48

188.35 parl^{t}: CP
Parliament: 48

189.31 ag^{t} CP
against 48

189.35 *slaver[y]* CP
***slavery*,** 48

189.36 [of] CP
of 48

189.36 h[er] CP
her 48

189.37 exterm[in]ate CP
exterminate 48

189.38 bef[ore] CP
before 48

189.39 tr[ue.] CP
true. 48

"Ireland and the British Chief Governor" [48, 48B]

193.24 contitutional 48
constitutional 48B

"Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)" [48]

No emendations.

"Legislation for Ireland" [ms, 48, 48B]

201.0 Legislation for Ireland ms
LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND. 48

201.1 What ms
Lord John Russell has before Parliament, or in due time will have, two small

[1] As indicated in the Note on the Text, the standard of collation is the uncorrected proof, but copy-text is the corrected proof. Therefore, the readings of the corrected text are not listed as emendations. We do list emendations adopted from the *Examiner* (48).

Bills for improved Registration of Voters in Ireland; and a third for some slight loan, only another million or less, to Irish Landlords, if they will behave well: but what 48

201.4 sale ms
Sale 48

201.4 encumbered ms
Encumbered 48

201.4 Bill? ms
Bill for Ireland? 48

201.5 [M]inister ms
Minister 48

201.6 this ms
that 48

201.6 foundation stone ms
foundation-stone 48

201.7 arrang^{ts}, ms
Irish arrangements 48

201.7 whatsoever. By ms
whatsoever. ¶By 48

201.9 declared that ms
declared, That 48

201.11 man ms
man, 48

201.11 shacklebones ms
shacle-bones**,** 48

201.12 shoulders' ms
shoulders,' 48

201.13 [S]un ms
sun 48

201.18 That ms
That, 48

201.18 word ms
word, 48

201.18 Aristocracy or Landownership, ms
Aristocracy, Strouse

201.19 longer ms
longer, 48

202.2 law ms
Chancery 48

202.2 declared that ms
declared, That 48

202.3 Irish^{n}, ms
Irishman, 48

202.4 rule of right, ms
law, 48

202.4 Aristoc^{y} ms
Aristocracy Strouse

202.8 [they] ms
they 48

202.10 boat ms
boat, 48

202.11 swim ms
swim, 48

202.12 has ms
has, 48

202.12 length ms
length, 48

202.13 earth ms
Earth 48

202.14* [L]andowners, ms
landowners, 48

202.14 cla[n] ms
class 48

202.15 Irish^{n}, ms
Irishmen, 48

202.15 book ms
book, 48

202.15 [L]ackalls ms
lackalls 48

202.16 Is ms
"Is 48

202.16 you ms
you, 48

202.17 sins ms
vice 48

202.17 miseries, ms
misery, 48

202.18 *falsities* ms
***falsities*,** 48

202.19 tho^{t}? ms
thought? 48

202.19 so ms
so, 48

202.20 never! ms
never!" 48

202.21 [L]andlords ms
landlords 48

202.21 law ms
law, 48

202.22 Heaven ms
Heaven, 48

202.22 ag^{t} ms
against 48

202.22 [not] ms
not 48

202.23 think it ms
think, It 48

202.24 continue: ms
continue. 48

202.25 it ms
it, 48

202.25 beneficent legislation ms
beneficent British legisla-
tion 48

202.27 whole ms
whole, 48

202.27 nature ms
Nature 48

202.28 continue! Such ms
continue!—Such, 48

202.29 think ms
think, 48

202.29 comp^{n} ms
computation 48

202.33 much ms
(much 48

202.33 boiled; ms
boiled); 48

202.33 and ms
and, 48

202.33 silence ms
silence, 48

202.34 that ms
that, 48

202.34 rotten ms
rotten, 48

202.35 longer ms
longer, 48

202.35 cunning ms
cunning, 48

202.38 glittering ms
glittering, 48

202.38 dying ms
dying, 48

203.1 discern ms
discern, 48

203.1 far ms
far, 48

203.2 together ms
together, 48

203.2 else live ms
else all live 48

203.2 that ms
that, 48

203.4 cannot ms
cannot, 48

203.4 world ms
world, 48

203.5 Decision of "Yes ms
Decision, "Yes, 48

203.6 decision "No ms
or decision, "No, 48

203.6 w^{m} en^{gh}, ms
wisdom enough, 48

203.7 have": ms
have:" 48

203.8 coming ms
coming, 48

203.9 circums^{es} ms
circumstances 48

203.11 [L]andlord ms
landlord 48

203.11 sh^{d} ms
should 48

203.12 manipulation ms
manipulation, 48

203.13 experiment ms
experiment, 48

203.13 [with] [words cut off] ms
with at least the possibility of *trying* to 48

203.14 thro ms
through 48

203.14 it[illegible] ms
it! 48

203.14 present, [what] ms
present, what 48

203.15 for three lives, for two lives ms
for lives, leases for terms, 48

203.15 other leases ms
other inextricable leases, 48

203.16 cov^{ts}, the ms
covenants,—the 48

203.16 [at] ms
at 48

203.18 year, ms
year 48

203.19 rem^{g} ms
remaining 48

203.19 sit^{n} ms
situation 48

203.20 [L]andlord. ms
landlord. 48

203.20 [of] ms
of 48

203.21 Swiftly instantly ms
Swiftly, instantly, 48

203.21 sh^{d} Gov^{t} ms
should Government 48

203.22 an[y] ms
any 48

203.22 [L]andlord, ms
landlord, 48

203.22 his ms
this 48

203.23 Swiftly instan[t]ly ms
Swiftly, instantly, 48

203.24 the ms
this 48

203.24 bill ms
bill, 48

203.24 encumb^{d} ms
encumbered 48

203.25 Estates; to ms
estates**,—to** 48

203.26 it, be ms
it,—be 48

203.26 thro' Parl^{t}. ms
through Parliament. 48

203.27 ¶Nay ms
¶Nay, 48

203.27 if bill and bills ms
if this bill and other bills 48

203.27 w^{d} ms
would 48

203.27 Com^{n} ms
Commission 48

203.28 men, a ms
men,—a 48

203.28 [L]awyer ms
Lawyer Strouse

203.29 Landlords ms
Landlords, Strouse

203.29 and just ms
just 48

203.29 business, should ms
business, the other eleven,—should 48

203.30 swiftly ms
swiftly, 48

203.30 ser[ve] ms
serve 48

203.30 summary ms
summary, 48

203.31 God settle ms
God, to settle 48

203.31 it; ms
it, 48

203.33 Min^{r} ms
Minister 48

203.33 that. ms
that! 48

203.33 fact ms
fact, 48

203.34 cir[s] ms
circumstance 48

203.35 this law ms
this other law, 48

203.36 possibility, is ms
possibility, remains unpassed,—is 48

203.38 Landl[d] ms
landlord 48

203.38 in fact ms
at heart 48

204.1 but are idly thinking ms
but idly think, 48

204.1 use and wont ms
use-and-wont 48

204.2 tho[t] ms
thought 48

204.3 Min[r] ms
Minister 48

204.4 comfortable ms
comfortable, 48

204.5 Min[r]? ms
Minister? 48

204.6 idle ms
idle, 48

204.6 The ms
"The 48

204.7 you, ms
her," 48

204.7 says; ms
intimates; 48

204.7 sleight-of-hand ms
"sleight-of-hand, 48

204.8 England ms
England, 48

204.8 you ms
her 48

204.8 up.—What ms
up!" ¶What 48

204.9 Min[r] ms
Minister 48

204.9 moneylenders mortgagees ms
money-lenders, mortgagees, 48

204.10 thro' ms
through 48

204.11 Com[n] ms
Commission Strouse

204.11 whatever *will* ms
whatever else *will* 48

204.12 landl[d] ms
landlord 48

204.12 it that ms
it, as some surmise, that 48

204.13 [L]andlords ms
landlords 48

204.13 Mortg[s], ms
Mortgagees, Strouse

204.14 opp[n]? ms
opposition? 48

204.14 *don't* then think ms
***don't* think** 48

204.14 boat ms
boat, then; 48

204.15 you, good friends:—nay ms
you, friends: nay, 48

204.15 I myself might lose hold of the tiller in that case, ms
you will overset us if you make a stir, 48

204.16 then you *would* sink!" Madder ms
then—!"—Madder 48

204.16 legislation, ms
legislation 48

204.17 Br Parl[t] ms
British Parliament 48

204.19 But ms
Alas, 48

204.19 in the Creation ms
in Creation 48

204.20 and in ms
and even in 48

204.20 filaments; which ms
filaments,—which 48

204.20 Parl[t] ms
Parliament, 48

204.21 Gov[r] ms
Governor 48

204.21 could ms
could 48

204.21 together. ms
together! 48

204.25 shape ms
shape, 48

204.26 [C]lasses; ms
classes; 48

204.26 Parl[t], ms
Parliament, 48

204.27 with. ¶His ms
with. His 48

204.29 of polishing ms
of passing registration bills for Ireland, and polishing 48

204.30 perfection. ms
perfection there! 48

204.31 if not, the ms
if he *is*,—the 48

204.31 should ms
should, 48

204.31 speed ms
speed, 48

204.32 fact; ms
fact, 48

204.33 soon: these ms
soon. These 48

204.33 days ms
months 48

204.34 swiftly—whitherward? ms
swiftly,—every one asks, Whitherward? 48

204.35 then ms
then 48

"Death of Charles Buller" [ms, 48]

205.0* Death of Mr Buller ms
DEATH OF CHARLES BULLER. 48

205.11 year; ms
year, 48

205.20 Parliamentary ms
parliamentary 48

205.22 purity; ms
purity, 48

206.2 hypocricy ms
hypocrisy 48

206.3 pretense, ms
pretence, 48

206.7 only ms
any of 48

206.19 [to the] [illegible] ms
to the name 48

206.20 spontaneous ms
spontaneous, 48

206.21 him ms
him, 48

206.26 wi[t o]ffend ms
wit offend 48

206.30 man o[f] ms
man of 48

206.33 side; doing for it what lay doable; helpful ms
side; helpful 48

206.37 continue ms
continue 48

207.7 Properly indeed ms
Properly, indeed, 48

207.7 career, ms
career 48

207.7 man, ms
man 48

"Ireland and Sir Robert Peel" [49, 49B]

No emendations.

"Indian Meal" [49]

No emendations.

"Trees of Liberty" [49]

222.27 surely, 49
surety, Strouse

"The Opera" [52, 57D, 57, 69]

223.0 THE OPERA. 52
THE OPERA.† [footnote inserted] † KEEPSAKE for 1852.—The 'dear P.' there, I recollect, was my old friend Procter (Barry Cornwall); and his 'pious Adventure' had reference to that same Publication, under touching human circumstances which had lately arisen. 57

227.1 P. 52
P., 57

227.2 these hot busy 52
these busy 57D

227.4 'Conspectus of England,' 52
***Conspectus of England*,** 57

223.6 'Conspectus,' 52
***Conspectus*,** 57

223.7 Bunkum, 52
Buncombe, 57

224.7 fact; 52
the reality of things; 57

224.9 fact, 52
reality, 57

224.17 Deity 52
Destiny 57

224.20 "sing 52
'sing 57

224.20 God," 52
God,' 57

224.32 what men 52
what things men 57

224..32 sing! ¶Of 52
sing! * * * [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Of 57

225.11 kings' 52
kings, 57D

225.25 indian-rubber, 52
Indian-rubber, 57D

226.9 posture-maker: 52
posture-master: 57

226.24 Singedelomme, 52
Chatabagues, 57

226.34 Singedelomme, 52
Chatabagues, 57

226.36 eternal,' 52
Eternal,' 57D

227.2 Singedelomme 52
Chatabagues 57

"Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" [55, 57, 69]

229.0 SUGGESTIONS FOR 55
PROJECT OF 57

229.0 PORTRAITS IN EDINBURGH, IN THE YEAR 1855; INCLUDING A COMMUNICATION ON THE SUBJECT FROM THOMAS CARLYLE, ESQ. BY DAVID LAING, ESQ. F.S.A. SCOT. 55
PORTRAITS.† 57

229.1 *Esq., Signet* 55
Esquire* (*Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*), *Signet 57

231.23 thro' 55
through 57

233.1 1*st*, 55
1°. 57

233.20 2*d*, 55
2°. 57

233.28 *unlike* 55
***un*like** 57

234.3 3*d*, 55
3°. 57

234.17* Morton, Mar, 55
Morton, and Mar, 57

234.26 *Hawley*, 55
Hawley, a 57

234.30 'Who 55
"Who 57

234.30 Character?' 55
Character?" 57

235.4 4*th*, 55
4°. 57

235.34 Carlyle. 55
Carlyle.† [footnote inserted] † Some efforts, I believe, were made in the direction indicated, by Gentlemen of the Antiquarian Society and others; but as yet without any actual "Exhibition" coming to light. Later, and for Britain at large, we have had, by the Government itself, some kind of "Commission" or "Board" appointed, for forming a permanent "National Portrait-Gallery,"—with what success, is still to be seen.—(*Note of* 1857.) 57

"Ilias (Americana) in Nuce" [63]

No emendations.

"Inaugural Address" [66, 66E, 69][2]

239.0 INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT EDINBURGH, APRIL 2ND, 1866; BY THOMAS CARLYLE, ON BEING INSTALLED AS RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY THERE. 66E
INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT EDINBURGH, 2d APRIL 1866, ON BEING INSTALLED AS RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY THERE. 69

245.19 **world. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Our** 66E proof
world. [page break between paragraphs] ¶Our 66E → 69

248.9* Protector a second time. I 66E
Protector, virtually in some sort a Dictator, for the first time. ¶And I 69

248.11* Oliver was faithfully doing a Dictator's function, 66E
Oliver did faithfully set to doing a Dictator's function, 69

248.17* assembled sixty 66E
assembled fifty or sixty 69

248.26* got sixty 66E
got some sixty 69

263.9* time. 66E
time. [extra leading and rule] ¶Finis of Rectorship.—'*Edinburgh University*. Mr. Carlyle,

[2] As discussed in the Note on the Text, while we use the first printing in the *Scotsman* as the standard of collation, we have used the 1866 Edmonston as copy-text; therefore the emendations listed are only variants from this copy-text.

ex-Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, has been asked to deliver a valedictory address to the students, but has declined. The following is a copy of the correspondence.

'2 S.-W. Circus Place, Edinburgh, 3d December, 1868.

¶'Sir,—On the strength of being Vice-President of the Committee for your election as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, I have been induced to write to you, in order to know if you will be able to deliver a Valedictory Address to the Students. Mr. Gladstone gave us one, and we fondly hope you will find it convenient to do so as well. Your Inaugural Address is still treasured up in our memories, and I am sure nothing could give us greater pleasure than once more to listen to your words. I trust you will pardon me for this intrusion; and hoping to receive a favourable answer, I am, &c.

[right justified as signature]'A. Robertson, M.A.

¶'T. Carlyle, Esq.

'Chelsea, 9th December 1868.

¶'Dear Sir,—I much regret that a Valedictory Speech from me, in present circumstances, is a thing I must not think of. Be pleased to assure the young Gentlemen who were so friendly towards me, that I have already sent them, in silence, but with emotions deep enough, perhaps too deep, my loving Farewell, and that ingratitude, or want of regard, is by no means among the causes that keep me absent. With a fine youthful enthusiasm, beautiful to look upon, they bestowed on me that bit of honour, loyally all they had; and it has now, for reasons one and another, become touchingly memorable to me,—touchingly, and even grandly and tragically,—never to be forgotten for the remainder of my life.

¶'Bid them, in my name, if they still love me, fight the good fight, and quit themselves like men, in the warfare, to which *they* are as if conscript and consecrated, and which lies ahead. Tell them to consult the eternal oracles (not yet inaudible, not ever to become so, when worthily inquired of); and to disregard, nearly altogether, in comparison, the temporary noises, menacings and deliriums. May they love Wisdom as Wisdom, if she is to yield *her* treasures, must be loved,—piously, valiantly, humbly, beyond life itself or the prizes of life, with all one's heart, and all one's soul:—in that case (I will say again), and not in any other case, it shall be well with them.

¶'Adieu, my young Friends, a long adieu.

¶'Yours with great sincerity,

[right justified as signature] 'T. CARLYLE.

¶'A ROBERTSON, ESQ.'† [footnote] † Edinburgh Newspapers of December 12-13, 1868. 69

"Shooting Niagara: And After?" [67, 67C, 69]

266.9 universe; 67
Universe; 67C

266.37 people?" 67
people!" 67C

267.23 *quàm primùm* 67
without delay 67C

267.25 liberty" 67
Liberty" 67C

267.26 universe, 67
Universe, 67C

267.30 Shakspere; 67
Shakspeare; 67C

268.5 then. ¶By 67
then. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶By 67C

268.7 result 67
case 67C

268.20 the 67
those 67C

268. 21 "Sheffield 67
'Sheffield 67C

268. 22 (Limited)," 67
(Limited),' 67C

268.27 too often 67
naturally enough, 67C

268.27 needle-women;" 67
needle-women" who cannot sew; 67C

268.30 frantic 67
fond 67C

269.2 all. 67
all.† [footnote inserted] † "*Ilias* (*Americana*) *in Nuce*. ¶PETER *of the North* (*to* PAUL *of the South*): "Paul, you unaccountable scoundrel, I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year as I do! You are going straight to Hell, you—!" ¶PAUL "Good words, Peter! The risk is my own; I am willing to take the risk. Hire you your servants by the month or the day, and get straight to Heaven; leave me to my own method." ¶PETER: "No, I won't. I will beat your brains out first!" (*And is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it*.)—T.C. ¶3d May 1863.'—(*Macmillan's Magazine*, for August 1863.) 69

269.15 is, 67
they have, 67C

269.18 slit 67
torn and slashed 67C

269.20 million Blacks, 67
million absurd Blacks, 67C

269.21 "improved 67
'improved 67C

269.21 earth" 67
earth' 67C

269.39 "More 67
'More 66CH

269.39 million." 67
million.' 66CH

271.3 "board 67
board 67C

271.3 expense," 67
expense, 67C

271.11 is! But 67
is! ¶But 67C

271. 13 "Reformation," 67
'Reformation,' 67C

271.14 neighbour's; 67
neighbour's, which is always much welcomer; 67C

271.16 Extension 67
"Extension 67C

271.16 Suffrage! 67
Suffrage." 67C

271.17 puddle 67
quagmire 67C

271.33 "reflex 67
'reflex 67C

271.33 reverberation," 67
reverberation,' 67C

271.33 "*swarmeries*" 67
'*swarmeries*' 67C

272.9 the last thirty years 67
a generation past, 67C

272.14 it:—but, 67
it. And yet, 67C

272.28 sort. 67
sort. Other traits there are abundantly ludicrous, but they are too lugubrious to be even momentarily pleasant. A superlative Hebrew Conjuror, spell-binding all the great Lords, great Parties, great Interests of England, to his hand in this manner, and leading them by the nose, like helpless mesmerised somnambulant cattle, to such issue,—did the world ever see a *flebile ludibrium* of such magnitude before? Lath-sword, and Scissors of Destiny; Pickleherring and the Three *Parcæ*, alike busy in it. This too, I suppose, we had deserved. The end of our poor Old England (such an England as we had at last made of it) to be not a tearful Tragedy, but an ignominious Farce as well!— 67C

273.7 down-/stairs, 67
down stairs, 67C

273.7 orders 67
injunction 67C

274.10 the 67
this 67C

274.14 Roughs. So 67
Roughs. ¶So 67C

275.16 "immortal smash," 67
'immortal smash,' 67C

276.19 Giving 67
giving 67C

276.25 "in Council" 67
'in Council' 67C

276.36 (and your 67
(and perhaps your 67C

277.15 Frederick William, 67
Friedrich Wilhelm, 67C

277.15 Frederick, 67
Friedrich, 67C

277.18 "For ever 67
¶"Forever 67C

277.30 see, who 67
see,—who 67C

278.22 "men 67
'men 67C

278.22 genius" 67
genius' 67C

278.26 ¶It 67
¶Withal it 67C

278.28 change, 67
Many, 67C

279.18 fruits, such 67
fruits,—such 67C

280.10 "who 67
'who 67C

280.11 God." 67
God.' 67C

280.14 "Copper-Captaincy" 67
'Copper-Captaincy' 67C

280.36 you," or "Death 67
you," "Death 67C

281.5 shed 67
spend 67C

281.6 capable of 67
capable at last of 67C

281.14 "while 67
'while 67C

281.14 lives" 67
lives' 67C

281.15 tho' 67
though 67C

281.23 "men 67
'men 67C

281.23 *genius*" 67
genius' 67C

281.23 "inspired 67
'inspired 67C

281.23 God" 67
God' 67C

281.25 "touched 67
'touched 67C

281.25 fire!" 67
fire'! 67C

281.28 (political 67
(*political* 67C

281.30 Nevertheless I will omit these at present, and touch only of 67
Nevertheless [inserted passage 281.30-286.28] ¶Of 67C

285.18 Man.' 67C
Man.'† [footnote inserted] † 'Zwei Dinge erfüllen das Gemüth mit immer neuer und zunehmender Bewunderung und Ehrfurcht, je öfter und anhaltender sich das Nachdenken damit beschäftigt: *der bestirnte Himmel über mir*, und *das moralische Gesetz in mir*,' . . . *u. s. w.* Kant's *Sämmtliche Werke* (Rosenkranz and Schubert's edition, Leipzig, 1838), viii. 312. 69

286.28 or Industrial 67
or silent Industrial 67C

286.28 Hero, as 67
Hero, I may now say something, as 67C

286.29 reader's. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶This 67
reader's. ¶This 67C

287.1 believe 67
well discern 67C

287.5 "man 67
'man 67C

287.5 genius" 67
genius' 67C

287.6 millionaire, 67
millionaire 67C

287.11 annihilation of 67
to annihilate 67C

287.13 body 67
body 67C

287.16 reformed 67
Reformed 67C

287.17 industrial 67
Industrial 67C

287.19 on reformed 67
on Reformed 67C

287.19 and reformed 67
and Reformed 67C

287.20 further. 67
farther. 69

287.22 free trade 67
"Free Trade" 67C

287.23 *Nasty*, let 67
***Nasty*. Let** 67C

287.26 taints 67
haunts 67C

287.33 or employing 67
and all producing 67C

287.37 work, and eight 67
work, eight 67C

287.37 play; 67
play, 67C

287.38 day."—*Reformed* 67
day!" ¶(*Reformed* 67C

287.39 *Song*. 67
***Song*.)** 67C

288.3 that for 67
for that of 67C

288.11 comparison? 67
comparison! 67C

288.15 Devil's dust 67
Devil's-dust 67C

288.19 practical 67
Practical 67C

288.19 infinitely 67
not a little 67C

288.20 question, and 67
question. Infinitely anxious to 67C

288.20 Free Trade 67
"Free Trade," 67C

288.21 tied 67
got *tied* 67C

288.21 little. 67
little, and forbidden to make a very brute of itself at this rate! 67C

288.23 ¶One 67
¶Take one 67C

288.23 only! 67
only. 67C

288.26 cannons, 67
cannon, 67C

288.32 frightful! For 67
frightful! "Not a house this of mine," said one indignant gentleman, who had searched the London Environs all around for any bit of Villa, "Alpha"-cottage or Omega, which were less inhuman, but found none: "Not a built house, but a congeries of plastered bandboxes; shambling askew in all joints and corners of it; creaking, quaking under every step;—filling you with disgust and despair!" For 67C

289.4 thing! 67
object! 67C

289.5 England 67
¶England 67C

289.6 be 67
be, 67C

289.6 day 67
Day 67C

289.6 judgment. 67
Judgment. 67C

289.11 Adam, not 67
Adam, and not 67C

289.29 to 67
To 67C

289.31 Devil's dust, 67
Devil's-dust, 67C

289.31 and 67
and with constant invocation of the Devil, 67C

289.33 sown?——But 67
sown?— [inserted passage 289.33-291.4] ¶But 67C

290.7 "Four-eights," 67C
"Four eights," 69

291.8 VII. 67
VIII. 67C

292.2 "noble" 67
'noble' 67C

292.5 "Management 67
'Management 67C

292.5 principle," 67
principle,' 67C

292.10 (In 67
In 67C

292.12 at!) 67
at! 67C

292.15 Alas! no? 67
Alas, no: 67C

292.18 ¶In 67
¶And yet, in 67C

292.24 it. Schools, 67
it. ¶Schools, 67C

293.10 "the *wise*," 67
'the *wise*,' 67C

293.13 *sham-wise*. 67
***sham*-wise.** 67C

293.19 king 67
King 69

293.31 *have* 67
have 67C

293.34 VIII. 67
IX. 67C

294.23 Courts martial 67
Court-martial 67C

294.25 Drill-Sergeant? 67
Drill-Sergeant? Reformed Parliament, I hear, has decided on a "thorough Army reform," as one of the first things. So that we shall at length have a perfect Army, field-worthy and correct in all points, thinks Reformed Parliament? Alas, yes;—and if the sky fall, we shall catch larks, too!— 67C

295.15 too[«»] 67
too, 67C

295.22 persons 67
Persons 69

295.27 Whit Sunday, 67
Whit-Monday, 67C

295.36 Drilling Processes; 67
Drilling; 67C

296.19 universe, 67
Universe, 67C

296.19 nation 67
Nation 67C

296.21 Anarchy, 67
Anarchy 67C

296.21 universe 67
Universe 67C

296.21 for ever 67
forever 67C

296.22 it 67
it 67C

296.26 are minded 67
are now minded 67C

296.31 this! 67
this! [inserted passage 296.32-299.26] 67C

297.37 "*Buncombe*," 67C
'*Buncombe*,' 69

298.7 "*Buncombe*" 67C
'*Buncombe*' 69

299.20 ignominous 67C
ignominious 69

299.22 existence (or 67C
existence:—or 69

299.22 rats; is 67C
rats? Why not? Is 69

299.24 now?)—Game preserving, 67C
now!—Game-preserving, 69

299.24 all that, will have 67C
the like, will soon all have 69

299.25 country; 67C
Country; 69

299.26 vulgar. 67C
vulgar!— 69

"Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71" [70, 72]

301.0 *MR. CARLYLE ON THE WAR*. [new line] TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES. ¶Sir, 70
LATTER STAGE OF THE FRENCH-GERMAN WAR, 1870-71. [new line] *To the Editor of the* TIMES. [new line] Chelsea, 11 Nov. 1870. ¶SIR, 72

301.9* country, 70
Country, 72

301.10 "magnanimity," 70
'magnanimity,' 72

301.11 "heroic 70
'heroic 72

301.11 foe," 70
foe,' 72

302.18 two 70
Two 72

302.20 most 70
Most 72

302.21 Soliman—that 70
Soliman,—that 72

302.27 ensuing. Richelieu's 70
ensuing. ¶Richelieu's 72

302.32 there." 70
there?" 72

302.34 30-years' war, 70
Thirty-Years War, 72

302.38 nations. 70
Nations. 72

303.4 Europe—for 70
Europe,—for 72

303.6 goods—of 70
goods,—of 72

303.12 world—Advent, 70
world,—advent, 72

303.14 tumbles. ¶The 70
tumbles. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶The 72

303.19 such—*the* 70
such,—*the* 72

303.25 history 70
History 72

303.28 generally ill-fortune, 70
generally of ill-fortune, 72

303.29 manner; and 70
manner:—and 72

303.32 nature 70
Nature 72

303.36 nature. 70
Nature. 72

304.6 operation, except 70
operation,—except 72

304.15 *Excelsus super omnes Gentes Dominus*, 70
Excelsus super omnes gentes Dominus; 72

304.20 night. Nor 70
night. ¶Nor 72

304.23 places—Protestants[,] 70
places,—Protestants 72

304.24 need—as 70
need,—as 72

304.28 back,—had 70
back,—"had 72

304.29 them, 70
them," 72

304.37 visits. ¶The 70
visits. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶The 72

305.8 again—to 70
again,—to 72

305.9 for ever 70
forever 72

305.10 splendour, far 70
splendour,—far 72

305.11 sort, and 70
sort,—and 72

305.13 French. For 70
French. ¶For 72

305.26 "refuges 70
'refuges 72

305.26 lies" 70
lies' 72

305.29 she—a 70
she,—a 72

305.30 anarchy—has 70
anarchy,—has 72

306.5 The 70
But indeed the 72

306.8 *un*conscious mendacity 70
'*un*conscious mendacity' 72

306.14 universe; 70
Universe; 72

306.21 phenomenon—the 70
phenomenon,—the 72

306.29 everything; but, 70
everything:—but, 72

306.35 further 70
farther 72

306.36 for ever 70
forever 72

307.1 nothing, 70
Nothing, 72

307.3 darkness 70
darkness, 72

307.5 "Given 70
'Given 72

307.5 delusion," 70
delusion,' 72

307.12 "*Cartouche* 70
Cartouche 72

307.12 Nations," 70
Nations, 72

307.12 "Christ 70
Christ 72

307.13 Nations" 70
Nations 72

307.20 neighbours, instead 70
neighbours,—instead 72

307.25 again. ¶A 70
again. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶A 72

307.32 "one 70
'one 72

307.32 all," 70
all,' 72

307.33 it, had 70
it,—had 72

307.36 nation, 70
Nation, 72

307.37 Bismark, 70
Bismarck, 72

308.4 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.7 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.11 "Slow 70
'Slow 72

308.12 malt." 70
malt.' 72

308.12 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.15 there (a 70
there,—a 72

308.15 France!); and 70
France!—and 72

308.18 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.20 Bismark, 70
Bismarck, 72

308.21 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.27 Bismark, 70
Bismarck, 72

308.33 nation 70
Nation, 72

308.40 Chelsea, Nov. 11. T. CARLYLE. 70
T. Carlyle. 72

"The Portraits of John Knox" [75, 82]

310.8 'Young,') 75
'Young'), 82

310.12 (overleaf) 75
(opposite) 82

312.28 Seas, they 75
Seas, and they 75C

312.36 *literarum*; 75
literarum; 75C

313.28 sleep in a whole skin, and digest his victuals. 75
digest his victuals, and sleep in a whole skin. 75C

315.25 'Hamestown, 75
'Hamestonum, 75C

315.28 'Hameston' 75
'Hamestonum' 75C

315.29 *Ormiston's*; 75
Ormiston's; 75C

316.3 a 75
on 75C

316.17 Prince 75
Princes 75C

317.34 wrote 75
'wrote 75C

317.34 books, 75
books,' 75C

318.1 *Laonium*; 75
Laonium; 75C

320.1 of 75
on 75C

320.29 figure-head; 75
Figure-head; 75C

323.27 here subjoined. 75
on the next page subjoined. 75C

325.21 Biographical Dictionary. 75
***Biographical Dictionary*.** 75C

325.22 in 75
'in 75C

325.22 'Miss 75
Miss 75C

326.18 II 75
II. 75C

327.20 as 75
us 75C

327.38 Edinburgh: 1846-'64, vol. I, 75
6 vols. Edinburgh, 1846-'64: i. 75C

328.14 a visible terrestrial 75
a terrestrial 75C

328.36 heart-felt, 75
heartfelt, 75C

330.28 Ormeston; 75
Ormiston; 82

331.10 Dumbar, 75
Dunbar, 82

331.31 to 75
by 75C

331.31 *fistcuffing*); 75
***fisticuffing*);** 75C

332.14 Andrews, these 75
Andrews,—these 75C

332.22 was, as we said, 75
was 75C

332.24 *Natus*: 75
Natus: 75C

332.39 *Knox's Works*, I, 75
***Works of Knox*, i.** 75C

333.19 he 75
'he 75C

333.19 'them' 75
them' 75C

334.22 prisons.' 75
prisons. 75C

335.39 I, 75
i. 75C

336.6 the poor townsfolk 75
the townsfolk 75C

336.15 world, setting 75
world,—setting 75C

336.15 destiny. 75
destiny!— 75C

337.1 declined, 75
declined it, 75C

339.30 Pandects, Digest, 75
the Pandects, the Digest, 75C

341.13 here, skilfully 75
here, as if by *tryst*, at mid-distance; skilfully 75C

342.18 'If 75
"If 75C

342.19 dog.' 75
dog." 75C

342.39 1774). 75
1774), pp. 126-'7. 75C

343.13 and an 75
and withal even an 75C

344.29 study†; 75
study;† 75C

346.8 III 75
III. 75C

346.27 in—evidently 75
in,—evidently 75C

346.31 Of its 75
Its 75C

346.32 it 75
it, 75C

349.2 appearance. 75
appearance.† [footnote inserted]
Since this was first printed, Mr. Laurence himself favours me with the following remarks, which seem too good to be lost: . . . 'I wish the reason for my copying the Somerville Picture had been given, viz., its being in a state of dilapidation and probable decay. Entirely agreeing with your own impressions as to its representing the individuality and character of the man, I undertook to make a copy that should, beside keeping the character, represent the condition of this Picture in its undamaged state. It is now not only "much cracked," but the *half-tints* are taken off, by some bad cleaner; the gradations between the highest lights and the deepest shades wanting: hence the unpleasant look. I think it more than a matter of "surface." The very ground, a "bricky" red one, exposed, here and there; the effec[t o]f which upon the colours may be likened to a tune played upon a piano-forte that has missing keys . . .—Samuel Laurence
(6, Wells Street, Oxford Street, March 30, 1875).' 75C

349.37 effec[t o]f 75C
effect of 82

350.3 falsifying 75
contradicting 75C

350.39 Fitz Gerald's edit., Lond. 1874, 75
Fitzgerald's edit. (London, 1874), 75C

352.9 Kensington 75
Kensington Museum, 75C

352.12 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, 75
Devonshire Street, Portland Place, 75C

352.13 January 75
January 75C

352.15 portrait, 75
Portrait, 75C

352.30 In external 75
In point of external 75C

352.32 complete in 75
complete or final in 75C

352.35 is. 75
is. THE END. 75C

DISCUSSION OF EDITORIAL DECISIONS

In emending the text, we follow principles established in previous volumes of this series, in particular the *Historical Essays*, the contents of which, like most of the essays in this volume, were republished in the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. We discuss individual items only when they are unique; if an item is not discussed, then it has been treated in accord with the following principles, the bases of which have been discussed in the Note on the Text.

• Apart from changes Carlyle ordered, the only changes we adopt from the 1838 *Miscellanies* are corrections of punctuation, spelling, and wording that conform to his clear preferences and anticipate changes in editions that he carefully revised (e. g. *forever* rather than *for ever*).

• We generally adopt changes of wording in an edition that Carlyle carefully revised; for this volume, this applies to the essays in the 1840 *Miscellanies*. Nonetheless, there are compositor errors in all editions so we do not automatically accept minor changes of wording.

• We generally do not adopt changes in an essay's second or later appearance in the *Miscellanies*. We do, however, accept as authorial a small number of substantial changes of wording in the 1847 *Miscellanies*, especially, as is often the case, when they appear in the closing paragraphs of the essay. Except for essays included in them for the first time, we do not adopt changes of wording in the 1857 or 1869 *Miscellanies*, except in special cases discussed below.

• Because they conform to his clear preference as established in previous editions, we accept the following types of punctuation change in an edition that Carlyle carefully revised: dash to comma dash and the removal of commas setting off *too, also, perhaps* (see *Historical Essays* 895, notes on 8.12 and 10.1). We also consider as most likely authorial a change from a period to an exclamation point and the removal of parentheses.

• We accept changes that conform with Carlyle's normal practice for quotation marks—double quotation marks for quoted speech and single quotation marks for other quotations, i. e. from a source text—either in 1838 (which imposed it on articles printed in journals that used the opposite rule) or in an edition he carefully revised. As explained in the Discussion of Editorial Decisions of the *Historical Essays*, there are some cases in which the 1838-1839 *Miscellanies* did not effect this reversal (893). These exceptions are the only ones reported in the Historical Collation, but the fact that they are exceptions does not affect our emendation policy, which remains the same as for all quotation marks.

• We adopt the addition or dropping of quotation marks and the addition of italics in an edition Carlyle carefully revised. However, we treat the italicization of foreign language words as a regularization and do not adopt such changes.

• We accept new paragraphs and the addition of extra leading between paragraphs in an edition Carlyle carefully revised.

• We adopt changes that are confirmed by the text Carlyle is citing or translating when they appear in an edition Carlyle carefully revised.

• We adopt capitalization, especially of abstract nouns (e. g. Universe), in an edition Carlyle carefully revised. However, we generally do not accept the capitalization of the first word of a clause that the compositor appears to have read as implied speech (e. g. in the construction, He said, that . . .).

• We adopt corrections of spelling of proper names in editions that Carlyle at least nominally participated in. However, we do not adopt attempts at correction that merely change the spelling from a less to a more conventional form.

• We adopt as Carlyle's clear preference the change from the two-word spelling to the one-word form of the following: *forever, anything, everything, everywhere, anywhere, nowhere*. We also adopt the preferred spelling *farther* (over *further*). We apply this principle to editions that Carlyle at least nominally participated in.

• We reject apparent attempts at correcting Carlyle's preferred spelling of the past tense of words such as *sink*, *shrink*, and *spring*. He invariably uses the forms *sunk, shrunk*, and *sprung*, which in later editions are often changed to *sank, shrank, sprang*. The latter may be an attempt to distinguish the adjective from the past tense verb, but both are legitimate past tense forms, and there is no reason to believe that Carlyle changed his preference.

• We reject as a regularization, rather than a correction, the elimination of a comma between a subject and verb, even in an edition Carlyle carefully revised. The frequency with which this usage appears in his writings suggests that Carlyle was punctuating rhetorically rather than grammatically and did not consider it an error. Clear evidence that Carlyle considered the practice correct is his insertion of a comma following *canaille* in the proofs for "Repeal of the Union": "Not while British men walk erect in this Island can Ledru Rollins, . . . and an anarchic canaille, be left . . ." (Victoria and Albert F.48.E.18 item 200/5).

• Carlyle often forms the possessive of names ending in *s* with just an apostrophe and without the addition of an *s*. Therefore we treat the addition of the *s* in later editions as a regularization and reject it.

""Signs of the Times"

8.1	Glypcothèques, Sechnothèques,	29
	Glyptothèques, Technothèques,	33Y → 69

As indicated here, Carlyle marked these changes in the 1833 volume. It is likely that they were on the list he sent to the editors of the 1838 edition. Carlyle marked only five changes in the essays included in the present volume ("Signs of the Times" and "Characteristics"). Two others (9.22, 27.22) also were made in 1838 and we similarly conclude they were on his list of corrections. The change at (37.26) appears also in 1840, and we therefore adopt it. We do not adopt changes made in 1833 that never appeared in any edition of the *Miscellanies*.

14.14	battle, even in	29
	battle, in	38 → 69
14.14	those days,	29
	those old days,	40 → 69

Although we do not ordinarily adopt changes made in 1838, Carlyle implicitly accepted this change when he further revised the sentence in 1840.

"Death of Edward Irving"

57.28	'In	35
	"In	40 → 69
57.28	Lord's.'	35
	Lord's."	40 → 69

As discussed in the headnote, the 1838 *Miscellanies*, like other works published originally by *Fraser's*, globally reversed single and double quotation marks in accord with Carlyle's normal practice. However, in this case, 1840 reverts to double quotation marks in accord with Carlyle's use of them for quoted speech.

"Chartism"

99.4	men!	40
	man!	57 → 69

In all other instances of this famous formulation that "Cash Payment" has become the "sole nexus of man to man," Carlyle uses the singular ("Chartism" 97.26, 102.4; *Past and Present* 3.6.170.12, 3.9.186.24). As this change was made at the first opportunity for careful revision, we take it to be authorial.

"Dr. Francia"

134.21	farre	43
	fare	47 → 69

This change is not, strictly speaking, a correction, but the spelling "farre" was never common and fell out of use by the seventeenth century. It therefore seems most likely that the compositor misread the manuscript and that Carlyle was correcting the spelling to "fare," especially as this change occurs in an edition he carefully revised.

150.17	distractive,	43
	destructive,	47 → 69

Although collation shows that Carlyle carefully revised "Dr. Francia" for 1847 (its first appearance in the *Miscellanies*), we attribute this change to the compositor who may have thought "distractive" was an error, as it an uncommon word. However, Carlyle used "distractive" with some frequency (e. g. *Letters* 12:124), and it makes perfect sense in context.

"Louis Philippe"

177.3	long	ms
	long,	UP → 48

We take the process of transforming the manuscript into print to be collaborative. Therefore, we do not treat changes between the manuscript and the proof the same as changes between print editions. Instead, we assume that Carlyle expected, like other nineteenth-century writers, that the compositor would supply punctuation and expand abbreviations, and we take the fact that he accepted a change in proof as tacit acceptance of such changes. Note, however, that we reject changes that directly contradict Carlyle's established preferences (e. g. capitalization of abstract nouns, the comma dash).

179.8	have to do as their grandfathers and their fathers did: Protest,	ms
	protest,	UP → 48

When he wrote an alternative passage on separate slip of paper, Carlyle failed to delete this passage in the manuscript.

"Repeal of the Union"

182.34	the Gospel	UP
	the enlarged Gospel	48

A word, possibly "enlarged," is crossed out in proof, but it is illegible, so we adopt the insertion.

182.36	"There	CP
	there	48

When Carlyle inserted this sentence in proof, he did not provide a close quotation mark to correspond with the open quotation mark. We therefore adopt the solution of 1848.

"Legislation for Ireland"

202.14	[L]andowners,	ms
	landowners,	48E → 48B

Although we here print the initial letter *L* as uppercase, the manner in which Carlyle forms this letter makes its case sufficiently ambiguous that the compositor could easily have read it as lowercase. Taken together with the fact that Carlyle tacitly accepted the lowercase *l* in proof, we accept the compositor's resolution of the ambiguity. We treat other ambiguous orthography similarly.

"Death of Charles Buller"

205.0	Death of Mr Buller	ms
	DEATH OF CHARLES BULLER.	48

Carlyle authorized the change of title in a box adjacent to the title in the manuscript: "or any other Title Mr F. prefers" (F. refers to John Forster, the editor of the *Examiner*).

206.30	large	ms
	long	48

The compositor could easily have misread "large" as "long"; our reading of the manuscript is confirmed by the context, in which "large" makes better sense.

"The Opera"

226.7	give	52
	are giving here	57D → 69

This is the only change of wording in 1857 Dumfries apart from the naming of the addressee in the headnote "A." rather than "P." Because the Historical Collation suggests that Carlyle did not prepare copy or correct proof for this version, we do not adopt the change.

"Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits"

234.17	Regents Murray, Morton, Mar,	55
	Regents Murray, Morton, and Mar,	57 → 69

This change occurs in an edition that Carlyle carefully revised (the first appearance of "Scottish Portraits" in the *Miscellanies*), and it is not, as it might appear, a compositorial intervention, but a correction. The insertion of the "and" clarifies that "Regents" applies only to these three names, and not to the rest of the list (thus "Lethington, Kirkcaldy, Regents Murray, Morton, and Mar, Buchanan, Bothwell, even Rizzio, and the like").

"Inaugural Address"

243.2	entrusted	66S
	intrusted	66E → 69

As discussed in the Note on the Text, we have used 1866 Edmonston, rather than the *Scotsman,* as copy-text. However, we take the change of spelling here to be an intervention of the compositor, as "entrusted" is Carlyle's usual spelling; therefore we do not adopt it. The same applies to "learn also" (251.8) in which the *Scotsman* reading similarly conforms to his ordinary practice.

248.9 Protector a second time. And 66S
Protector, virtually in some sort a Dictator, for the first time. ¶And 69

248.11 Oliver 66S
Oliver was faithfully doing a Dictator's function, and of his prudence in it, as well. Oliver 66E

248.17 assembled sixty 66S
assembled fifty or sixty 69

248.26 got sixty 66S
got some sixty 69

We generally reject changes of wording in 1869 as either the intervention of Carlyle's assistants or compositor error. However, these changes, which appear only three years after initial publication, clearly resulted from Carlyle's attempts to clarify and correct his text. Moreover, the next item indicates that Carlyle did intervene in the 1869 edition.

263.9 time. 66
time. [extra leading and rule] ¶FINIS OF RECTORSHIP.— '*Edinburgh University*. Mr. Carlyle, ex-Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, has been asked to deliver a valedictory address to the students, but has declined. . . . Edinburgh Newspapers of December 12-13, 1868. 69

This addition of two pages of material (26.12-264.14) must have been ordered by Carlyle.

"Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71"

301.9 country, 70
Country, 72

As discussed in the Note on the Text, this essay appeared too late to be included in the 1869 *Miscellanies*, the last in which Carlyle participated, and we have therefore included a collation with the 1872 *Miscellanies* in spite of the fact that we have previously concluded that Carlyle did not in other cases participate in that edition. Given that the essay was being included in his collected works for the first time, it is possible that he did, as usual, prepare copy. This possibility is supported by the evidence of the Historical Collation, which manifests a characteristic pattern of uppercasing nouns, changing the dash to the comma dash, and changing spelling in accord with Carlyle's preferences. Such changes must have been made either by Carlyle himself or by an assistant or compositor well versed in his preferences.

302.18	one.	70
	one of them.	72

There are only three very minor changes of wording in 1872 (for the other two, see 302.25, 307.3). Whereas assistants or compositors might be apprised of Carlyle's preferences for spelling or punctuation (see preceding entry), they would not be able to anticipate his desire for changes of wording and so we do not adopt them.

"The Portraits of John Knox"

348.7	still hangs.	75
	remained for above a year.	82

As discussed in the Note on the text, this change, which has to do with the location of a portrait of Knox, is clearly intentional. However, as explained there, we have collated this edition only because it is the earliest exemplar of the Library Edition that we have been able to locate. Because it is posthumous and because, as explained in the Note, the implied dating indicates that it could not have appeared in the 1875 volume reported by Tarr, we do not adopt it.

LINE-END HYPHENS IN THE COPY-TEXT

The following are the editorially established forms of possible compounds that were hyphenated at the ends of lines in the relevant copy-text or the text from which an emendation has been adopted. A slash (/) indicates the position of the line-break in the copy-text where this is not obvious.

4.25 well-grounded
5.15 Fifth-monarchy
10.3 dissecting-knives
14.16 Habeas-corpus
17.29 bricklaying
24.2 soft-voiced
28.8 well-doing
29.18 self-forgetfulness
34.24 motley-coloured
35.11 housetops
37.20 fire-winged
39.25 View-hunting
41.17 forever
42.24 air-canvas
43.27 ground-plan
44.21 eighteenpence
52.27 Self-interest
64.2 deep-rooted
64.9 vitriol-bottle
65.24 Dog-carts
65.26 Condition-of-/England
70.30 Condition-/of-England
71.3 Savings-Bank
71.5 Danaides'-sieve
73.19 Poor-Law
75.37 Forty-third
76.15 right-hand
78.11 thrice-honoured
78.16 root-devouring
80.25 brother-men
80.31 Berserkir-rage
81.21 third-rate
82.26 best-paid
82.33 well-being
82.36 Cotton-spinners
83.3 ever-toiling
83.12 world-wide
84.6 parchment-law
87.26 Trades-unions
89.14 Parcs-aux-/cerfs
92.11 torchlight
93.3 law-making
93.12 all-too
93.13 six-/and-thirty
93.5 Laissez-faire
94.3 Laissez-faire
95.19 Laissez-faire
95.23 Laissez-faire
97.17 Charity-Balls
97.36 fifteen-pence
98.7 breeches-pocket
101.13 clearest-sighted
103.1 Laissez-faire
103.4 Laissez-faire
103.7 secondhand
105.12 spring-vans
105.14 West-India
105.22 White-cliff
106.14 war-tools
108.13 pickaxes
108.30 hundred-and-/fifty
111.15 ballot-boxes
113.32 Useful-Knowledge
114.20 book-keeper
115.3 sledge-hammers
117.14 tongue-fence
119.20 twenty-thousandth
122.20 pearl-divers
123.23 world-healing
123.30 heart-appalling
124.24 Church-extension
125.38 half-day's
128.37 watch-tower
132.15 many-counselled
133.22 sky-piercing
137.13 gallows-lasso
138.23 soap-/and-water
139.33 tea-establishment
140.20 Buenos-Ayres
142.1 Buenos-Ayres
142.11 so-called
143.23 wine-measure
144.5 world-famous
147.29 down-look

149.19 friend-/of-humanity
149.29 free-/and-easy
151.5 ship-cordage
151.6 house-doors
155.8 cannon-volleys
159.34 wolf-hordes
160.25 fellow-bandit
161.17 cross-questioned
163.22 sham-loyalty
163.38 farm-profits
164.36 life-lease
166.31 Exeter-hall
170.37 Belt-maker
174.22 tea-establishment
175.35 draught-steed
178.32 Louis-Philippe
185.4 soda-water
194.25 make-believe
200.19 twenty-seven
207.4 use-and-wont
213.14 tape-thrums
217.23 Soot-and-sawdust
218.27 potato-failures
218.28 too-authentic
225.13 ballet-girls
233.30 fat-shouldered
252.24 gold-nuggeting
260.37 health-well
272.33 Lath-sword
274.7 Walter-the-/Pennyless
275.2 half-conscious
275.2 Make-believe
276.32 nine-tenths
276.33 boa-constrictors
277.28 man-of-/war's
280.28 Verse-writing
283.18 soda-water
284.35 well-meaning
287.6 Make-believe
290.8 short-cuts
291.35 Fine-Scholar
303.28 ill-fortune
310.27 open-minded
322.19 experienced-looking
323.34 Figure-head
325.31 master-builder
340.29 well-discerning
344.31 joyous-minded
344.32 Sister-soul,
351.20 life-sized
351.22 life-size

LINE-END HYPHENS AND PAGE-END EXTRA LEADING IN THE PRESENT TEXT

In quotations from the present edition, no line-end hyphens are to be retained except the following:

4.24 well-grounded
14.22 sand-banks
19.27 Self-denial
21.34 deep-lying
25.17 pistol-shot
45.12 battle-field
56.23 foray-spears
71.15 Condition-of-England
73.33 gallows-ropes
81.25 farm-labourers
83.12 Steam-demon
87.27 half-a-century
88.16 Quack-ridden
89.14 *Parcs-aux-cerfs*
91.17 half-true
94.27 winning-post
95.26 sham-leader
96.13 over-crowded
101.3 *Laissez-faire*
102.6 Rick-burnings
105.12 coined-money
112.22 cotton-fuz
112.37 World-Poet
113.3 romance-hero
113.17 spinning-wheel
116.8 Working-man
117.5 free-trade
118.12 Ultra-radical
119.20 twenty-thousandth
120.2 market-place
122.2 right-arm
127.15 Over-population
128.37 watch-tower
132.35 ice-chasms
134.21 rock-mountains
134.24 rock-barriers
137.12 hide-whip
137.18 class-legislation
139.20 tawny-visaged
150.30 swift-advancing
152.9 fire-proof
152.10 ever-increasing
154.22 Abbé-Raynal
169.3 first-rate
170.17 arm-furnishings
182.17 Attorney-General
194.1 extra-parliamentary
198.1 pike-skirmishes
199.26 field-fighting
209.18 rates-in-aid
213.21 red-tape
224.26 sphere-harmonies
225.15 great-toe
226.5 self-vision
241.2 thousand-and-first
245.29 world-history
250.28 ever-increasing
261.19 prison-house
274.7 Walter-the-Pennyless
279.19 wholly-consciously
283.20 *Noble*-man
290.4 Chatham-and-Dover
290.28 Grand-Napoleonic
320.1 hero-worshipping
320.3 middle-aged
320.20 Twenty-two
328.20 Body-guard
331.28 *choir-door*
340.9 heaven-inspired
341.21 business-like

NOTE ON EXTRA LEADING

As discussed in the headnote to the Historical Collation, Carlyle indicated in the Printer's Copy where he wanted extra leading (extra white space—a line skipped) between paragraphs. Inevitably some of these fall, in our edition, at the bottom of a page. It should be understood that there is extra leading between the following pages:

19-20
22-23
41-42
104-105
117-118
118-119
128-129
214-215
292-293
306-307
310-311
326-327

HISTORICAL COLLATION

All variant readings found in the collated versions of the texts of the Social and Political Essays are accounted for in this historical collation. For the standard of collation of these works, see the Note on the Text.

The historical collation is presented as a table that lists each individual variant (two exceptions are explained below). Each item is keyed to the present edition by the number of the page and line on which the variant begins. For each item, the top line gives the copy-text reading—which for most items will be the same as the reading in the present text—followed by the symbol of the copy-text. The other lines of each item report all variant readings in chronological order. Each variant reading is followed by the symbols of all versions in which that reading occurred, as given in the table below. An arrow between two such symbols (e.g., 40 → 69) signifies that the reading in question is found in all intervening versions. Any version not accounted for in this way agrees with the copy-text reading.

Words enclosed in brackets are editorial comments; note in particular that [footnote] means a footnote begins here and [«»] signifies that a character or punctuation mark is absent at that point, but that there is extra blank space, suggesting lost or broken type. The symbol "¶" indicates that a new paragraph begins at that point. The symbol "/" is used when relevant to indicate the end of a line. The existence and placement of a footnote marker is taken to be part of Carlyle's text, but the marker itself, whether a number or a symbol such as an asterisk, is not taken to be part of the text. In the historical collation, therefore, footnote numbers are always represented by a dagger, no matter what symbol was used in the particular text. For symbols used in the transcription of manuscripts, see the table of alterations in the manuscript.

The first exception to the practice of listing each individual variant involves the introduction of American spellings in the 1838 *Miscellanies*. In all cases, the words found in the following list, along with their variants (plurals etc.) are spelled in the British manner, with the ending "our," in the copy-text and all editions except 1838, in which they are spelled in the American manner, with the ending "or": armour, clamour, colour, endeavor, favour, honour, labour, neighbour, valour, vigour. As the imposition of American spellings was clearly the act of the American compositors (or editors), and British spellings were restored at the first opportunity, I have not otherwise recorded these variants in the historical collation; the reader may assume, however, that 1838 always uses the "or" ending. Other spellings were Americanized in 1838 (for example, the -ise/-ize ending, sceptic/skeptic and so on), but as the pattern of Americanizing and restoring British spellings was in these cases less systematic, these variations are recorded in the historical collation.

The second exception involves a change in the system of single and double quotation marks. In 1838 and all subsequent editions of "The Death of Edward Irving," there was a global shift from using double quotation marks and single within double to single quotation marks with double within single: Changes according to this rule are not reported in the historical collation, though the exceptions are. To avoid confusion, all quotation marks are given in the system adopted in 1838 unless it is a variant in quotation mark usage that is being reported. In other words, for the essays listed above all copy-text quotation marks are represented as their opposite (doubles for singles, and vice versa) where the

variant does not involve the quotation mark. Like the editors of *Sartor Resartus*, which underwent the same change, I have chosen to accept this reversal of quotation marks, because it conforms with Carlyle's usual practice.

The present edition follows the copy-text reading (the top line of each item) at each crux, unless another reading is given in bold face, signaling an emendation (see Emendations of the Copy-Text). Items treated in the discussion of editorial decisions are marked with an asterisk. The following symbols are used to indicate the editions employed in the collations.

Symbol	Version
MSS	Manuscript of the essay where relevant.
UP	Uncorrected proof where releveant.
CP	Corrected proof where relevant.
29 et al.	The first appearance of the essay in a serial publication; the number is the date of this first appearance. Where appropriate a letter is added to the year to distinguish first publication from *Miscellanies*.
33Y	Bound volume of essays as first published with corrections by Carlyle.
38 or 39	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. First Edition. Boston: James Munroe, 1838-1839.
40	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Second Edition. London: James Fraser, 1840.
47	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Third Edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 1847.
57	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Volumes 2-5 of the Uniform Edition. 16 vol. London: Chapman and Hall, 1857–58. *Chartism*. Volume 5 of the Uniform Edition.
69	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Volumes 6-11 of the Library Edition. 34 vol. London: Chapman and Hall, 1869–71.
72	*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Volumes 6-12 of the People's Edition. 37 vol. London: Chapman and Hall, 1871–74.
40L1	*Chartism*. London: James Fraser, 1840 (first printing).
40L2	*Chartism*. London, James Fraser, 1840 (second printing).
42	*Chartism*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1842.
48B or 49B	Broadsheet publication of "Ireland and the British Chief Governor," "Legislation for Ireland" and "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel" Bungay: Childs, 1848.
57D	*The Dumfries Album*. Dumfries, 1857.
66E	*Inaugural Address.* Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1866.
67C	*Shooting Niagara: and After?* London: Chapman and Hall, 1967.
75	*The Early Kings of Norway* and *An Essay on the Portraits of John Knox.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1875.

82 *The Early Kings of Norway* and *An Essay on the Portraits of John Knox.* Volume 31 of the Library Edition. 34 vol. London: Chapman and Hall, 1869–71.

Strouse Emendations made on editorial authority.

"Signs of the Times" [29, 38, 40, 47, 57, 69]

3.0 *Signs of the Times.* 29
SIGNS OF THE TIMES. 38 → 69[1]
1. *Anticipation; or, an Hundred Years Hence.* 8vo. London, 1829.
2. *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion in Great Britain.* 8vo. London, 1829.
3. *The Last Days; or, Discourses on These Our Times, &c. &c.* By the Rev. Edward Irving. 8vo. London, 1829. 29
[bibliographic citations omitted] 38 → 69

3.12 reason? 29
reason; 40 → 69

3.13 *To-day,* 29
Today, 47 → 69

3.14 Then calmly 29
Calmly 40 → 69

3.15 And fear not thou, 29
Need'st not fear 40 → 69

3.15 brings! 29
brings. 40 → 69

3.17 ¶But 29
But 47 → 69

3.18 'the ignorant 29
the 'ignorant 40 → 69

3.20 splendour—but 29
splendor, but 38
splendour, but 40 → 69

3.23 other—so 29
other; so 38 → 69

3.24 even a Saul 29
even Saul 38 → 69

4.4 obdurate, 29
obdurate 40 → 69

4.5 cast, 29
cast 38 → 69

4.9 circumstances, 29
circumstances 38

4.10 Revolution! a whole people drunk with blood and arrogance—and then with terror and cruelty—and with desperation, and blood again! 29
Revolution! a whole people drunk with blood and arrogance, and then with terror and cruelty, and with desperation, and blood again! 38
Revolution, in these late times! 40 → 69

4.12 New England 29
New-England 57 → 69

4.15 contritely—and 29
contritely, and 38 → 69

4.17 ¶And Old England 29
¶Old England too 40 → 69

4.19 Oates, 29
Oates 47 → 69

4.19 lives, 29
lives; 40 → 69

[1] 1838 adds "[Edinburgh Review, 1829.]" under the title; 1840 and all subsequent editions change this to "[1829.]". 1840 and subsequent editions add the footnote: "Edinburgh Review, No. 98." 1847 and following change this citation to small caps.

4.21 recurrence—and 29
recurrence; and 38 → 69

4.23 fogs—go 29
fogs,—go 38 → 69

4.29 church, 29
Church, 40 → 69

4.30 aware, 29
aware 47 → 69

4.33 immovable—deep 29
immovable; deep 38 → 69

4.34 and, lo! 29
and lo, 40 → 69

4.35 island—often 29
island; often 38 → 69

4.36 Intolerance 29
intolerance 38

4.36 be, 29
be 38 → 69

4.38 cheer—as 29
cheer; as 38 → 69

5.2 world—no 29
world; no 38
world: no 40 → 69

5.4 gone, and sunk 29
gone; sunk 40 → 69

5.5 them, 29
them 69

5.10 king 29
King 40 → 69

5.10 church 29
Church 40 → 69

5.12 At 29
¶At 69

5.14 Millennarians 29
Millenarians 38 → 40

5.16 announce 29
announces 38 → 69

5.17 assure 29
assures 47 → 69

5.18 us, 29
us 69

5.18 greatest happiness 29
greatest-happiness 47 → 69

5.22 soon 29
the sooner 40 → 69

5.23 time—as 29
time; as 38 → 69

5.24 day 29
Day 40 → 69

5.25 Eternities! and 29
Eternities; it 40 → 69

5.27 and, 29
and 38 → 69

5.28 us then, 29
us, 40 → 69

5.31 characters, 29
characters 47 → 69

5.31 tendencies, 29
tendencies 47 → 69

5.35 characterise 29
characterize 38 → 40

6.1 teaches, 29
teaches 40 → 69

6.4 cunning, 29
cunning 40 → 69

6.8 oar, 29
oar; 40 → 69

6.14 steam—the 29
steam; the 38 → 69

6.18 nature; 29
Nature; 40 → 69

6.21 lodged, 29
lodged 57 → 69

6.22 accommodated, 29
accommodated 69

6.24 social system; 29
Social System; 40 → 69

6.27 Economists—and 29
Economists, and 38 → 69

6.29 But 29
¶But 69

6.32 Here, too, 29
Here too 40 → 69

6.33 old, 29
old 69

6.33 Every thing 29
Everything 38 → 69

6.34 pre-established 29
preëstablished 38, 57 → 69

6.36 machines—Monitors, 29
machines; Monitors, 38
machines; monitors, 40 → 69

6.36 maps, 29
maps 47 → 69

7.1 straight-/forward 29
straight-forward 40
straightforward 47 → 69

7.4 varieties—the 29
varieties; the 38 → 69

7.4 Bible Society, 29
Bible-Society, 47 → 69

7.5 enquiry, 29
inquiry, 38 → 69

7.5 contrivance, 29
contrivance; 40 → 69

7.6 monies, 29
moneys, 38, 47 → 69

7.6 intrigue, 29
intrigue 47 → 69

7.6 chicane—and yet, in effect, a very excellent machine 29
chicane; and yet, in effect, a very excellent machine 38
chicane; a machine 40 → 69

7.7 heathen. 29
Heathen. 40 → 69

7.9 do, 29
do; 40 → 69

7.9 once, 29
once 47 → 69

7.12 helpless—a 29
helpless; a 38 → 69

7.13 Then 29
Mark too how 40
Mark, too, how 47 → 69

7.14 society: 29
society; 47 → 69

7.14 Every 29
every 40 → 69

7.15 must each have 29
must have 40 → 69

7.16 periodical, 29
Periodical, 40 → 69

7.16 magazine—hanging 29
magazine,—hanging 38
Magazine;—hanging 40 → 69

7.19 single-handed, 29
single-handed 69

7.26 digesters, 29
digesters 47 → 69

7.26 piles, 29
piles 38 → 69

7.27 shows 29
shews 47

7.29 strengthened 29
strengthened, as 40 → 69

7.30 of a Public 29
of Public 47 → 57

7.31 Trade dinners, 29
Trade-dinners, 47 → 69

7.33 National 29
¶National 69

7.35 Descartes: 29
Descartes; 40 → 69

7.36 flattery: But any 29
flattery: any 40 → 69

8.1* Glypcothèques, Sechnothèques, 29
Glyptothèques, Technothèques, 33Y → 69

8.1 cities, 29
cities; 40 → 69

8.3 hive 29
hive, 40

8.4 half a million's 29
half-a-million's 57 → 69

8.5 Ireland, 29
Ireland 69

8.6 farther—having 29

farther; having 38 → 57
farther, having 69

8.7 Purgatory Society!' 29
Purgatory-Society!' 47 → 57
Purgatory-Society'! 69

8.8 emergencies; and, 29
emergencies, and 69

8.8 back, 29
back 69

8.11 regulates, 29
regulates 38 → 69

8.15 constitutions—for 29
constitutions,—for 38 → 69

8.18 tendency, we think, very distinctly, in 29
tendency in 40 → 69

8.19 favours, 29
favours 47 → 69

8.26 nations, 29
nations 69

8.28 desert this school of Metaphysics; 29
desert Metaphysics; 40 → 69

8.29 it, 29
their school, 40 → 69

8.30 Descartes, 29
Descartes 47 → 69

8.30 Fenelon, 29
Fénelon, 69

8.33 languished, 29
languished 47 → 69

8.37 physiological, and, in 29
physiological; in 40 → 69

8.37 shapes, 29
shapes 47 → 69

9.1 Excellence, 29
Excellence 47 → 69

9.1 departments, 29
departments 47 → 69

9.2 genius, 29
genius 69

9.3 Lagrange, or Laplace, 29
Lagrange or Laplace 47 → 69

9.4 its 29
their 40 → 69

9.5 mill, 29
mill; 40 → 69

9.7 part, 29
part 47 → 69

9.8 Mathematics certainly than 29
Mathematics than 40 → 69

9.9 *Méchanique* 29
Mécanique 69

9.10 geometrises!' 29
geometrizes!' 38 → 40

9.12 ¶From Locke's time downwards, 29
¶Nay, 40 → 69

9.12 Metaphysics 29
Metphysics 40

9.12 have 29
itself, from Locke's time downwards, has 40 → 69

9.13 Philosophy, 29
philosophy, 40 → 69

9.14 work, (for the 29
work (an estimation grounded, indeed, on the estimable 40 → 69

9.15 man entitled all he said to veneration,) 29
man), 40
man) 47 → 69

9.17 is a 29
is not a philosophy of the mind: it is a 40 → 69

9.19 But the 29
The 40 → 69

9.20 mind's 29
Mind's 40 → 69

9.21 matter, 29
Matter, 40 → 69

9.22 universe, 29
Universe, 40 → 69

9.22 their 29
these 38 → 69

9.22 enquiries; 29
inquiries; 38 → 69

9.29 conclusions—they 29
conclusions;—they 38 → 69

9.32 either—any 29
either,—any 38 → 69

9.34 vibratiuncles 29
vibratiuncles, 4 → 69

9.34 think 29
think, 40 → 69

9.35 continental 29
Continental 40 → 69

9.37 Dr 29
Dr. 38 → 69

9.37 Cahanis, 29
Cabanis, 38 → 69

10.1 developements. 29
developments. 38 → 69

10.1 The 29
¶The 69

10.1 enquirer 29
inquirer 38 → 69

10.4 Leuwenhoeck 29
Leuwenhoek 38 → 69

10.4 microscopes 29
microscopes, 40 → 69

10.7 intestines!' 29
intestines'! 69

10.9 unwondering—like 29
unwondering; like 38 → 69

10.10 cascades, 29
cascades 47 → 69

10.11 in—but 29
in,—but 38 → 69

10.11 pasteboard, 29
pasteboard 47 → 69

10.13 realization 29
realisation 47 → 69

10.15 wood and leather 29
wood-and-leather 40 → 69

10.16 Vaucasson 29
Vaucanson 38 → 69

10.19 knowledge; the 29
knowledge—the 38
knowledge the 40 → 69

10.20 principles—the 29
principles; the 38 → 69

10.20 inward 29
inward, 47 → 69

10.21 result—sufficiently 29
result,—sufficiently
40 → 69

10.23 enquiry. 29
inquiry. 38 → 69

10.24 that 29
that, 38
That, 40 → 69

10.29 age; 29
age, 47 → 69

10.30 age, 29
age 38 → 69

10.32 faith, 29
faith 47 → 69

10.32 Mechanism, 29
Mechanism 57 → 69

10.33 does, 29
does 69

10.34 nature, 29
nature 69

10.35 it, 29
it 38 → 69

11.2 us, 29
us 69

11.5 cognisance. 29
cognizance. 38 → 40

11.8 civilized 29
civilised 47 → 69

11.9 nations—a 29
nations,—a 38 → 69

11.9 is, 29
is: 40 → 69

11.10 legislation—a 29
legislation,—a 38
legislation, a 40 → 69

11.11 executive—a 29
executive,—a 38
executive, a 40 → 69

11.16 this—that 29
this,—that 38 → 69

11.17 nay 29
nay, 38 → 69

11.27 tended: 29
tended; 47
tendered; 57 → 69

11.28 But 29
but 40 → 69

11.30 shown 29
shewn 47

11.35 parish constable. 29
parish-constable. 47 → 69

11.36 machine; 29
machine, 69

11.37 re-constructing 29
reconstructing 47 → 69

12.1 freedom 29
Freedom 40 → 57
Freedom, 69

12.8 code—more 29
code,—more 38
code;—more 40 → 69

12.9 first. ¶To 29
first. ¶[extra leading between paragraphs] ¶To 69

12.10 hope, 29
hope 47 → 69

12.14 be, 29
be 47 → 69

12.14 ecclesiastical, 29
ecclesiastical 47 → 69

12.23 developements 29
developments 38 → 69

12.26 Poets, 29
Poets 47 → 69

12.28 increase, 29
increase 47 → 69

12.32 counting up 29
counting-up 69

12.38 man, 29
man 47 → 69

13.9 Watts— 29
Watts; 38 → 69

13.9 where-/ever, 29
wherever, 38 → 69

13.12 Was 29
Were 38 → 69

13.14 gift—often 29
gift; often 38 → 69

13.22 or the unbelieving 29
or unbelieving 40 → 69

13.15 institutions 29
institutions, 38 → 69

13.15 establishments, 29
establishments 69

13.31 as 29
(as 40 → 69

13.31 star 29
star) 40 → 69

13.33 accomplished, 29
accomplished 47 → 69

13.33 Nay, 29
¶Nay, 69

13.34 say 29
say, 38 → 69

13.36 find, 29
find 69

14.3 boundless, 29
boundless 47 → 69

14.6 Freemasons' 29
Freemason's 38 → 40

14.10 ages, 29
ages 57 → 69

14.11 mystic, 29
mystic 47 → 69

14.11 aim: 29
aim; 38 → 69

14.13 Revolution, too, 29
Revolution too 40 → 69

14.14* battle, even in 29
battle, in 38 → 69

14.14* those days, 29
those old days, 40 → 69

14.14 Purse sake, 29
Purse-sake, 47 → 69

14.14 Conscience sake. 29
Conscience-sake. 47 → 69

14.15 days, 29
days 47 → 69

14.16 Here, too, 29
Here too 40 → 69

14.21 nature 29
Nature 40 → 69

14.23 up 29
up, 40 → 69

14.24 into our mill-ponds, 29
into mill-ponds, 40 → 69

14.24 bottle up 29
bottle-up 69

14.24 be sold 29
be be sold 38

14.25 in our gas-jars; 29
in gas-jars; 40 → 69

14.31 interest?' 29
interest'? 69

14.31 that 29
that, 38 → 69

14.33 been, 29
been 57 → 69

14.35 people 29
People 40 → 69

15.1 ask,—what 29
ask: What 40 → 69

15.3 heroism, 29
heroism 69

15.5 Inquisition, 29
Inquisition 47 → 69

15.6 Dutch, too, 29
Dutch too 40 → 69

15.8 Witt, 29
Witt 47 → 69

15.8 appear 29
appears 38 → 69

15.8 ourselves, also, 29
ourselves also, 40 → 69

15.9 cause, 29
cause 40 → 69

15.10 Commons' 29
Commons 47 → 69

15.23 Religion, 29
Religion 47 → 69

15.24 extinct—or 29
extinct, or 38 → 69

15.25 perfected, 29
perfected 47 → 69

15.26 henceforth 29
henceforth, 40 → 57

15.31 these 29
those 69

15.32 co-ordination 29
coordination 47
coördination 57 → 69

15.34 and 29
and, 38 → 69

15.38 long run, 29
long-run, 47 → 69

16.3 pass that, 29
pass, that 47 → 69

16.3 things, 29
things 47 → 69

16.5 civilized 29
civilised 47 → 69

16.5 ages. ¶In 29
ages. ¶[extra leading between paragraphs] ¶In 69

16.7 deep into men's 29
down into man's 40 → 69

16.8 stems—fruit-bearing 29
stems,—fruit-bearing 38 → 69

16.11 words, 29
words: 40 → 69

16.17 and, we think, 29
and we think 40 → 69

16.18 than a metaphorical 29
than metaphorical 40 → 69

16.20 mechanical 29
Mechanical 40 → 69

16.29 enquire, 29
inquire, 38 → 69

16.30 goes? 29
goes. 38 → 69

16.31 or 29
nor 38 → 69

16.31 any thing, 29
anything, 38 → 69

16.33 Hume, 29
Hume 47 → 69

16.35 Wickliffe, 29
Wickliffe 47 → 69

17.3 in; 29
in 47 → 69

17.6 Luther to lead it, 29
Luther, 40
Luther; 47 → 69

17.6 it! 29
it; 40 → 69

17.11 every thing; 29
everything; 38 → 69

17.15 absurdity! 29
enough! 33

17.18 men, 29
men 47 → 69

17.23 reflexion, 29
reflection, 38 → 69

17.29 decline, 29
decline 47 → 69

17.29 fall—which 29
fall,—which 38 → 69

17.33 'Association,' 29
'Association' 47 → 69

17.33 any thing? 29
anything? 38 → 69

17.34 History, 29
History 47 → 69

17.35 Strangely, too, 29
Strangely too 47 → 69

18.5 enquiry. 29
inquiry. 38 → 69

18.8 Religion, 29
Religion 38 → 69

18.9 be—a 29
be,—a 38 → 69

18.14 Religion, too, 29
Religion too 40 → 69

18.15 Profit; 29
Profit, 47 → 69

18.16 many, 29
many 69

18.17 But 29
but 40 → 69

18.20 ¶Literature, too, 29
¶Literature too, 40 → 69

18.22 is—in 29
is,—in 38 → 69

18.23 For, 29
for, 40 → 69

18.29 ways, 29
ways 47 → 69

18.30 said, 29
said 47 → 69

18.30 disposition, 29
disposition 47 → 69

18.38 a 29
A 40 → 69

19.2 of all Beauty, 29
of Beauty, 40 → 69

19.4 Molech! 29
Moloch! 40 → 69

19.7 create, 29
create 47 → 69

19.7 nature; 29
Nature; 38 → 69

19.10 judge, 29
judge 69

19.16 but that he, too, 29
that he too, 40 → 69

19.17 syren 29
siren 69

19.20 we, too, 29
we too 40 → 69

19.31 Martyrs, 29
Martyrs 47 → 69

19.36 probability!' 29
probability'! 69

19.37 it—if 29
it,—if 38 → 69

19.37 back! 29
back; 40 → 69

19.38 In 29
¶In 69

20.1 Honour; 29
Honor: 38
Honour: 40 → 57
'Honour:' 69

20.3 or, 29
or 40

20.8 Opinion!' 29
Opinion'! 69

20.9 realize 29
realise 47 → 69

20.12 civil Liberty 29
civil liberty 38 → 69

20.12 moral Liberty 29
moral liberty 40 → 69

20.14 soul, 29
soul 47 → 69

20.15 Laws 29
laws 38

20.16 market-/place, 29
market place, 38
marketplace, 40 → 69

20.35 fact that, 29
fact, that 47 → 69

20.36 has 29
have 38 → 69

20.38 discontent, 29
discontent 47 → 69

20.38 education, 29
education 47 → 69

21.1 humblest—are 29
humblest,—are 38
humblest; are 40 → 69

21.2 for, 29
for 40 → 69

21.2 resting, 29
resisting, 38 → 69

21.3 Nay, 29
¶Nay, 69

21.5 paralysed 29
paralyzed 38 → 40

21.6 nature, 29
Nature, 40 → 69

21.8 soul, 29
soul 47 → 69

21.8 'He 29
'He, 38 → 69

21.12 us, 29
us; 40 → 69

21.13 perish—yet 29
perish,—yet 38 → 69

21.16 temples, 29
temples 38 → 40

21.19 shows 29
shews 47

21.22 fancy—they 29
fancy; they 38 → 69

21.23 see, 29
see 69

21.28 ¶Meanwhile 29
¶Meanwhile, 38 → 69

21.28 progress 29
progress, 57

21.31 Whenever 29
Wherever 40 → 69

21.31 gather any indication 29
gather indication 47 → 69

21.33 Italy, 29
Italy 47 → 69

21.35 boundless, 29
boundless 57 → 69

22.1 masses 29
masses, 38 → 69

22.3 country; 29
country: 38 → 69

22.3 nay, 29
nay 57 → 69

22.4 anywhere 29
any where 38 → 40

22.6 by 29
from 47 → 57

22.8 endeavours 29
endeavors, 38
endeavours, 40

22.11 space, 29
Space, 40 → 69

22.12 time, 29
Time, 40 → 69

22.13 Astronomy 29
astronomy 38 → 69

22.14 But 29
but 40 → 69

22.17 know 29
know, 47 → 69

22.17 is 29
in 40

"Characteristics" [31, 39, 40, 47, 57, 69]

23.0 *Characteristics.* 31
CHARACTERISTICS. 39 → 69[2]

23.1 *An Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man.* 31
An Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man. 39 → 57

23.1 Thomas Hope. 31
Thomas Hope. 39 → 69

23.2 London: 31
London, 39 → 69

23.5 1829. 31
1829 47 → 69

23.7 1829.)
1829). 47 → 69

23.7 Friedrich von Schlegel. 31
Friedrich von Schlegel. 39 → 69

23.8 Vienna: 31
Vienna, 57

23.23 Dr 31
Dr. 39 → 69

23.23 Kitchener 31
Kitchiner 40 → 69

24.1 'for 31
"for 40 → 69

24.1 system.' 31
system." 40 → 69

24.1 agreement, 31
agreement 40 → 69

24.7 Thus, 31
Thus 40 → 69

24.11 system:' 31
system;' 47 → 69

24.12 aerial 31
aërial 39 → 69

24.12 elasticity, 31
elasticity 40 → 69

24.15 hurled, 31
hurled 40 → 69

24.34 paradisiac 31
paradisaic 47 → 69

25.1 Nevertheless 31
Nevertheless, 40 → 69

25.3 For indeed 31
For, indeed, 69

25.4 every where 31
everywhere 39 → 69

25.7 intrust 31
entrust 40 → 57

25.9 nay, 31
nay 40 → 69

[2] 1839 adds "[Edinburgh Review, 1831.]" under the title; 1840 and all subsequent editions change this to "[1831.]". 1839 and subsequent editions shift the bibliographic information from the heading to a footnote. 1840 and following insert "Edinburgh Review, No. 108.—" at the beginning of the footnote.

25.11	vital,	31		27.9	faithfullest	31	
	vital;	40 → 69			faithfulest	69	
25.18	For ever	31		27.12	somersetted,	31	
	Forever	40 → 69			somersetted	47 → 69	
25.27	Life,	31		27.17	dilemmas,	31	
	Life	47 → 69			dilemmas	47 → 69	
25.29	sun, disclose	31		27.22*	roots,	31	
	sun, shall disclose	47 → 69			**tools,**	33Y → 69	
26.5	us;	31		27.24	every where	31	
	us:	39 → 69			**everywhere**	39 → 69	
26.12	Thus,	31		27.30	all forms	31	
	Thus	39 → 69			all the forms	57 → 69	
26.12	Debater	31		27.31	Truth,	31	
	Debator	39			truth,	40 → 69	
26.16	¶But,	31		27.33	spontaniety,	31	
	¶But	39 → 69			**spontaneity,**	39 → 69	
26.18	any thing	31		27.37	‘Whenever	31	
	anything	39 → 69			**“Whenever**	40 → 69	
26.26	skilfullest	31		27.38	out.’	31	
	skilfulest	69			**out.”**	40 → 69	
26.27	Anatomist	31		28.6	doeth:’	31	
	anatomist	40 → 69			doeth;’	40	
26.27	or	31		28.6	action; for	31	
	Or	40 → 69			action!—for	69	
26.27	Boxer	31		28.8	in well-doing;	31	
	boxer	40 → 69			in welldoing;	40 → 69	
26.28	flexor longus	31		28.8	whom well-/doing	31	
	flexor longus	40 → 69			whom welldoing	47 → 69	
26.28	flexor brevis?	31		28.11	cure: an	31	
	flexor brevis?	40 → 69			cure. An	40 → 69	
26.28	But,	31		28.13	vain glory:	31	
	But	47 → 69			vain-glory:	40 → 69	
26.32	prove,	31		28.13	it	31	
	prove	47 → 69			there	47 → 69	
26.32	Logic,	31		28.16	Man’s Life,	31	
	logic,	40 → 69			man’s life,	40 → 69	
26.34	familiar:	31		28.16	moral	31	
	familiar;	39			**Moral**	40 → 69	
26.38	business people	31		28.18	free	31	
	business-people	47 → 69			free,	39 → 69	
27.1	Theorizer	31		28.21	‘To	31	
	Theoriser	47 → 69			**To**	40 → 69	

28.22 conscience 31
conscience, 57 → 69

28.23 conscience.' 31
conscience. 40 → 69

28.28 ineffectual, 31
***ine*ffectual,** 40 → 69

28.34 suspicious; 31
suspect; 40 → 69

28.37 philosophized 31
philosophised 47 → 69

28.38 sickly, 31
sickly 47 → 69

29.2 shriveled 31
shrivelled 40 → 69

29.5 must appeal 31
must now appeal 47 → 69

29.10 heaven-inspired 31
heaven-inspired, 39 → 69

29.15 ¶So, 31
¶So 47 → 69

29.15 wellnigh 31
well-/nigh 39 47 69
well-nigh 57

29.18 devotedness, 31
devotedness 47 → 69

29.18 magnanimity, are 31
magnanimity are 39 → 40
magnanimity,—are
47 → 69

29.19 every where 31
everywhere 39 → 69

29.22 Limbs 31
limbs 40 → 69

29.22 walking 31
Walking 39

29.23 Motion? 31
motion? 40 → 69

29.28 touched: 31
touched; 69

30.6 Spiritual, 31
spiritual, 40 → 69

30.7 Animal 31
animal 40 → 69

30.7 every where 31
everywhere 39 → 69

30.9 sick.' ¶To 31
sick.' [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶To
40 → 69

30.17 for ever 31
forever 57 → 69

30.17 stunted, 31
stunted 47 → 69

30.35 blaze up 31
blaze-up 69

30.37 Light 31
light 40 → 69

30.37 Heat 31
heat 40 → 69

31.3 Polities 31
Politics 39

31.8 *Scheik*, 31
Sheik, 47 → 69

31.8 red 31
Red 57 → 69

31.10 Meditation 31
meditation 39 → 69

31.13 shared in 31
shared-in 57 → 69

31.26 Society 31
society 39

31.26 Life 31
life 40 → 69

31.33 dissolution, 31
dissolution 47 → 69

31.34 new-birth; 31
new birth; 69

31.36 co-operating 31
coöperating 38, 57 → 69
cooperating 47

32.3 Meanwhile 31
Meanwhile, 47 → 69

32.12 phrase 31
phrase, 47 → 69

32.12 Society,' 31
society,' 39 → 69

32.15 Artificial 31
artificial 40 → 69

32.16 Natural 31
natural 40 → 69

32.16 Thus 31
Thus, 47 → 69

32.20 wellbeing 31
well-being 39

32.22 embodyment, 31
embodiment, 47 → 69

32.22 tentative, 31
tentative 47 → 69

32.23 specialities 31
specialties 40 → 69

32.23 politics, 31
politics 47 → 69

32.24 Montesquieu 31
Montesquieu, 40 → 69

32.24 entanglements 31
entanglements, 40 → 69

32.25 decipher) 31
decipher,) 47
decipher), 57 → 69

32.26 Idea, 31
idea, 39

32.27 Man 31
man 40 → 69

32.27 Men, 31
men, 40 → 69

32.27 Creed, 31
creed, 40 → 69

32.27 Institution, 31
institution, 40 → 69

32.28 Land, 31
land, 39 → 69

32.35 pristine, 31
pristine 40 → 69

32.35 all-transcendent 31
all-transcendant 57

32.37 Obedience 31
obedience 40 → 69

32.37 sovereign; 31
Sovereign; 40 → 69

33.3 king,' 31
king' 40 → 69

33.8 nature, 31
nature 40 → 69

33.11 Not, indeed, 31
Not indeed 40 → 69

33.15 Nay, 31
Nay 69

33.18 Republic, 31
Republic[,] 57
Republic 69

33.18 Monarchy, 31
Monarchy 69

33.19 If 31
¶If 69

33.23 scrutinize 31
scrutinise 47 → 69

33.23 perform, 31
perform! 69

33.29 every where 31
everywhere 39 → 69

33.30 it, 31
it; 40 → 69

33.31 Thought, 31
Thought 69

33.32 Voice 31
voice 40 → 69

33.32 thought, 31
thought 40 → 69

33.32 Speculation 31
Speculation, 47 → 69

33.33 perhaps, too, 31
perhaps too 40 → 69

33.34 Religion 31
¶Religion 69

33.34 every where; 31
everywhere; 39 → 69

33.35 peacefully 31
peaceably 69

33.37 thereby 31
thereby, 40 → 69

33.38 and of Action 31
and Action 47 → 69

34.2 wellbeing; 31
well-/being; 47
well-being; 57

34.12 every where, 31
everywhere, 39 → 69

34.13 disclosed: 31
disclosed; 57 → 69

34.17 Life; 31
life; 40 → 69

34.18 Life and Death: 31
life and death: 40 → 69

34.18 Creation; 31
creation; 40 → 69

34.19 Consciousness 31
Consciousness, 47 → 69

34.19 Manufacture. 31
manufacture. 40 → 69

34.20 Silence 31
silence 39

34.22 sense 31
sense, 69

34.25 transparent, 31
transparent 69

34.30 times, 31
Times, 40 → 69

34.31 for ever true 31
forever true 40 → 69

34.31 for ever all-important, 31
forever all-important, 40 → 69

34.33 ¶But, 31
¶But 47 → 69

34.35 government clerk 31
government-clerk 40 → 69

34.35 Quacks, 31
quacks, 40 → 69

34.37 Blockhead 31
blockhead 40 → 69

35.4 any thing 31
anything 39 → 69

35.7 'Paper 31
'paper 40 → 69

35.7 Constitutions', 31
Constitutions,' 38
constitutions,' 40 → 69

35.9 know, 31
know 47 → 69

35.11 house-/tops 31
house-tops 39 → 69

35.13 Observe, too, 31
Observe too, 40 → 69

35.18 Select Vestries 31
Select-Vestries 40 → 69

35.19 mankind, 31
mankind 47 → 69

35.20 creative 31
creative, 39

35.20 enduring, 31
enduring 40 → 69

35.21 barren 31
barren, 39

35.21 transient, 31
transient 40 → 69

35.21 otherwise. ¶If 31
otherwise. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶If 40 → 69

35.25 Society, 31
Society 39 → 69

35.26 days, 31
days 39 → 69

35.26 is 31
is, 40 → 69

35.26 states 31
states, 40 → 69

35.28 and 31
and, 47 → 69

35.28 were 31
were, 47 → 69

35.34 nevertheless 31
nevertheless, 47 → 69

36.1 marched 31
did march 47 → 69

36.10 wellnigh 31
well-nigh 47 → 69

36.14 often asseverated 31
often-asseverated 57 → 69

36.17 must 31
has to 69

36.24 which 31
which, 47

36.25 Time, 31
Time 39 → 69

36.26 fellow man 31
fellow-man 69

36.27 Doubt: 31
Doubt; 57 → 69

36.30 length, 31
length 47 → 69

36.31 Medicine, 31
***medicine*,** 40 → 69

36.34 Co-operative 31
Coöperative 38, 57 → 69
Cooperative 47

37.8 cannon balls, 31
cannon-balls, 40 → 69

37.9 *Vous* 31
"*Vous* 40 → 69

37.9 *trop!* 31
***trop!*"** 40 → 69

37.10 outward, or as 31
outward, as 40 → 69

37.15 Epicurus' 31
Epicurus's 47 → 69

37.18 Pomp and Strength; 31
pomp and strength; 40 → 69

37.19 dead men's 31
dead-men's 57 → 69

37.20 fire-/winged, 31
fire-winged, 39
firewinged, 40 → 69

37.22 all-conquering, 31
all-conquering 40 → 69

37.23 every where, 31
everywhere, 39 → 69

37.24 Yet 31
yet 40 → 69

37.25 inheritance, 31
inheritance; 40 → 69

37.26 Sad 31
¶Sad 69

37.26 upon, 31
upon: 33Y 40 → 69

37.26 civilisation, 31
civilization, 39 → 40

37.27 nine-tenths 31
nine tenths 69

37.27 must 31
have to 69

37.31 rule 31
rule, 39 → 69

37.35 every where. 31
everywhere. 39 → 69

37.36 envelope 31
envelop 47 → 69

37.37 fantasms 31
phantasms 39 → 69

37.37 brain: in 31
brain. In 40 → 69

38.12 For, 31
For 47 → 69

38.22 collision, 31
collision 47 → 69

38.23 every thing 31
everything 39 → 69

38.26 whither 31
Whither 40 → 69

38.28 must 31
have grown to 69

38.28 world:' 31
world;' 39 → 69

38.31 Religion, 31
religion, 40 → 69

38.38 preached; 31
preached: 40 → 69

39.1 Faith, 31
faith, 40 → 69

39.2 shows 31
shews 40 → 47

39.5 ages, 31
ages 39 → 69

39.7	Literature	31
	Literature,	40 → 47
39.8	However,	31
	however,	40 → 69
39.9	shows	31
	shews	40 → 47
39.12	Hatred,	31
	Hatred	47 → 69
39.14	deed,	31
	deed	47 → 69
39.20	wellnigh	31
	well-nigh	47 → 69
39.24	modern	31
	Modern	39 → 69
39.26	heart-love	31
	heartlove	57 → 69
39.35	credit,	31
	credit;	40 → 69
39.35	Come	31
	Come,	69
39.36	draws	31
	plucks	69
40.1	must timorously	31
	tremulously	69
40.5	give up	31
	give-up	69
40.6	hands,	31
	hands	39
40.11	got—It	31
	got, It	40 → 69
40.12	good; it	31
	good, It	40 → 69
40.16	that,	31
	that	39 → 69
40.17	Leipsic	31
	Leipzig	40 → 69
40.18	'all	31
	all	40 → 69
40.19	and	31
	and,	69
40.20	nothing.'	31
	nothing.	40 → 69
40.26	Picture	31
	picture	40 → 69
40.27	Symbol	31
	symbol	40 → 69
40.28	had	31
	would have	47 → 69
40.32	assurances	31
	assurances,	39 → 69
41.5	tendencies;	31
	tendencies:	57 → 69
41.8	for ever	31
	forever	40 → 69
41.8	Nay properly	31
	Nay, properly,	39
41.9	indispensable,	31
	indispensable	40 → 69
41.10	canvass	31
	canvas	57 → 69
41.13	oldest	31
	eldest	40 → 69
41.14	Mr	31
	Mr.	39 → 69
41.17	for ever	31
	forever	40 → 69
41.20	out,	31
	out	69
41.22	Sceptical	31
	Skeptical	39
41.25	Denial.	31
	denial.	40 → 69
41.26	class:	31
	class;	40 → 69
41.27	Pyrrhonism	31
	Pyrrhonism,	40 → 69
41.29	Doubt,	31
	doubt,	40 → 69
41.29	Action,	31
	action,	39 → 69
41.30	indeed,	31
	indeed	39 → 69
42.1	every where	31
	everywhere	39 → 69

42.2 'where 31
"where 40 → 57

42.3 shadow?' 31
shadow?" 40 → 57

42.4 environ, 31
environ 69

42.7 Channel 31
Channel, 69

42.8 teeth:' 31
teeth;' 47 → 69

42.9 sceptical 31
skeptical 39

42.12 sceptical 31
skeptical 39

42.14 fantasms, 31
phantasms, 69

42.18 every thing 31
everything 39 → 69

42.18 above, in 31
above, and in 47 → 69

42.24 air-canvass 31
air-canvas 57 → 69

42.28 sceptical 31
skeptical 39

42.30 man, 31
man 47 → 69

42.30 days, 31
days 47 → 69

42.35 merely, 31
merely; 40 → 69

42.35 Contradiction, Error, 31
contradiction, error, 40 → 69

42.36 indispensable, 31
indispensable 47 → 69

42.37 Labour 31
labour 40 → 69

42.38 Labour 31
labour 40 → 69

42.38 Effort, 31
effort, 40 → 69

42.38 Ease, 31
ease, 40 → 69

43.1 Happiness: 31
happiness; 40 → 69

43.1 Labour 31
labour 40 → 69

43.2 Ease, no Rest, 31
ease, no rest, 40 → 69

43.5 order, 31
order 47 → 69

43.8 civilized 31
civilised 40 → 69

43.14 knew 31
know 47

43.21 wheels, 31
wheels 39

43.24 wellnigh 31
well-nigh 47 → 69

43.25 Universe, 31
Universe 69

43.26 himself: 31
himself, 40 → 69

43.26 man; what 31
man, What 40 → 69

43.29 Stepmother, 31
Step-/mother, 57
Step-mother, 69

43.30 gainsayed. 31
gainsaid. 69

43.35 Wisdom 31
Wisdom, 47 → 69

44.10 Godhood, 31
Godhead, 39 → 69

44.13 paralysed; 31
paralyzed; 39 → 40

44.16 storms in 31
storms-in 57 → 69

44.17 painfullest 31
painfulest 69

44.18 sceptical, 31
skeptical, 39

44.20 principal 31
principle 40 → 69

44.22 Place-hunter 31

Place-/hunter 40
Placehunter 47 → 69

44.22 fill up 31
fill-up 69

44.27 best fancy-bazaar, 31
best a fancy-bazaar, 47 → 69

44.33 realize 31
realise 47 → 69

44.37 Hard, 31
¶Hard, 69

45.2 realise 31
realize 39 → 40

45.7 earth-born 31
earthborn 38, 47 → 69
earth-/born 40

45.12 stupified 31
stupefied 57 → 69

45.32 every where 31
everywhere 39 → 69

45.33 Organization, 31
Organisation, 47 → 69

45.35 cast out 31
cast-out 69

45.38 *Hesperus. Vorrede.* 31
Hesperus. Vorrede. 47 → 57
Hesperus (Vorrede). 69

46.6 Babylonish 31
Babel-like 69

46.7 Voices; 31
voices; 39

46.9 *Lectures*, 31
Lectures 69

46.9 Mr 31
Mr. 39 → 69

46.9 *Essay*, 31
Essay 69

46.22 for ever. 31
forever. 47 → 69

46.23 Philosophies 31
Philosophers 47 → 57

46.23 Dogmatic, 31
Dogmatic 57 → 69

46.31 contrasts 31
contrasts, 47 → 69

46.34 showings, 31
shewings, 47

47.1 rayed in 31
rayed-in 57 → 69

47.2 purport; 31
purport: 57 → 69

47.3 success, 31
success 47 → 69

47.6 dexterous, 31
dextrous, 47 → 69

47.6 promptly-ministering 31
promptly ministering 69

47.9 confused, 31
confused 47 → 69

47.9 dotish 31
doatish 69

47.10 maunders 31
maunders, 40 → 69

47.10 longwinded, 31
long-winded, 47 → 69

47.13 ‘But 31
“But 40 → 69

47.13 gas?’ 31
gas?” 40 → 69

47.17 ‘that 31
that 40 → 69

47.18 Calculative, 31
calculative, 40 → 69

47.19 Meditative, 31
meditative, 40 → 69

47.19 civilized 31
civilised 47 → 69

47.19 countries.’ 31
countries. 40 → 69

47.23 for ever 31
forever 47 → 69

47.26 regard; 31
regard: 39

47.27 Schlegel, himself 31
Schlegel himself, 40 → 69

48.3 'Aber—,' 31
'Aber—,' 40 → 69

48.4 'But—!' 31
'But—'! 69

48.7 Mr 31
Mr. 39 → 69

48.16 but 31
but, 39

48.18 whims, 31
whims 47 → 69

48.30 forgotten. ¶For 31
forgotten. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶For 40 → 69

49.2 Nay, 31
Nay 47 → 69

49.2 east: 31
east; 57 → 69

49.4 Developements 31
Developments 39
developments 40 → 69

49.11 every where 31
everywhere 39 → 69

49.13 been, 31
been 47 → 69

49.13 for ever 31
forever 47 → 69

49.18 Government, 31
Government 47 → 69

49.21 Deep: 31
deep: 40 → 69

49.23 frightfullest 31
frightfulest 69

49.27 World 31
world 47 → 69

49.28 latest-discovered, 31
latest discovered 47 → 69

49.32 species We 31
Species we 40 → 69

50.6 engulfed 31
ingulfed 69

50.6 As, 31
As 47 → 69

50.11 realized 31
realised 47 → 69

50.19 that is 31
which is 40 → 69

50.19 that anew 31
which anew 40 → 69

50.22 lot, 31
lot 47 → 69

50.22 To-day 31
Today 47 → 69

50.25 needful: 31
needful; 69

50.28 administer; 31
adminster; 47

50.35 frightfullest 31
frightfulest 69

51.1 cooped up 31
cooped-up 69

51.5 artifice: 31
artifice; 57 → 69

51.6 ones, 31
ones 47 → 69

51.6 Scepticism 31
Skepticism 39

51.8 fruit, too, 31
fruit too 47 → 69

51.12 Scepticism 31
Skepticism 39

51.14 Life, 31
life, 40 → 69

51.14 thin, 31
thin 47 → 69

51.16 Sanctuaries, 31
sanctuaries, 40 → 69

51.22 modern 31
Modern 57 → 69

51.29 sceptico-metaphysical 31
skeptico-metaphysical 39

51.30 were 31
was 40 → 69

51.30 Thought,—we 31
Thought, we 39 → 69

51.38 reason: yet 31
reason. Yet 40 → 69

52.2 Cousinlism, 31
Cousinism, 39 → 69

52.3 that 31
That 40 → 69

52.17 mechanizing 31
mechanising 47 → 69

52.24 sans-cullotic, 31
sans-culottic, 39
sansculottic, 40 → 69

52.25 Paper 31
paper 40 → 69

53.29 every where 31
everywhere 39 → 69

52.32 hands, 31
hands 57 → 69

52.36 but Polity 31
but of Polity 57

52.37 whisper audibly: 31
audibly whisper to himself: 47 → 69

52.38 'Go 31
"Go 40 → 69

52.38 Religion.' 31
religion.' 39
religion.**"** 40 → 69

53.7 'Man 31
Man 40 → 69

53.7 Man.' 31
Man. 40 → 69

53.8 length 31
length, 69

53.19 Soldiers, 31
Soldiers; 69

53.24 Eternity shine 31
Eternity there shine 47 → 69

"Death of Edward Irving" [35, 39, 40, 47, 57, 69]

55.0 *Death of the Rev. Edward Irving.* 35
DEATH OF THE REV. EDWARD IRVING. 39
DEATH OF EDWARD IRVING. 40 → 69[3]

55.4 natures—a 35
natures; a 40 → 69

55.8 neglect!—these 35
neglect! These 40 → 69

55.9 thunder,' with 35
thunder,'—with 40 → 69

55.10 (that 35
that 40 → 69

55.10 ages), 35
ages, 40 → 69

55.11 (that belonged 35
that belong 40 → 69

55.12 gibber), has 35
gibber,—has 40 → 69

55.15 beaten on 35
beaten-on 57 → 69

55.16 must 35
has had to 69

55.16 nightfal, 35
nightfall, 39 → 69

55.21 for ever. 35
forever. 40 → 69

55.22 man (as 35
man, as 40 → 69

55.22 not?) with 35
not,—with 40 → 69

56.1 Past.—Think (if thou be one 35
Past. Think, for perhaps thou art one 40 → 69

56.1 to do it) that 35
so to think, That 40 → 69

[3] 1839 adds "[Fraser's Magazine, 1835.]" under the title; 1840 and all subsequent editions add the footnote "Fraser's Magazine, No. 61."

56.2 genuine 35
gennine 69

56.4 Tragedy (and 35
Tragedy, and 40 → 69

56.5 now) 35
now, 40 → 69

56.13 head (when 35
head, when 40 → 69

56.13 it) 35
it, 40 → 69

56.17 Border (and 35
Border, and 40 → 69

56.17 sort) 35
sort than that, 40 → 69

56.18 courage dauntless, not pugnacious; 35
courage, dauntless not pugnacious, 40 → 69

56.19 ferocious: 35
ferocious; 40 → 69

56.24 Town-hall; 35
Townhall; 40 → 69

56.25 Knox—and, 35
Knox; and, 40 → 69

56.26 Sceptic 35
Skeptic 39

56.26 Hume,—and (as 35
Hume; and, as 40 → 69

56.26 consequence) 35
consequence, 40 → 69

56.26 Dundas. 35
Dundas! 40 → 69

56.28 ¶Grow nevertheless 35
¶Grow, nevertheless, 69

56.28 did (with 35
did, with 40 → 69

56.28 his); 35
his; 40 → 69

56.29 was 35
was, 40 → 69

56.30 (and distorted) 35
and distorted 40 → 69

56.31 not (in 35
not, in 40 → 69

56.31 November, 35
November 57 → 69

56.31 1822) a 35
1822, a 40
1822, **when he first arrived here, a** 47 → 69

56.34 product 35
Product 40 → 69

56.35 lights, 35
lights 40 → 69

56.37 ruin: 35
ruin; 57 → 69

56.38 Syren 35
Siren 69

57.15 fit; 35
fit, 40 → 69

57.23 her 35
her, 40 → 69

57.24 whithersoever, 35
withersoever, 47

57.28 ‘In 35
“In 40 → 69

57.28 death, 35
death 69

57.28* Lord’s.’ 35
Lord’s.” 40 → 69

57.28* Amen! ¶One 35
Amen! [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶One 69

57.29 ‘But 35
“But 40 → 69

57.32 ever (after trial enough) 35
ever, after trial enough, 40 → 69

57.34 ¶‘The 35
¶“The 40 → 69

57.35 character, 35
character 40 → 69

57.36 promise: 35
promise; 69

57.38 Wonderland 35

Wonder-/land 40 57
Wonder-land 47

58.6 Day!' 35
Day!" 40 → 69

"Petition on the Copy-Right Bill." [39, 39E, 40, 47, 57, 69]

59.0 THE CLAIMS OF AUTHORS TO AN EXTENSION OF THE COPYRIGHT BILL. 39E
PETITION ON THE COPY-RIGHT BILL. 39
PETITION ON THE COPYRIGHT BILL. 40 → 69[4]

59.2 Books. 39E
Books, 39 → 69

59.3 sheweth, 39E
showeth, 40 → 47

59.7 Mr 39E
Mr. 39 → 69

59.8 Book-buyer, 39E
Bookbuyer, 39 → 69

59.14 merited 39E
merited, 39 → 69

59.15 Government, 39E
Government 47 → 69

59.18 unsupportable, 39E
insupportable, 40 → 69

59.18 social confusions 39E
Social Confusions 39 → 69

59.20 deserve 39E
deserves 40 → 69

59.22 monies' 39E
money's 39 → 69

60.4 market-places, 39E
market places, 39

60.10 long run 39E
long-run 40 → 69

60.13 that, 39E
that 39 → 69

60.13 prove 39E
proves 47 → 69

60.19 the game's 39E
th[«»] game's 40

60.22 henceforth, 39E
henceforth 69

60.22 for ever. 39E
forever. 40 → 69

60.24 Copyright 39E
Copy-Right 39

60.27 at the shortest. 39E
at shortest. 40 → 69

"Chartism" [40L1, 40L2, 42, 57, 69]

61.0 Old Proverb. 40L1
Old Proverb. 57 → 69[5]

63.0 CHARTISM. [rule] 40L1[6]

63.1 A feeling 40L1
A feeling 69

63.4 waggons 40L1
wagons 57 → 69

64.3 to-morrow. 40L1
tomorrow. 57 → 69

64.34 such like, 40L1
suchlike, 69

65.24 West India 40L1
West-India 57 → 69

66.1 common-place 40L1
commonplace 57 → 69

[4] Carlyle's petition appeared as part of an article under this title; it does not have a separate title. 1839E adds "[The (London) Examiner, 1839E.]" under the title. In 1840 and following change this to "[1839E.]" and add the following footnote: "The Examiner, April 7, 1839E.]

[5] 1869 adds "[1839.]" beneath the epigraph.

[6] All editions have the title and a rule above the title of chapter 1; these are omitted in 1869.

66.6 common-/place, 40L1
commonplace, 57

66.28 wonderfullest 40L1
wonderfulest 69

68.1 A WITTY 40L1
A witty 69

68.1 said 40L1
said, 57 → 69

68.6 clinks!' 40L1
clinks'! 69

68.19 Meanwhile 40L1
Meanwhile, 69

68.20 feared, 40L1
feared 69

68.21 man, 40L1
man,' 57 → 69

69.2 probably, 40L1
probably 57

69.10 matter 40L1
matter, 57 → 69

69.14 'proof'? 40L1
'proof?' 57

69.24 you!' 40L1
you'! 69

69.25 working man 40L1
working-man 69

69.30 handbreadth 40L1
hand-/breadth 57
hand-breadth 69

69.38 An Essay on the Means of Insurance against the Casualties of &c. &c. 40L1
An Essay on the Means of Insurance against the Casualties of &c. &c. 69

72.6 said, 40L1
said. 57

73.13 is 40L1
is, 57 → 69

73.26 dinner, 40L1
dinner; 57 → 69

73.29 law?' 40L1
law'? 69

73.29 shew 40L1
show 57 → 69

74.9 orthodox laudable 40L1
orthodox and laudable 57 → 69

74.11 theory 40L1
theory, 57 → 69

74.34 No 40L1
'No 69

74.34 recompense, 40L1
recompense 57
recompense' 69

75.6 shew 40L1
show 57 → 69

76.3 just 40L1
'just 57 → 69

76.7 bottom 40L1
bottom, 69

78.6 Sanspotatoe 40L1
Sanspotato 69

78.6 super-/finest 40L1
superfinest 57 → 69

78.7 Sanspotatoe 40L1
Sanspotato 69

78.27 abyssmal 40L1
abysmal 69

78.36 Fantasm, 40L1
Phantasm, 57 → 69

79.22 Sanspotatoe, 40L1
Sanspotato, 69

79.32 dog-/hutch, 40L1
doghutch, 57 → 69

79.37 strength 40L1
strength, 69

80.15 repeal?' 40L1
repeal'? 69

80.15 "*You* 40L1
"*you* 69

80.25 brother-/men. 40L1
brother-men. 57 → 69

80.31 'Berserkir-rage' 40L1
'Berserkir rage' 57 → 69

80.33 Berserkir-rage! 40L1
Berserkir rage! 57 → 69

81.12 now 40L1
now, 69

81.25 a week; 40L1
a-week; 69

81.28 eye-sight. 40L1
eyesight. 40L2 → 69

82.1 infallibly 40L1
infallibly, 69

82.8 *Laissez-faire, laissez-passer!* 40L1
Laissez faire, laissez passer! 69

83.7 fatallest 40L1
fatalest 69

83.12 world-/wide 40L1
world-wide 57 → 69

83.13 bewilderment: 40L1
bewilderment; 57 → 69

83.18 prison-/house, 40L1
prison-house, 69

83.21 cotton-fuz, 40L1
cotton-fuzz, 69

84.4 brutallest 40L1
brutalest 69

84.15 universe 40L1
Universe 57 → 69

84.22 hatefullest 40L1
hatefulest 69

85.18 shew 40L1
show 57 → 69

85.21 them, 40L1
them 69

85.27 before. So 40L1
before. ¶So 69

85.38 who 40L1
who, 69

85.38 whole 40L1
whole, 69

86.1 co-operation 40L1
coöperation 57 → 69

86.18 been, 40L1
been 57 → 69

87.13 acme, 40L1
acme 69

87.25 might, is 40L1
might, and is 69

87.26 such like? 40L1
suchlike? 69

87.28 half-a-century 40L1
half a century 69

89.1 sorrowfullest 40L1
sorrowfulest 69

89.2 been, 40L1
been 57 → 69

89.3 dexterous 40L1
dextrous 57 → 69

89.23 universe 40L1
Universe 57 → 69

89.25 fire-consummation!' 40L1
fire-consummation'! 69

90.7 August, 40L1
August 57 → 69

90.8 authorizing 40L1
authorising 57 → 69

90.14 great!—What 40L1
great! ¶What 69

90.18 whipping!' 40L1
whipping?' 57 → 69

90.28 for ever 40L1
forever 57 → 69

91.2 shelter in 40L1
shelter-in 69

91.7 it! Alas, 40L1
it! ¶Alas, 69

91.9 universe 40L1
Universe 57 → 69

92.11 torch-/light 40L1
torchlight 57 → 69

92.11 such like; 40L1
suchlike; 69

92.12 *Let alone* 40L1
Let-alone 69

93.9 tread-mills, 40L1
treadmills, 57 → 69

93.11 feature.—Fact, 40L1
feature. ¶Fact, 69

93.11 meanwhile, 40L1
mean while, 57 → 69

93.13 potatoe, 40L1
potato, 69

93.15 fifth-monarchy brought 40L1
fifth-monarchy to be brought 40L2

93.18 suffrage, 40L1
suffrage 69

93.25 fatallest. 40L1
fatalest. 69

93.36 Stephens, 40L1
Stephen's, 69

93.37 nothing!" How 40L1
nothing!" ¶How 69

94.10 mad, 40L1
mad 57 → 69

94.19 child's play 40L1
child's-play 57 → 69

94.32 net-result 40L1
net result 57 → 69

95.3 be. The 40L1
be. ¶The 69

95.10 gainsayed 40L1
gainsaid 69

95.15 itself! Democracy, 40L1
itself! ¶Democracy, 69

96.12 effort, 40L1
effort 69

96.14 Europe, 40L1
Europe 57 → 69

96.15 do?' 40L1
do'? 69

97.14 France. How 40L1
France. ¶How 69

97.37 indeed 40L1
indeed, 69

98.6 alone!—And 40L1
alone! ¶And 69

98.15 rights, 40L1
rights 57 → 69

98.24 gold-dust-robbers; 40L1
gold-dust robbers; 40L2 → 69

98.30 age, 40L1
age 57 → 69

98.31 L'ouverture, 40L1
L'Ouverture, 57 → 69

98.33 Poet 40L1
Poet, 57 → 69

98.37 wilt 40L1
will 69

99.4* men! 40L1
man! 57 → 69

99.32 great, 40L1
great 57 → 69

101.9 which however 40L1
which, however, 69

101.10 it! Those 40L1
it! ¶Those 69

101.11 '*Mémoires*' 40L1
'***Memoires***' 40L2 → 69

101.21 Stephens, 40L1
Stephen's, 69

102.21 Johnson 40L1
Johnson, 57 → 69

102.21 'fourpence halfpenny 40L1
'fourpence-halfpenny 57 → 69

102.25 that 40L1
that, 69

102.32 d'Orleans 40L1
d'Orléans 69

102.33 Egalité 40L1
Égalité 69

102.34 done: 40L1
done; 40L2 → 69

103.5 Sanspotatoe 40L1
Sanspotato 69

104.24 Tribe 40L1
tribe 57 → 69

105.12 dray-waggons 40L1
dray-wagons, 57 → 69

105.12 Long-acre 40L1
Long-Acre 57 → 69

105.31 Shakspears, 40L1
Shakspeares, 40L2 → 69

106.14 war-/tools? 40L1
wartools? 57 → 69

106.17 Inclosures 40L1
Enclosures 57 → 69

106.23 whom. 40L1
whom.' 57 → 69

106.27 *Conquistator*, 40L1
Conquæstor, 69

106.38 it. Might 40L1
it. ¶'Might 69

107.4 shewed 40L1
showed 57 → 69

107.16 universe, 40L1
Universe, 57 → 69

107.32 ambergris 40L1
amber 69

108.1 Himmalayha, 40L1
Himmalaya, 69

108.10 shewing 40L1
showing 57 → 69

108.13 pick-/axes; 40L1
pickaxes; 57 → 69

108.18 quarters 40L1
quarters, 57 → 69

108.28 Runnymead; 40L1
Runnymede; 69

109.10 assemble; 40L1
assemble, to assert, to complain and propose; 40L2 → 69

109.18 Bosworth 40L1
Bosworth, 57 → 69

109.32 the 40L1
that 40L2 → 69

110.2 fifteen hundred 40L1
fifteen-hundred 57 → 69

110.15 Runnymead 40L1
Runnymede 69

110.30 Sea-gods, 40L1
Sea-Gods, 57 → 69

110.30 not 40L1
other than 40L2 → 69

111.28 give in 40L1
give-in 69

112.9 universe, 40L1
Universe, 57 → 69

112.10 vicissitudes, 40L1
vicissitudes 57 → 69

112.22 cotton-fuz, 40L1
cotton-fuzz, 69

112.24 dreams 40L1
dreams, 69

112.26 such like) 40L1
suchlike) 69

112.28 rushing off 40L1
rushing-off 69

112.29 ten thousand 40L1
ten-thousand 57 → 69

112.30 ten thousand 40L1
ten-thousand 57 → 69

113.29 "monied 40L1
"moneyed 69

113.38 shewed 40L1
showed 57 → 69

114.23 develope. 40L1
develop. 57 → 69

114.31 steamengining, 40L1
steamengineing, 69

114.35 coal-stratum, 40L1
coal-stratum 57 → 69

114.35 coal-strata, 40L1
coal-strata 57 → 69

115.6 there: 40L1
there; 57 → 69

115.6 her, her that 40L1
her, that 69

118.5 entrusted 40L1
intrusted 69

118.34 upon, 40L1
upon 69

118.37 blowing down 40L1
blowing-down 69

119.6 degree; 40L1
degree, 57 → 69

119.11 stirrer up 40L1
stirrer-up 57 → 69

119.11 Rebel, 40L1
Rebel 40L2 → 69

119.23 it 40L1
it, 69

120.10 lion 40L1
lion, 69

121.6 sums up 40L1
sums-up 69

121.8 laws;' 40L1
laws:' 57 → 69

121.26 attemptible! 40L1
attemptable! 69

122.2 right-arm 40L1
right arm 57 → 69

122.3 crueller 40L1
crueler 69

122.25 heir!' 40L1
heir!'— 69

123.19 conflict, 40L1
conflict 69

123.22 make out 40L1
make-out 69

123.38 every thing! 40L1
everything! 57 → 69

124.3 co-operate 40L1
coöperate 57 → 69

124.10 set up 40L1
set-up 69

124.16 churches 40L1
churches, 69

124.17 church 40L1
Church 69

124.24 'Church-extension;' 40L1
"Church-extension;" 57 → 69

124.25 subscribe.——Ye 40L1
subscribe.—— ¶'Ye 69

124.26 calebash 40L1
calabash 57 → 69

125.5 not 40L1
not, 69

125.38 call out 40L1
call-out 69

126.9 conceive 40L1
conceive, 69

126.13 England. Ah 40L1
England. ¶Ah 69

126.17 wo 40L1
woe 57 → 69

126.18 Avaunt 40L1
Avaunt, 69

126.23 momentous: 40L1
momentous; 69

126.24 things 40L1
things, 69

126.38 Stephens 40L1
Stephen's 69

127.9 'over-population!' 40L1
'over-population'! 69

127.24 money:—it 40L1
money[:]—it 57
money;—it 69

127.31 facts, 40L1
facts 57 → 69

128.23 live!—Dante's 40L1
live! ¶Dante's 69

128.24 mournfullest 40L1
mournfulest 69

128.27 mournfuller: 40L1
mournfuler: 69

128.37 Benthamee Malthusian 40L1
Benthamee-Malthusian 57 → 69

129.9 was. Such 40L1
was. ¶Such 69

129.12 *no*god-like 40L1
no-/godlike 57
no-godlike 69

129.13 set on 40L1
set-on 69

129.21 east, 40L1
east 57 → 69

130.10 still glowing, still expanding 40L1
still-glowing, still-expanding 69

130.13 steamengine 40L1
steam-/engine 57
steam-engine 69

130.16 THE END. 40L1[7]

130.38 Sartor Resartus, 40L1
Sartor Resartus, Library Edition, 69

130.38 239. 40L1
141. 57
223. 69
170. Strouse

"Dr. Francia" [43, 47, 57, 69]

131.0 *Dr. Francia.* 43
DR. FRANCIA.* 47 → 69[8]

131.4 *October*, 43
October 57 → 69

131.4 'British Packet and Argentine News,' 43
British Packet and Argentine News, 47 → 69

131.5 Buenos-Ayres: 43
Buenos-Ayres, 47 → 69

131.7 *Par* MM. Rengger *et* Longchamp. 43
Par MM. Rengger et Longchamp. 47 → 69

131.7 2de. 43
Seconde 47 → 69

131.7 Paris. 43
Paris, 47 → 69

131.8 Robertson. 43
Robertson. 47 → 69

131.8 Edition. 43
edition. 69

131.9 London. 43
London, 47 → 69

131.10 (By the same.) 43
By the same. 47 → 69

131.10 London. 43
London, 47 → 69

131.11 (By the same) 43
By the same. 47 → 69

131.11 London. 43
London, 47 → 69

131.12 John Miers. 43
John Miers. 47 → 69

131.12 London. 43
London, 47 → 69

131.13 2nd 43
Second 47 → 69

131.14 Edition. 43
edition. 69

131.14 London. 43
London, 47 → 69

131.16 confused South American 43
confused South-American 47 → 69

131.16 revolution, 43
Revolution, 47 → 69

131.16 the South American 43
the South-American 47 → 69

131.17 continent 43
Continent 47 → 69

132.19 death?' 43
death'? 69

132.22 further 43
farther 69

132.30 gained 43
gained, 47 → 69

[7] Omitted in 1857 and 1869.

[8] In the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1843) 1847 and subsequent editions add "[1843.]" under the title and shift the bibliographic information from the heading to a footnote, which begins "Foreign Quarterly Review , No. 62.—"

132.30 regions 43
regions, 47 → 69

132.34 emperor, 43
Emperor, 47 → 69

132.38 'A Statement of some of the principal events in the Public Life of Augustin de Iturbide: written by Himself. 43
A Statement of some of the principal Events in the Public Life of Augustin de Iturbide: written by Himself. 47 → 57
A Statement of some of the principal Events in the Public Life of Augustin de Iturbide: written by Himself. 69

132.39 London. 43
London, 47 → 69

133.4 people 43
people, 47 → 69

133.7 and he, in 43
and in 47 → 69

133.7 1825, rode 43
1825, he rode 47 → 69

133.8 somersetting 43
somersaulting 57 → 69

133.11 Miller! 43
Miller. 69

133.12 man; 43
man, 69

133.13 it, 43
it 47 → 69

133.14 Martin too 43
Martin too, 47 → 57
Martin, too, 69

133.16 steadfast 43
stedfast 47 → 57

133.21 wilderness; 43
Wilderness; 47 → 69

133.21 pleasantly 43
pleasantly, 47 → 69

133.23 *Ex*-Generalissimo 43
Ex-Generalissimo 47 → 69

133.29 South American 43
South-American 47 → 69

133.31 driven out 43
driven-out 57 → 69

133.33 freedom, 43
freedom 47 → 69

133.38 Memoirs of General Miller. 43
Memoirs of General Miller. 47 → *69*

134.3 surprising; 43
surprising: 47 → 69

134.4 civic feast, 43
civic-feast; 47 → 69

134.4 days, 43
days; 47 → 69

134.6 results 43
results, 47 → 69

134.18 six thousand 43
six-thousand 57

134.21* farre 43
fare 47 → 69

134.31 dexterously, 43
dextrously, 57 → 69

134.33 ammunition waggons, 43
ammunition-waggons, 47
ammunition-wagons, 57
ammunition-wagons 69

134.34 bulls-hide. 43
bull's-hide. 47 → 69

134.36 mule, 43
mule 47 → 69

135.6 further 43
farther 69

135.7 lay, at night, 43
lay at night 69

135.15 watchfire 43
watch-/fire 57
watch-fire 69

135.16 looked on 43
looked-on 57 → 69

135.17 constellations 43
Constellations 47 → 69

135.17 ate out 43
ate-out 57 → 69

135.18 days, 43
days 69

135.20 *Guachos* 43
Gauchos 69

135.20 nay 43
nay, 69

135.23 doubly astonished 43
doubly-astonished 69

135.25 'Plains 43
'plains 47 → 69

135.25 Plains or Heights 43
plains or heights 47 → 69

135.27 for ever 43
forever 47 → 69

135.30 evildoers 43
evil-doers 57 → 69

135.30 set! San 43
set!—San 47 → 69

136.9 humour, 43
humour 47 → 69

136.10 epic writer 43
epic-writer 57 → 69

136.12 highways. 43
Highways. 47 → 69

136.12 half century 43
half-century 47 → 69

136.18 when 43
where 47 → 69

136.29 even-tide, 43
eventide, 47 → 69

136.34 hands, 43
hands 69

137.1 charcoal box 43
charcoal-box 57 → 69

137.1 tear down 43
tear-down 57 → 69

137.3 storm-staid 43
storm-stayed 47 → 69

137.5 hands, 43
hands 69

137.21 showing 43
shewing 47

137.36 ship 43
Ship 47 → 69

137.38 clergy, 43
Clergy, 47 → 69

138.1 slaves. 43
Slaves. 47 → 69

138.1 South American 43
South-American 47 → 69

138.2 South American 43
South-American 47 → 69

138.6 South American 43
South-American 47 → 69

138.9 piasters; 43
piastres; 47 → 69

138.10 vampyre; 43
vampire; 47 → 69

138.12 yellows, 43
yellows 47 → 69

138.14 South American 43
South-American 47 → 69

138.18 teachers: 43
teachers; 47 → 69

138.21 looking in 43
looking-in 57 → 69

138.26 populations, 43
populations 69

138.27 necklaces, 43
necklaces 47 → 69

138.39 Travels in Chile. 43
Travels in Chile. 47 → 69

139.1 South American 43
South-American 47 → 69

139.2 whom and which 43
whom, and which, 47 → 69

139.10 themselves: 43
themselves; 57 → 69

139.16 very 43
own 47 → 69

139.20 got up 43
got-up 57 → 69

139.27 clay banks 43
clay-banks 47 → 69

139.27 licence. 43
license. 47 → 69

139.36 Doctor 43
Dr. 47 → 69

140.1 jailers, 43
jailors, 47 → 69

140.5 cut off 43
cut-off 57 → 69

140.25 'Life of Francia,' 43
***Life of Francia*,** 47 → 69

140.26 possible? 43
possible! 57 → 69

140.28 falls in 43
falls-in 57 → 69

140.29 pen and ink 43
pen-and-ink 57 → 69

140.33 book, 43
Book, 47 → 69

140.34 second 43
Second 47 → 69

140.34 list, 43
List, 47 → 69

141.19 book 43
Book 47 → 69

141.23 embraces 43
embraces, 47 → 69

141.23 to this date, the 43
to the 47 → 69

141.26 excellencies, 43
excellences, 47 → 69

141.34 'Francia's Reign of Terror,' 43
***Francia's Reign of Terror*,** 47 → 69

141.34 books 43
Books 47 → 69

141.36 reviewer; 43
Reviewer; 47 → 69

142.1 set out 43
set-out 57

142.1 Buenos-Ayres, thence 43
Buenos-Ayres, and thence 47 → 69

142.8 brothers 43
Brothers 47 → 69

142.11 so-called), 43
so called), 47

142.13 brothers 43
Brothers 47 → 69

142.19 brothers 43
Brothers 47 → 69

142.24 brothers 43
Brothers 47 → 69

142.24 worn out 43
worn-out 57 → 69

142.34 know, 43
know 69

142.37 knowledge—had 43
knowledge,—had 47 → 69

143.2 book. 43
Book. 47 → 69

143.3 two volumes 43
Two Volumes 47 → 69

143.3 'Letters on Paraguay' 43
Letters on Paraguay 47 → 69

143.5 'Letters' 43
Letters 47 → 69

143.5 book 43
Book 47 → 69

143.7 offhand, 43
off-hand, 69

143.7 free-glowing, 43
free-flowing, 47 → 69

143.13 book 43
Book 47 → 69

143.16 'Letters on Paraguay' 43
Letters on Paraguay 47 → 69

143.18 third volume, 43
Third Volume, 47 → 69

143.18 'Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror.' 43
***Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror*.** 47 → 69

143.19 reviewer 43
Reviewer 47 → 69

143.19 authors 43
Authors 47 → 69

143.21 book 43
Book 47 → 69

143.24 credit (of its kind) 43
credit, of its kind, 47 → 69

143.25 'Rengger and Longchamp,' 43
***Rengger and Longchamp*,** 47 → 69

143.29 volume 43
Volume 47 → 69

143.29 four hundred 43
four-hundred 57 → 69

143.31 volumes 43
Volumes 47 → 69

143.32 'South America,' 43
***South America*,** 47 → 69

143.33 reviewer 43
Reviewer 47 → 69

143.35 three volumes, 43
Three Volumes, 47 → 69

143.37 three solid-looking volumes, 43
Three solid-looking Volumes, 47 → 69

144.1 gray-horse; 43
grey-horse; 47

144.17 world-history 43
World-history 47 → 69

144.24 lucid, 43
lucid 47 → 69

144.26 lucid, 43
lucid 47 → 69

144.28 last volumes, 43
last Volumes, 47 → 69

144.28 other volumes 43
other Volumes 47 → 69

144.39 Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale 43
Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique *méridionale* 47
Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique ***méridionale*** 57 → 69

145.4 earth, did 43
earth,—did 47 → 69

145.4 providence 43
providence, 47 → 69

145.8 volumes; 43
volumes: 47 → 69

145.8 feracious, is voracious; 43
voracious, is feracious; 47 → 69

145.9 author corps 43
Author-corps 47 → 69

145.11 reading corps, 43
reading-corps, 47 → 69

145.12 put up 43
put-up 57 → 69

145.13 dandelion 43
dandelion, 47 → 69

145.20 work 43
Work 47 → 69

145.29 heaven. 43
Heaven. 47 → 69

145.30 Drain out 43
Drain-out 57 → 69

146.6 infinitessimally 43
infinitesimally 47 → 69

146.8 cattle-breeder 43
Cattle-breeder 47 → 69

146.9 city 43
City 47 → 69

146.9 father 43
Father 47 → 69

146.15 abovementioned. 43
above mentioned. 69

146.16 mother 43
Mother 47 → 69

146.22 ill-nature: 43
ill-nature; 69

146.24 gospel, 43
Gospel, 47 → 69

146.24 divine offices, 43
Divine Offices, 47 → 69

146.32 priest, 43
Priest, 47 → 69

146.32 divine offices 43
Divine Offices 47 → 69

147.2 Spoon-poison 43
Spoon-/poison 47
Spoonpoison 57 → 69

147.4 art, too, 43
art too, 47 → 69

147.9 'genius,' 43
'genius' 57 → 69

147.9 so called, 43
so-called, 57 → 69

147.10 Nature, 43
Nature 47 → 69

147.11 Tucuman, 43
Tucuman 47 → 69

147.21 law suit: 43
lawsuit: 47 → 69

147.28 scullcap, 43
scullcap 47
skullcap 57 → 69

147.29 down-look 43
downlook 47 → 69

147.32 we are 43
thou hast been 47 → 69

147.37 priest 43
Priest 47 → 69

147.38 lawyer 43
Lawyer 47 → 69

148.5 look out 43
look-out 57 → 69

148.17 it, too, 43
it too, 47 → 69

148.21 universe; 43
Universe; 47 → 69

148.24 waggon-load, 43
waggonload, 47
wagonload, 57 → 69

148.25 lying 43
flying 57 → 69

148.25 shot rubbish. 43
shot-rubbish. 47 → 69

148.28 'Encyclopédie' 43
Encyclopédie 47 → 69

148.30 ¶Nay, 43
¶Nay 47 → 69

148.30 not 43
not, 47 → 69

148.30 sort 43
sort, 47 → 69

148.35 science, 43
Science, 47 → 69

148.35 politics and morals 43
Politics and Morals 47 → 69

149.6 burn up 43
burn-up 57 → 69

149.10 look in 43
look-in 57 → 69

149.11 him, 43
him 57 → 69

149.13 city 43
City 47 → 69

149.14 advocates, 43
Advocates, 47 → 69

149.16 'Reign of Terror' 43
Reign of Terror 47 → 69

149.20 success, 43
success 47 → 69

149.21 goul, 43
ghoul, 69

150.22 palladiums, 43
palladiums 47 → 69

150.22 parliament-houses—and 43
parliament-houses,—and 47 → 69

149.26 shape out 43
shape-out 57 → 69

149.28 city, 43
City, 47 → 69

149.28 three hundred 43
three-hundred 57 → 69

149.29 fashion, 43
fashion 57 → 69

149.32 shutting out 43
shutting-out 57 → 69

149.33 overcanopying, 43
over-/canopying, 47 → 57
over-canopying, 69

149.34 century 43
Century 47 → 69

149.35 volumes), 43
Volumes), 47 → 69

149.36 girl, 43
girl 69

149.40 Letters on Paraguay. 43
***Letters on Paraguay*.** 47 → 69

150.7 verandahs 43
verandas 69

150.8 free and easy 43
free-and-easy 47 → 69

150.11 flunkey 43
Flunkey 47 → 57
Flunky 69

150.13 promiscuously, 43
promiscuously; 47 → 69

150.15 bathing-garments 43
bathing-garments, 47 → 69

150.17* distractive, 43
destructive, 47 → 69

150.21 civilized 43
civilised 47 → 69

150.31 sun's 43
Sun's 47 → 69

150.31 sheers 43
shears 69

150.35 over night, 43
over-/night, 47
over-night, 57 → 69

150.36 editor. 43
Editor. 47 → 69

150.37 Guacho 43
Gaucho 69

151.3 furniture, 43
furniture 47 → 69

151.6 beds, 43
beds 47 → 69

151.11 only—that 43
only,—that 69

151.12 head, all 43
head, and all 47 → 69

151.13 Guacho 43
Gaucho 69

151.14 stick on 43
stick-on 57

151.18 hanging on 43
hanging-on 57 → 69

151.19 troop 43
troup 69

151.22 horse 43
horse, 47 → 69

151.26 Guachos! 43
Gauchos! 69

151.32 ardent spirits, 43
ardent-spirits, 47 → 69

151.34 mass-chantings, 43
mass-chauntings, 47

151.39 Letters on Paraguay. 43
***Letters on Paraguay*.** 47 → 69

152.2 Guachos, 43
Gauchos, 69

152.10 law-business, 43
Law-business, 47 → 69

152.23 befel 43
befell 47 → 69

152.23 light-headed, 43
lightheaded, 47 → 57

152.23 smart, 43
smart 69

152.27 Francia, 43
Francia; 69

152.27 light-headed, 43
lightheaded, 47
light-/headed, 57

152.27 smart, 43
smart 69

152.28 reviewer 43
Reviewer 47 → 69

152.29 down-looking 43
downlooking 47 → 69

152.33 lawyer!' 43
lawyer'! 69

152.34 law-case 43
Law-case 47 → 69

152.35 'Francia's Reign of Terror,' 43
***Francia's Reign of Terror*,** 47 → 69

153.1 ¶"It 43
¶'It 47 → 69

153.3 ¶"He 43
¶'He 47 → 69

153.3 Assumption 43
Assumpcion 47 → 69

153.5 doctor, 43
Doctor, 47 → 69

153.11 shows 43
shews 47

153.14 ¶"At 43
¶'At 47 → 69

153.16 doctor, 43
Doctor, 47 → 69

153.20 doctor 43
Doctor 47 → 69

153.22 ¶"'Machain,' 43
¶'"Machain," 47 → 69

153.22 lawyer, 43
Lawyer, 47 → 69

153.22 'you 43
"you 47 → 69

153.24 defence.' 43
defence." 47 → 69

153.25 ¶"The 43
¶'The 47 → 69

153.27 ¶"The 43
¶'The 47 → 69

153.27 'escrito,' 43
"escrito," 47 → 69

153.27 sent in 43
sent-in 57 → 69

153.29 'My friend,' 43
"My friend," 47 → 69

153.30 'I 43
"I 47 → 69

153.30 silent.' 'I will try,' 43
silent." "I will try," 47 → 69

153.31 advocate, 43
advocate; 47 → 69

153.31 three hundred and fifty 43
three-hundred-and-fifty 57 → 69

153.33 Considering, 43
Considering 47 → 69

153.36 ¶"'*Salga* 43
¶"'*Salga* 47 → 69

153.36 *Usted*,' 43
***Usted*,"** 47 → 69

153.36 '*con* 43
"*con* 47 → 69

153.36 pensamientos, 43
pensamientos 47 → 69

153.36 *casa*.' 'Out 43
***casa!* Out,** 47 → 69

153.37 gold 43
gold, 47 → 69

153.37 house.' 43
house!" 47 → 69

154.1 ¶"Off 43
¶'Off 47 → 69

154.2 capoté, 43
capote, 47 → 69

154.2 advocate 43
Advocate 47 → 69

154.8 ¶"The 43
¶'The 47 → 69

154.9 doctor's 43
Doctor's 47 → 69

154.10 wide." 43
wide.' 47 → 69

154.12 father, 43
Father, 47 → 69

154.15 nay, 43
nay 47 → 69

154.17 play!' 43
play'! 69

154.18 law, 43
Law, 47 → 69

154.18 sciences, 43
Sciences, 47 → 69

154.23 philosophies—who 43
philosophies,—who 47 → 69

154.24 law-papers, 43
law papers, 47

154.24 advocate fees, 43
advocate-fees, 57 → 69

154.25 Guachos; 43
Gauchos; 69

154.30 monk 43
Monk 47 → 69

154.30 canonization; 43
canonisation; 47 → 69

154.37 lock and key, 43
lock-and-key, 57 → 69

154.38 nay, 43
nay 47 → 69

155.2 gilt coach 43
gilt-coach 57 → 69

155.2 say 43
say, 47 → 69

155.2 monies, 43
moneys, 47 → 69

155.3 Guacho 43
Gaucho 69

155.3 Abbe-Raynal 43
Abbé-Raynal 47 → 69

155.4 *zero* 43
zero, 47 → 69

155.6 Champ de Mars: 43
Champ-de-Mars: 47 → 69

155.7 people 43
People 47 → 69

155.7 tyrants; 43
Tyrants; 47 → 69

155.9 Usandwonto, 43
Usandwanto, 47

155.10 easy chair, 43
easy-chair, 47 → 69

155.11 house-tops, 43
housetops, 47 → 69

156.15 Conventions of Aranjuez, 43
'Conventions of Aranjuez,' 47 → 69

156.16 Spanish Juntas, Spanish Cortes; 43
'Spanish Juntas,' 'Spanish Cortes;' 47 → 69

156.19 hemisphere 43
Hemisphere 47 → 69

155.20 Invasions 43
invasions 47 → 69

155.22 hemisphere 43
Hemisphere 47 → 69

155.24 Had Dr. Rodriguez 43
Had Rodriguez 47 → 69

155.26 cut out 43
cut-out 57 → 69

155.26 Dr. 43
Doctor 47 → 69

155.28 people 43
People 47 → 69

155.31 provinces 43
Provinces 47 → 69

155.36 night watches, 43
night-watches, 57 → 69

156.2 congress 43
Congress 47 → 69

156.3 government 43
Government 47 → 69

156.7 Ancient History; 43
Ancient History;' 47 → 69

156.8 Fulgenao 43
Fulgencio 47 → 69

156.8 Guachos 43
Gauchos 69

156.15 Robertsons, 43
Robertsons 47 → 69

156.16 processes, 43
processes 47 → 69

156.17 books, 43
Books, 47 → 69

156.18 gray, 43
grey, 47

156.18 secretary, 43
Secretary, 47 → 69

156.20 conceivability 43
conceivability, 47 → 69

156.24 civil and religious liberty 43
Civil and Religious Liberty 47 → 69

156.24 world, 43
World, 47 → 69

156.28 Besides, 43
¶Besides, 69

156.28 Guacho 43
Gaucho 69

157.6 jerk out 43
jerk-out 57 → 69

157.7 right hand, 43
right-hand, 57 → 69

157.7 tone, 43
tone: 47 → 69

157.14 but 43
But 47 → 69

157.16 ¶"On 43
¶'On 47 → 69

157.18 Doña 43
Donna 47 → 69

157.21 out, 43
out 69

157.21 '*Buen tiro*'—'a good shot.' 43
"*Buen tiro*"—"a good shot." 69

157.28 same." 43
same. 47 → 69

157.29 ¶"In 43
¶'In 47 → 69

157.31 telescope, 43
telescope 47 → 69

157.32 Doctor 43
Dr. 47 → 69

157.32 Francia." 43
Francia.' 47 → 69

157.37 eyes, 43
eyes 69

158.5 ¶"He 43
¶'He 47 → 69

158.8 three hundred 43
three-hundred 57 → 69

158.15 size, 43
size 47 → 69

158.16 another." 43
another.' 47 → 69

158.19 government offices 43
Government-offices 47 → 69

158.22 general, 43
general 69

158.24 ministry 43
ministry, 69

158.26 colleagues; 43
Colleagues; 47 → 69

158.30 trouble 43
trouble, 47 → 69

158.31 war 43
war, 47 → 69

158.31 Buenos Ayres; 43
Buenos-Ayres; 47 → 69

158.31 continent, 43
Continent, 47 → 57
Continent 69

158.36 dart in 43
dart-in 57 → 69

159.6 Congress, 43
Congress 69

159.8 *Consul's*-cloak, 43
Consul's *cloak*, 47 → 69

159.11 'by insidious manœuvring,' 43
by 'insidious manœuvering,' 69

159.16 Rollin, 43
***Rollin*,** 47 → 69

159.20 horseback, 43
horseback again, 47 → 69

159.21 partridge-shooting. 43
partridge-shooting again. 47 → 69

159.22 gained over 43
gained-over 57 → 69

159.24 government 43
Government 47 → 69

159.26 show 43
shew 47

159.30 showed 43
shewed 47

159.30 guardhouses, 43
Guardhouses, 47 → 69

159.31 river's 43
River's 47 → 69

159.31 frontiers: 43
Frontiers: 47 → 69

159.32 showed 43
shewed 47

159.37 Buenos Ayres, 43
Buenos-Ayres, 47 → 69

159.38 Congress of Lima, General Congress of Panama, 43
'Congress of Lima,' 'General Congress of Panama,' 47 → 69

160.1 congress 43
Congress, 47 → 69

160.5 frontier 'guardhouses' 43
Frontier 'Guardhouses' 47 → 69

160.8 licence, 43
license, 47 → 69

160.8 monies, 43
moneys, 47 → 69

160.10 trade-licences 43
trade-licenses 47 → 69

160.10 entrance dues, 43
entrance-dues, 47 → 69

160.13 lock and key. 43
lock-and-key. 57 → 69

160.14 Guacho 43
Gaucho 69

160.15 perpetual dictatorship, 43
Perpetual Dictatorship, 47 → 69

160.18 tea-tree, 43
tea-tree; 47 → 69

160.19 war-firebrands, 43
war firebrands, 47 → 69

160.19 shut out 43
shut-out 57 → 69

160.20 perpetual dictatorship, 43
Perpetual Dictatorship, 47 → 69

160.21 'plots,' 43
'Plots,' 47 → 69

160.21 plots! 43
Plots! 47 → 69

160.24 Antigas's 43
Artigas's 47 → 69

160.25 victor, 43
conqueror, 47 → 69

160.28 letter 43
Letter 47 → 69

160.29 Guacho 43
Gaucho 69

160.30 intelligence, 43
intelligence 69

160.30 conspiracy, 43
Conspiracy, 47 → 69

160.31 conspiracy 43
Conspiracy 47 → 69

160.32 wider-spread 43
wider spread 69

160.33 to be burst 43
to burst 69

160.36 nature, 43
nature 47 → 69

160.36 plot 43
Plot 47 → 69

161.4 perpetual dictatorship. 43
Perpetual Dictatorship. 47 → 69

161.5 plot 43
Plot 47 → 69

161.10 it. 43
it! 47 → 69

161.10 career of freedom, 43

Career of Freedom, 47 → 69
161.11 Guachos, 43
Gauchos, 69
161.13 life; 43
life: 47 → 69
161.14 Guachos, 43
Gauchos, 69
161.15 horse-subduer 43
Horse-subduer 47 → 69
161.15 heaven, 43
Heaven, 47 → 69
161.22 ball cartridges' 43
ball-cartridges' 57 → 69
161.24 plots, 43
Plots, 47 → 69
161.36 Guachos? 43
Gauchos? 69
161.36 Guachos 43
Gauchos 69
161.37 Guachos? 43
Gauchos? 69
161.37 sciences 43
Sciences 47 → 69
161.38 farmers 43
farmers, 47 → 69
161.38 Paraguay to 43
Paraguay, To 47 → 69
162.2 hope, under 43
hope,—under 47 → 69
162.3 two 43
Two 47 → 69
162.4 agriculture, 43
Agriculture, 47 → 69
162.7 foreign trade, 43
Foreign Trade, 47 → 69
162.11 plot, 43
Plot, 47 → 69
162.12 locust swarms 43
Locust swarms 47 → 57
Locust-swarms 69
162.12 improvement of husbandry 43
Improvement of Husbandry 47 → 69
162.13 guardhouses 43
Guardhouses 47 → 69
162.22 '*Æshthetische Briefwechsel*' 43
Æsthetische Briefwechsel 47 → 69
162.23 work 43
Work 47 → 69
162.28 remarks 43
Remarks 47 → 69
162.28 anecdotes 43
Anecdotes 47 → 69
162.31 ¶"Pity," 43
¶'Pity,' 47 → 69
162.31 "that 43
'that 47 → 69
162.32 'tremendous cheers!' 43
"tremendous cheers!" 47 → 57
"tremendous cheers"! 69
162.34 men. 43
men! 69
162.39 Rengger, 67, 43
Rengger, pp. 67, 47 → 57
163.1 Thus, too, 43
Thus too, 47 → 69
163.3 'tremendous cheers' 43
"tremendous cheers" 47 → 57
163.3 alone!" [rule and extra leading between paragraphs] 43
alone!'—— [extra leading between paragraphs] 47 → 69
163.5 ¶"Like 43
¶'Like 47 → 69
163.7 South American 43
South-American 57 → 69
163.7 too, 43
too 47 → 69
163.8 moulting process 43
moulting-process 47 → 69
163.11 'tremendous cheers' 43

"tremendous cheers" 47 → 57

163.12 alone!" [rule and extra leading between paragraphs] 43
alone!'—— [extra leading between paragraphs] 47 → 69

163.14 ¶"What 43
¶'What 47 → 69

163.14 'love of power' 43
"love of power" 47 → 69

163.14 'power' 43
"power" 47 → 69

163.15 flunkies 43
flunkeys 47 → 57

163.15 'love,' 43
"love," 47 → 69

163.18 flunkies, 43
flunkeys, 47 → 57

163.20 flunkey 43
flunky 69

163.20 'power?' 43
"power?" 57
"power"? 69

163.21 flunkey 43
flunky 69

163.21 adulations, 43
adulations 47 → 69

163.23 flunkey 43
flunky 69

163.25 ¶"And 43
¶'And 47 → 69

163.30 hands, 43
hands; 47 → 69

163.30 world. 43
world? 47 → 69

163.34 is." [rule and extra leading between paragraphs] 43
is.'—— [extra leading between paragraphs] 47 → 57
is.'—— [page break between paragraphs] 69

164.36 ¶"Nay, 43
¶'Nay, 47 → 69

164.1 'Nothing 43
"Nothing, 47 → 69

164.1 yourself!' 43
yourself!" 47 → 57
yourself"! 69

164.1 two 43
three 69

164.2 had." 43
had.' 47 → 69

164.5 Casting out 43
Casting-out 57 → 69

164.5 of Seven 43
of the Seven 47 → 69

164.6 Guacho 43
Gaucho 69

164.14 education, 43
education 69

164.15 law-courts: 43
Law-courts: 47 → 69

164.16 packing up 43
packing-up 57 → 69

164.19 hero 43
Hero 47 → 69

164.23 public offices 43
Public Offices 47 → 69

164.36 'three-ball cartridges' 43
'three ball cartridges' 47
'three ball-cartridges' 57 → 69

165.2 unfortuate-females. 43
unfortunate-females. 47 → 69

165.6 October, 43
October 57 → 69

165.7 Funeral Discourse, 43
'Funeral Discourse,' 47 → 69

165.8 'Argentine News' 43
Argentine News 47 → 69

165.9 Buenos Ayres, 43
Buenos-Ayres, 47 → 69

165.17 ¶"Amid 43
¶'Amid 47 → 69

165.17 revolution," 43
revolution,' 47 → 69

165.17 "the 43
'the 47 → 69

165.18 Jose 43
José 47 → 69

165.19 text, 43
Text, 47 → 69

165.20 *them*." 43
***them*.'** 47 → 69

165.21 ¶"What 43
¶'What 47 → 69

165.23 arms, 43
Arms, 47 → 69

165.23 soldiers. 43
Soldiers. 47 → 69

165.27 to study 43
to the study 47 → 69

165.29 skilfullest 43
skilfulest 69

165.29 show 43
shew 47

165.33 Excellency 43
Excellency, 47 → 69

165.33 know 43
know, 47 → 69

165.34 manœuvred, 43
manœuvered, 69

165.35 troops." 43
troops.' 47 → 69

165.36 ¶"What 43
¶'What 47 → 69

165.36 highwaymen!" 43
Highwaymen!' 47 → 69

165.37 "violence, 43
'violence, 47 → 69

166.5 guardhouse 43
Guardhouse 47 → 69

166.5 and, 43
and 57 → 69

166.9 inspired." 43
inspired.' 47 → 69

166.10 ¶"But 43
¶'But 47 → 69

166.10 anarchy. 43
Anarchy? 47 → 69

166.10 Oh!" 43
Oh!' 47 → 57
Oh,' 69

166.11 "Oh, 43
'Oh, 47 → 69

166.12 brethren."—"It 43
brethren.'—'It 47 → 69

166.16 feeling" 43
feeling' 47 → 69

166.16 "I," 43
'I,' 47 → 69

166.17 "am 43
'am 47 → 69

166.18 state's 43
State's 47 → 69

166.18 execution." 43
execution.' 47 → 69

166.19 "Brethren, 43
'Brethren, 47 → 69

166.22 death." 43
death.' 47 → 69

166.23 Reverence, 43
Reverence; 47 → 69

166.32 advocate 43
Advocate 47 → 69

166.32 gave up 43
gave-up 57 → 69

166.34 advocate, 43
Advocate, 47 → 69

166.36 sugar of lead. 43
sugar-of-lead. 47 → 69

167.1 ¶"His 43
¶'His 47 → 69

167.1 state 43
State 47 → 69

167.2 enemies," 43
enemies,' 47 → 69

167.2 "the 43
'the 47 → 69

167.2	tax-gatherers,	43
	Tax-gatherers,	47 → 69
167.4	handed in,	43
	handed-in,	57 → 69
167.5	year."	43
	year.'	47 → 69
167.6	¶"The	43
	¶'The	47 → 69
167.6	delivered out	43
	delivered-out	57 → 69
167.8	so,	43
	so	69
167.9	show	43
	shew	47
167.11	workmanship."	43
	workmanship.'	47 → 69
167.12	¶"Republic	43
	¶'Republic	47 → 69
167.16	Rio-Abajo?	43
	Rio-Abajo!	57 → 69
167.17	Assumpcion,	43
	Assumpcion	69
167.18	widespread,	43
	wide-spread,	47 → 69
167.20	¶"Four	43
	¶'Four	47 → 69
167.20	fortresses	43
	Fortresses	47 → 69
167.22	people	43
	People	47 → 69
167.23	safe."	43
	safe.'	47 → 69
167.24	¶"The	43
	¶'The	47 → 69
167.24	drive back	43
	drive-back	57 → 69
167.25	fortresses	43
	Fortresses	47 → 69
167.27	republic	43
	Republic	47 → 69
167.27	under	43
	against	47 → 69
167.27	all.	43
	any.	47 → 69
167.28	¶"The	43
	¶'The	47 → 69
167.28	wall,	43
	Wall,	47 → 69
167.28	fortress	43
	fortress,	47 → 69
167.28	river	43
	River	47 → 69
167.28	Paraná;	43
	Parana;	47 → 69
167.30	quarter."	43
	quarter.'	47 → 69
167.31	¶"The	43
	¶'The	47 → 69
167.32	inhabitants,"	43
	inhabitants,'	47 → 69
167.32	"Thus	43
	'Thus	47 → 69
167.33	Angles,"	43
	Angles,'	47 → 69
167.33	"His	43
	'His	47 → 69
167.34	capital	43
	Capital	47 → 69
167.34	republic,	43
	Republic,	47 → 69
167.35	owners."	43
	owners.'	47 → 69
167.38	Guachos	43
	Gauchos	69
168.2	enemies?'	43
	enemies'?	69
168.7	two hundred	43
	two-hundred	57 → 69
168.9	starting up	43
	starting-up	57 → 69
168.10	heat,	43
	heart,	47 → 69
168.10	Guacho	43
	Gaucho	69

168.15 throughfare 43
thoroughfare 47 → 69

168.21 further, 43
farther, 69

168.22 dreadfullest 43
dreadfulest 69

168.24 pull down 43
pull-down 57 → 69

168.27 cutting down 43
cutting-down 57 → 69

168.30 city, 43
City, 47 → 69

168.35 'Reign of Terror,' 43
***Reign of Terror*,** 47 → 69

168.40 *Ibid.* 43
Ibid. 47
Perez. 57 → 69

169.2 orders in 43
orders-in 47 → 69

169.14 Commons,' 43
Commons' 47 → 69

169.18 bar 43
Bar 47 → 69

169.23 'Reign of Terror' 43
Reign of Terror 47 → 69

169.30 Guachos, 43
Gauchos, 69

169.30 child's play, 43
child's-play, 57 → 69

169.30 casting out 43
casting-out 57 → 69

169.33 roughly, 43
roughly 47 → 69

169.34 *Début*, 43
***Debout*,** 47 → 69

169.34 *Début:* 43
Debout: 47 → 69

170.1 work,—or 43
work;—or 47 → 69

170.3 such like; 43
suchlike; 69

170.7 ware, 43
ware 69

170.9 fortifications 43
Fortifications 47 → 69

170.10 people 43
People 47 → 69

170.11 Catholic 43
Catholic, 47 → 69

170.13 surgeons, 43
Surgeons, 47 → 69

170.14 added[,] 43
added, 47 → 69

170.17 priest 43
priests 69

170.19 on, 43
on; 47 → 69

170.21 so called, 43
so-called, 47 → 69

170.22 weather; 43
weather, 47 → 69

170.24 sold!' 43
sold'! 69

170.30 length, 43
length 69

171.2 manner: ¶"In 43
manner: [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶'In 47 → 69

171.4 shoemaker, 43
Shoemaker, 47 → 69

171.6 ensued: [extra leading between paragraphs] 43
ensued: 47 → 69

171.8 ¶"Dictator:— 43
¶'***Dictator*.** 47 → 69

171.8 'Take 43
"Take 47 → 69

171.8 *bribonazo* 43
***bribonazo*"** 47 → 69

171.8 which 43
which, 69

171.9 'most impertinent scoundrel')—'take 43
"most impertinent scoundrel")—"take 47 → 69

171.10 times: and 43
times:—and 47 → 69

171.10 now,' 43
now," 47 → 69

171.11 'bring 43
"bring 47 → 69

171.12 it.' 43
it." 47 → 69

171.13 ¶"Shoemaker:— 43
¶'*Shoemaker*. 47 → 69

171.13 'Please 43
"Please 47 → 69

171.13 excellency 43
Excellency 47
Excellency, 57 → 69

171.13 best.' 43
best." 47 → 69

171.14 ¶"Dictator:— 43
¶'*Dictator*. 47 → 69

171.14 'Well, 43
"Well, 47 → 69

171.15 state's 43
State's 47 → 69

171.16 show 43
shew 47

171.16 you.' 43
you." 47 → 69

171.17 ¶"Shoemaker:— 43
¶'*Shoemaker*. 47 → 69

171.17 'God 43
"God 47 → 69

171.17 excellency, 43
Excellency, 47 → 69

171.19 shoemaker) 43
shoemaker), 57 → 69

171.20 excellency's 43
Excellency's 47 → 69

171.20 liking.' 43
liking." 47 → 69

171.21 ¶"Dictator:— 43
¶'*Dictator*. 47 → 69

171.21 'Off 43
"Off 47 → 69

171.21 sentinel!' 43
sentinel!" 47 → 69

171.22 ¶"Sentinel:— 43
¶'*Sentinel*. 47 → 69

171.22 '*Venga, bribon*: 43
"Venga, bribon: 47 → 69

171.22 *bribon*: 43
bribon, 47 → 69

171.22 come 43
Come 47 → 69

171.22 rascal.' 43
rascal." 47 → 69

171.23 ¶"Shoemaker:— 43
¶'*Shoemaker*. 47 → 69

171.23 'Señor 43
"Señor 47 → 69

171.23 Excelentisimo: *This* 43
Excelentisimo,—*this*
47 → 69

171.24 excellency's 43
Excellency's 47 → 69

171.24 pattern.' 43
pattern." 47 → 69

171.25 ¶"Dictator:— 43
¶'*Dictator*. 47 → 69

171.25 'Well, 43
"Well, 47 → 69

171.27 workmanship.' 43
workmanship." 47 → 69

171.28 ¶"Sentinel:— 43
¶'*Sentinel*. 47 → 69

171.28 '*Vamonos*, 43
"*Vamonos*, 47 → 69

171.28 supreme 43
Supreme 47 → 69

171.28 it.' 43
it." 47 → 69

171.29 "Off 43
'Off 47 → 69

171.29 shoemaker 43
Shoemaker 47 → 69

171.30 stall." 43
stall.' 47 → 69

171.34 Belt-/maker general 43
Beltmaker general 47
Beltmaker-general 57 → 69

171.36 seven devils 43
Seven Devils 47 → 69

171.37 introduceable, 43
introducible, 47 → 69

172.4 ten-pound franchisers, 43
Tenpound Franchisers, 47 → 69

172.11 Guachos, 43
Gauchos, 69

172.12 seven devils! 43
Seven Devils! 47 → 69

172.18 ¶"I 43
¶'I 47 → 69

172.18 said 43
said, 47 → 69

172.19 took up 43
took-up 57 → 69

172.20 edifice, 43
Edifice, 47 → 69

172.22 structure 43
Structure 47 → 69

172.23 city, 43
City, 47 → 69

172.28 He 43
¶'He 47 → 69

172.29 kettle, 43
kettle 47 → 69

172.31 *matè*, 43
***maté*,** 47 → 69

172.31 interior colonnade 43
Interior Colonnade 47 → 69

172.33 makes up 43
makes-up 57 → 69

172.37 Official Gazette. 43
***official gazette*.** 47 → 69

172.38 outer colonnade, 43
Outer Colonnade, 47 → 69

173.10 After 43
¶'After 47 → 69

173.10 *matè*, 43
***maté*,** 47 → 69

173.16 sabre, 43
sabre 69

173.19 outer colonnade, 43
Outer Colonnade, 47 → 69

173.21 himself." 43
himself.' 47 → 69

173.23 [new line but no indent]
Francia's 43
¶Francia's 47 → 69

173.30 time, also, 43
time also, 47 → 69

174.3 none. Alas, 43
none. "Move on!" for the third time:—alas, 47 → 69

174.5 interrogatively,—whereupon 43
interrogatively:—whereupon 47 → 69

174.5 belches forth 43
belches-forth 57 → 69

174.7 great, 43
considerable, 47 → 69

174.7 rapid. 43
one of the rapidest. 47 → 69

174.8 Francia 43
Francia, 47 → 69

174.9 'your Excellency's order;' 43
"Your Excellency's order;" 47 → 69

174.10 that 43
that, 69

174.10 events 43
events, 69

174.13 science 43
Science 47 → 69

174.13 Bonpland, 43
Bonplans[«»] 69

174.14 as 43
a[«»] 69

174.16 set up 43
set-up 57 → 69

174.17 tea. Botany? 43
tea. With an eye to botany? Botany? 47 → 69

174.18 perhaps commerce 43
perhaps to commerce 47 → 69

174.18 "Botany?" 43
"Botany!" 47 → 69

174.20 extraneous individual? 43
extraneous French individual? 47 → 69

174.23 root out 43
root-out 69

174.24 four hundred 43
four-hundred 57 → 69

174.27 America,—and 43
America;—and 47 → 69

174.35 who 43
such of them as 47 → 69

174.37 father 43
Father 47 → 69

175.1 'was 43
"was 47 → 69

175.1 was in 43
use was 47 → 69

175.2 come.' 43
come." 47 → 69

175.2 'The 43
"The 47 → 69

175.3 heaven, 43
Heaven, 47 → 69

175.4 reconciled.' 43
reconciled." 47 → 69

175.4 Francia, 43
Francia; 69

175.6 Francia, 43
Francia 69

175.7 father, 43
Father, 47 → 69

175.8 have 43
have, 69

175.13 If so 43
If so, 47 → 57
if so, 69

175.13 it—for 43
it,—for 69

175.13 psychological sciences. 43
Psychological Sciences. 47 → 69

175.14 Guachos, 43
Gauchos, 69

175.17 fallen in 43
fallen-in 57 → 69

175.21 *matè.* 43
maté. 47 → 69

175.26 inquestioned 43
unquestioned 47 → 69

175.27 years, 43
years 69

175.30 years, 43
years 69

175.33 life 43
Life 47 → 69

175.33 years 43
years, 47 → 69

175.34 plot 43
Plot 47 → 69

175.34 pieces 43
pieces, 47 → 69

176.2 book 43
Book 47 → 69

176.5 September, 43
September 57 → 69

176.7 him, 43
him; 47 → 69

176.9 years. 43
years! 69

"Louis Philippe" [UP, CP, 48]

177.0 Louis Philippe. ms
LOUIS-PHILIPPE. UP → 48
LOUIS PHILIPPE. Strouse

177.3* long ms
long, UP → 48

177.3 past ms
past, CP → 48

177.4 excite, ms
excite UP → 48

177.4 men, ms
men UP → 48

177.10 Louis Philippe, ms
Louis-Philippe, UP → 48

177.11 obscene ms
obscure UP

177.12 enchanted ms
enchanted, UP → 48

177.13 cerements: ms
c[as]ements: UP

177.13 clamm ms
clam[our] UP

177.14 grave ms
grave, CP → 48

177.15 Earth. ms
earth. UP → 48

177.15 Nemesis ms
Nemesis, UP → 48

177.16 [tracks] ms
tracks UP → 48

177.22 [th]an ms
than UP → 48

177.24 Nation ms
nation UP → 48

178.2 back:—and ms
back; and UP → 48

178.4 sad, ms
sad UP → 48

178.5 fellow men; ms
fellow-men, UP → 48

178.6 persistence ms
persistence, UP → 48

178.6 year, ms
years, UP → 48

178.7 there ms
there, UP → 48

178.8 Louis Philippe ms
Louis-Philippe UP → 48

178.8 reliance. Not ms
reliance;—not UP → 48

178.9 what ms
whatever UP → 48

178.10 existed ms
existed, UP → 48

178.10 tho' ms
though UP → 48

178.11 house tops); ms
house-tops); UP → 48

178.12 only, ms
only UP

178.14 Louis Philippe ms
Louis-Philippe UP → 48

178.15 Iniquity, ms
iniquity UP → 48
Iniquity Strouse

178.16 [B]ribery ms
Bribery UP → 48

178.18 sordid ms
mean CP → 48

178.19 lowmindedness ms
low-mindedness UP → 48

178.19 Source ms
source UP
'source CP → 48

178.19 Honour ms
honour UP
honour' CP → 48

178.19 patronised. ms
patronized. UP → 48

178.20 French People, ms
people, UP
French people, CP → 48

178.20 agony, ms
agony UP → 48

178.21 too ms
to UP

178.23 there,—he ms
th[os]e, he UP
so,—he CP → 48

178.24 difficult:—but ms
difficult[;] but UP
difficult: but CP → 48

178.24 Abov[e] ms
above, UP
Above, CP → 48

178.25 Below! ms
below! UP

178.26 Alas ms
Alas[«»] UP
Alas, CP → 48

178.26 thro' ms
through UP → 48

178.26 world ms
world, UP → 48

178.28 all. If ms
all[; i]f UP

178.28 Huge Swindle? ms
[«»]ge swindle? UP
huge swindle? CP → 48

178.28 Supreme Swindler ms
supreme swindler UP → 48

178.29 Sovereign Ruler: ms
sovereign ruler UP
sovereign ruler**:** CP → 48

178.29 [other!] ms
other! UP → 48

178.29 Louis Philippe, ms
Louis-Philippe; UP → 48

178.33 System ms
system UP → 48

178.33 bribery-mortar, ms
bribery mortar, UP → 48

178.34 when,—the ms
when the UP → 48

178.34 Earth ms
earth UP → 48

178.36 Louis Philippe ms
Louis-Philippe UP → 48

178.36 'drove ms
"drove UP

178.36 brougham,' ms
brougham," UP

178.36 street cab, ms
street-cab, CP → 48

178.36 'thro' ms
"through UP
'through CP → 48

178.37 Passy,' ms
Passy," UP

178.37 Night ms
night UP

178.37 after long ms
after a long CP → 48

179.2 Atreus ms
Atreus. UP → 48

179.3 Louis Philippe ms
Louis-Philippe UP → 48

179.3 one ms
we UP

179.3 blame; ms
blame, UP → 48

179.4 People's ms
people's UP → 48

179.6 hearts once more all ms
hearts all UP → 48

179.6 lightnings ms
lightnings, UP
lightning, CP

179.6 barricades up, ms
barricades[,] UP

179.8 '92: ms
'92; UP → 48

179.8* they also have to do as their grandfathers and their fathers did: Protest, ms
the fathers fought in 1830, they in 1848 are still fighting. To the third generation it has been bequeathed by the second and the first; by the third generation the immense problem, still to solve, is not deserted, is duly taken up. They also protest,
UP → 48

179.8 1830; ms
1830, UP → 48

179.16 it,—for ms
it, for UP → 48

179.18 ‘The ms
“The UP

179.19 ‘streets, ms
streets, UP → 48

179.19 pieces,’ ms
pieces,” UP

179.19 pieces; ms
pieces UP
pieces: CP → 48

179.20 remain ms
remain[s] UP

179.20 nothing: “Begone, ms
nothing[:] “Begone, UP
nothing:—“Begone, CP → 48

179.24 Barrica[des] ms
Barricades;’ UP → 48

179.24 [a]nd ms
and UP → 48

179.25 [ini]quity, ms
iniquity, UP → 48

179.25 hypocricy, ms
hypocrisy, UP → 48

179.25 [the a]ppeal ms
the appeal UP → 48

179.25 baseness, ms
baseness UP → CP

179.27 Soldier ms
soldier UP

179.27 Democracy ms
democracy UP

179.32 Kaisers ms
Kaisers, UP → 48

179.32 nature; ms
kind; CP → 48

179.33 magnificence, ms
magnificence UP → 48

179.34 *Concordat*, ms
Concordat UP → 48

179.34 (“the ms
(‘the CP → 48

179.34 cowpox ms
cow-pox UP → 48

179.34 religion, ms
religion,” UP
religion,’ CP → 48

179.35 it) ms
it), UP → 48

179.36 magnificent?”—”Yes, ms
magnificent?” “Yes,
UP → 48

179.37 it, ms
it UP

179.38 that.” ms
that.” ¶“All fictions are *now* ended,” says M. Lamartine at the Hôtel-de-Ville. May the gods grant it. Something other and better, for the French and for us, might then try, were it but afar off, to begin!
CP → 48

“Repeal of the Union” [UP, CP, 48][9]

181.1 ¶Certain indolent members of Parliament, and many indolent members of society, express themselves for their own part, at the pass matters have come to, not disinclined to vote that the thrice [illegible] ed Repeal of the Union, since the Irish think it will make them happy, should by all means be conceded. Since it alone is wanting to your happiness, they say, for God’s sake be happy.

[9] As indicated in the Note on the Text, the standard of collation is the uncorrected proof, but copy-text is the corrected proof. Therefore, the readings of the corrected text are not marked as emendations.

Heaven knows. ¶To UP
¶To CP → 48

181.3 Island; if were possible, annihilation of this Island and all its dependencies. If, UP
Island; perfect and complete Repeal of the Union, as it is called. If, CP → 48

181.4 England with all her populations and spiritual and physical possessions were to sink in the sea, CP
Union could but be completely shorn asunder, repealed and annihilated forever, CP → 48

181.5 forever, CP
for ever, 48

181.5 nothing now between her and the Dutch coast, but blue salt water, would UP
no England henceforth to molest [her, would] CP
no England henceforth to molest **her, would** 48

181.9 morning UP
morning, CP → 48

181.11 objects[: t]hen UP
objects. Then CP → 48

181.13 skill[;] the Claddagh in deputation with note; UP
skill: CP → 48

181.14 halls a UP
halls had suddenly become a CP → 48

181.15 Redeemer; UP
Paraclete; CP → 48

181.17 silent UP
valiant CP → 48

181.18 strong, unwearied; UP
strong; CP → 48

181.18 (that UP
that CP → 48

181.19 blessed) UP
blessed, CP → 48

181.19 when UP
where CP → 48

181.21 when UP
where CP → 48

181.23 in see, UP
of the earth, CP → 48

182.1 In UP
¶In CP → 48

182.1 morning UP
morning, CP → 48

182.1 safe lodged in the bottom of the sea, UP
totally dissevered from her, CP → 48

182.3 the other nations UP
the nations CP → 48

182.4 here materials of: UP
here, just getting under way: CP → 48

182.4 fraternise to UP
fraternise with him to CP → 48

182.5 you UP
he CP → 48

182.5 as Lord UP
as the wicked Lord CP → 48

182.7 nation's for UP
nation's love for CP → 48

182.8 lots; only a UP
lots; a CP → 48

182.9 Chactaws[:]—a UP
Chactaws, though:—a CP → 48

182.10 Jonathan; improve UP
Jonathan; I have no doubt you could. "We would improve you," says Jonathan to the Canadian *Habitans*, "Oh, we would improve you CP → 48

182.11 earth! UP
earth!" CP → 48

182.12 ¶Mad as all this looks, we

are not yet at the bottom of the misery. Such UP
¶All this looks very mad on the part of the sister Island; and yet, alas, such CP → 48

182.14 Repeal UP
"Repeal CP → 48

182.14 Union UP
Union" just now, CP → 48

182.18 say, peace, peace UP
say "Peace, peace" CP → 48

182.21 drawing-rooms, UP
capitals, or at home CP → 48

182.22 its own drawing-rooms, UP
its drawing-rooms, CP → 48

182.22 hunting-saddles, idly bribing government, and the governed millions sunk UP
hunting-saddles, like a class quite unconcerned with governing, concerned only to get the rents and wages of governing; and the governable *un*governed millions sunk meanwhile CP → 48
hunting-saddles, like a class quite unconcerned with governing, concerned only to get the rents and wages of and the governable *un*governed millions sunk meanwhile 48

182.23 governing; CP
governing, 48

182.26 beyond UP
below CP → 48

182.27 of UP
five CP → 48

182.28 dialect, a dialect quite ghastly, UP
dialect (a dialect very *ghastly*, CP → 48

182.30 fierce UP
ignorant CP → 48

182.30 unreason, UP
unreason) CP → 48

182.31 nothing. John of Tuam does at least say, there is no peace, there can be no peace till this alter;—John speaks true, though in a rabid manner, and like an Irish sanctus spiritus. UP
nothing. ¶That CP → 48[10]

182.32 John should UP
John Russell should CP → 48

132.33 John should UP
John Russell should CP → 48

182.34* the Gospel UP
the enlarged Gospel 48

182.34 Tuam. Not UP
One of the maddest Gospels; yet not wholly without a tincture of meaning at the bottom of it. John of Tuam does at least say, "There is no peace, there can be no peace till this alter;—John speaks true so far, though in a rabid manner, and like an Irish Gospel Comforter. Not CP → 48

182.36* "There is CP
there is 48

182.38 hypocrisy UP
hypocrisis CP → 48

183.2 even when he does UP
since he must CP → 48

183.3 drug-vendor[:] patented UP
drug-vendor,—patented CP → 48

183.4 drugs[,] and not reduced by rags to prophesy: UP
drugs, doing a little too in

[10] Note that this is not strictly speaking a deletion but rather the shifting of the passage below (see 182.34).

Repeal nostrums, and now reduced by just rage, as we say, to *prophesy:* CP → 48

183.6 rabid. UP
rabid!— CP → 48

183.7 ¶The day is coming when the Governor of this country will at all moments admit to himself: the English living man, who in authentic human station, with [«»] head, with hands and hart not yet sold to the devil, presents himself before me, saying, "In this wide earth there is unlimited work, in this strait England I can find none, and behold I die." ought to receive answer, "Then shall under conditions work be found thee. I, t[he] Governor, am a solecism under the sun, and my red tape and parliamentary eloquence are a mockery living only on sufferance till that be possible for me." Such is really the law of this universe, so far as this Editor can read it. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Several UP
¶Meanwhile, it is evident, the sober part of the world begins to get somewhat weary of all that. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Several CP
[extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Meanwhile, it is evident, the sober part of the world begins to get somewhat weary of all that. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Several 48

183.7 ¶Meanwhile, CP
[extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Meanwhile, 48

183.12 willingness UP
willingness, CP → 48

183.13 part UP
part, CP → 48

183.25 such places, UP
places of resort, CP → 48

183.29 here UP
here, CP → 48

183.30 England,—not UP
England,—alas, not CP → 48

183.32 them[,]—nay, UP
them given,—nay, CP → 48

183.33 prisons whiskered UP
prisons several whiskered CP → 48

183.34 unpaid[,] spent, UP
unpaid:—rents all *spent*, we say; CP → 48

183.35 enjoyable[,] UP
enjoyable; CP → 48

183.37 non-Irish, UP
Non-Irish, CP → 48

184.1 Since UP
¶Certainly, since CP → 48

184.4 by the cannibal-like blood UP
by drinking cannibal-like the blood CP
by drinking, cannibal-like, the blood 48

184.5 Ireland UP
Ireland, 48

184.11 Apostle UP
Gospel-messages CP → 48

184.12 Conciliation[,] UP
Conciliation halls, and sorrowfully thinking of CP → 48

184.14 ten millions last UP
ten last CP → 48

184.15 indignation, not UP

indignation, of temperature
not CP → 48

184.15 Fahrenheit[-]scale, UP
Fahrenheit, CP → 48

184.17 ¶Of a truth it is natural UP
¶Natural enough CP → 48

184.17 every UP
many CP → 48

184.18 member UP
members CP → 48

184.20 finance UP
finance, CP → 48

184.22 unanchor UP
unanchor CP → 48

184.23 Ireland UP
Ireland, CP → 48

184.25 say UP
say, CP → 48

184.30 at discretion. UP
in sufficiency. CP → 48

184.30 national debt UP
National Debt CP → 48

184.35 and UP
and, alas, CP → 48

184.36 operation UP
operation, CP → 48

185.9 four UP
three CP → 48

185.9 things UP
things, CP → 48

185.10 imaginations?—1. UP
imaginations? ¶1. CP → 48

185.14 breadths. 2. UP
breadths. ¶2. CP → 48

185.15 of 300 (?) miles UP
of some 300 miles
CP → 48

185.16 and UP
with an Irish Channel
CP → 48

185.18 that UP
that, CP → 48

185.18 purposes UP
purposes, CP → 48

185.20 then. 3. UP
then. ¶3. CP → 48

185.21 destinies UP
Destinies CP → 48

185.24 deep[,] UP
deep; CP → 48

185.28 chains,—and UP
chains:—and CP → 48

185.29 people in these centuries UP
people, all this; CP → 48

185.30 generations. UP
generations! CP → 48

185.30 Anarchy UP
Anarchy; CP → 48

185.31 except UP
except CP → 48

185.31 armoury,—so UP
armoury, and used in battles
ag^{t} Orcus;—so CP
armoury, and used in battles
against Orcus;—so 48

185.33 *in inferno.* UP
l'uom ch'é stato all' inferno!
CP → 48

185.36 House UP
house CP → 48

185.36 nation UP
nation, CP → 48

185.38 candid on it. UP
candid! CP → 48

186.2 back parlour UP
back-parlour CP → 48

186.2 Parliamentary UP
parliamentary CP → 48

186.3 eloquencies, UP
eloquences, CP → 48

186.3 sympathisers, Ledru-Rollins, UP
sympathisers, Parisian *émeutiers*, Ledru-Rollins,
CP → 48

186.4 anarchy UP
anarchy, 48

186.10 destinies UP
Destinies CP → 48

186.12 diabolic accident, UP
Diabolic Accident,
CP → 48

186.16 and Repeal UP
repeal CP → 48

186.17 other things, as much as they like. UP
other surprising things.
CP → 48

186.17 present. ¶In the rear, then, of careless members of Parliament, and society ready to Repeal the Union, there appears this sad law of Fate written on the eternal adamant, that the Union cannot be repealed; that all persons possessed of any wisdom or resource in either Island will find it thrifty to give up that speculation and bury it in eternal silence. It is much to be wished this were made clear to everybody. ¶If UP
present. ¶If CP → 48

186.18 creatures UP
creatures, CP → 48

186.18 frenzy UP
frenzy, CP → 48

186.19 miraculous, we UP
miraculous, surely we
CP → 48

186.19 might justly pause UC
might pause CP → 48

186.21 Ages UP
Ages, 48

186.29 Britain and Ireland, and their nobleness, UP
Britain's and Ireland's *nobleness*, CP → 48

186.30 law. UP
law—wherein alone can 'happiness' either for Br[n] or Ire[d] be found. CP
law—wherein alone can 'happiness' either for **Britain** or **Ireland** be found. 48

186.32 Population UP
population CP → 48

186.38 zero UP
zero, CP → 48

187.1 world UP
world, CP → 48

187.2 dog-kennels UP
dog-kennels, CP → 48

187.4 constitutions, UP
Constitutions, CP → 48

187.4 literature, UP
Literature, CP → 48

187.5 Indias, and UP
Indias, spun her Cotton-webs, and CP → 48

187.5 terrible UP
enormous CP → 48

187.9 universe UP
Universe CP → 48

187.10 universe UP
Universe CP → 48

187.11 eternal laws UP
Eternal Laws CP → 48

187.13 laws UP
Laws CP → 48

187.13 universe; UP
Universe; CP → 48

187.13 fact UP
Universe CP → 48

187.14 cap. UP
cap took shape among the headgear of men. CP → 48

187.15 seven or five or three UP
seven, or five, or three,
CP → 48

187.17 150,000,000. UP
hundred-and-fifty millions.
CP → 48

187.24 and all UP
and of all CP → 48

187.25 terrible UP
awful CP → 48

187.27 better UP
better, 48

187.27 be annihilated. UP
meet a doom that makes me shudder. CP → 48

187.27 Conquer England? UP
Conquer England; bar the way of England? CP → 48

187.30 other, UP
other; CP → 48

187.33 Union, UP
Union; CP → 48

188.9 sympathizers, and UP
sympathizers, Parisian *organisateurs*, and CP → 48

188.10 canaille UP
canaille, CP → 48

188.12 try UP
cry CP → 48

188.13 day get UP
day would get CP → 48

188.14 this UP
that CP → 48

188.14 time UP
time! CP → 48

188.23 can['t] UP
cannot CP → 48

188.24 precisely those UP
precisely in a less degree those CP → 48

188.24 reland[:] but UP
Ireland are in a greater. But CP → 48

188.25 them UP
our woes CP → 48

188.26 think UP
think, CP → 48

188.27 Wehave UP
We have CP → 48

188.31 considerable; but by pikes and insurrections not one of them hitherto: never having found them indispensable in feasible proposals. In UP
considerable; which all Europe is now rushing pell-mell, in a very ominous way, to imitate, as the one secret of national wellbeing. Considerable social improve[ts];—but, what is remarkable, by pikes and insurrection not one of them hitherto. No, our Civil War itself proceeded according to act of parl[t]: let all things, even death and battle, be done decently, done in order! By feasible proposals, and determination silently made up, wrought out in long dark silent struggles into *conformity* with the laws of fact, and unalterable as the same,—by these nobler methods, and not by insurrectionary pikes and street-barricades, has England got along hitherto; and hopes that henceforth too they may suffice her. In CP → 48

188.33 improve[ts]; CP
improvements; 48

188.33 but, CP
but 48

188.35 parl[t]: CP
Parliament: 48

189.1 street-barricades, CP
street barricades, 48

189.2 which we UP
which nobler methods we CP → 48

189.5 same. ¶And thus then stands the case. Ireland, UP
same. ¶So that the case stands thus. Ireland, CP → 48

189.7 is UP
has been CP → 48

189.7 authentically UP
practically CP → 48

189.7 British, UP
British; CP → 48

189.9 destiny if UP
destiny along with us, if CP → 48

189.10 The Sioux UP
The Cherokees, Sioux CP
The Cherokees, Sioux, 48

189.10 Chactaws UP
Chactaws, 48

189.10 them,—very authentically
by men and gods UP
them, CP → 48

189.11 Continents for these two UP
Continents two CP → 48

189.11 back. UP
ago. CP → 48

189.11 Can UP
“Can CP → 48

189.16 If not——!” Alas! UP
If not—!”—Alas! CP
If not—”!—Alas! 48

189.17 negative; and the UP
negative; the Chactaws would not, could not, and accordingly CP
negative; the Chactaws would not, could not; and accordingly 48

189.18 in UP
‘in CP → 48

189.18 times, UP
times,’ CP → 48

189.20 Exeter Hall UP
Exeter-Hall CP → 48

189.22 protected; UP
‘protected;’ CP → 48

189.22 reclaimable UP
reclaimable, CP → 48

189.22 or disappear. UP
or to disappear. CP → 48

189.23 Connemara UP
Connemara, CP → 48

189.23 peasantry UP
peasantry, CP → 48

189.24 but if their conformity to the laws of nature be no better than that of Chactaws, nature will be no kinder to them. They too will have to stand out of the way of good work. UP
but it is not the colour of the skin that determines the savagery of a man. He is a savage who, in his sullen stupidity, in his chronic rage and misery, cannot know the facts of this world when he sees them; whom suffering does not teach but only madden; who blames all men and all things except the one only that can be blamed with advantage, namely *himself;* who believes, on the Hill of Tara or elsewhere, what is palpably untrue, being himself unluckily a liar, and the truth, or any sense of the truth, not in him; who curses, instead of thinks and considers;—brandishes his tomahawk ag^{t} the Laws of Nature, and prevails therein as we may fancy and can see! Fruitless futile insurrections, continual sanguinary brawls and riots that make his dwellingplace a horror to mankind, mark his progress generation after generation; and if no beneficent hand will chain him into wholesome

slaver[y] and, with whip on back or otherwise, try to tame him, and get some work out [of] him,—Nature herself, intent to have h[er] world tilled, has no resource but to exterm[in]ate him, as she has done the wolves and various other obstinately *free* creatures bef[ore] now! These are hard words, but they are tr[ue.] CP → 48

189.31 ag[t] CP
against 48

189.31 Laws of Nature, CP
laws of nature, 48

189.33 brawls CP
broils 48

189.33 dwellingplace CP
dwelling-place 48

189.35 *slaver[y]* CP
***slavery*,** 48

189.36 [of] CP
of 48

189.36 h[er] CP
her 48

189.37 exterm[in]ate CP
exterminate 48

189.38 bef[ore] CP
before 48

189.39 tr[ue.] CP
true. 48

189.39 Thomas Carlyle UP
C. CP → 48

"Ireland and the British Chief Governor" [48, 48B]

191.21 Island 48
island 48B

191.23 3,000 48
3000 48B

192.10 Nations; 48
nations; 48B

192.18 thoughts--"the 48
thoughts:--"the 48B

192.37 think?—*first*, 48
think? *first*, 48B

193.24 it 48
it, 48B

193.24 found), 48
found,) 48B

193.24 contitutional 48
constitutional 48B

193.28 person's 48
person's, 48B

193.29 poor), 48
poor,) 48B

194.19 beings! 48
beings? 48B

194.32 earthrind, 48
earth-rind, 48B

195.6 phænomenon! [right justified:] C. 48
phænomenon!—C. 48B

"Irish Regiments (of the New Æra)" [48]

No variants.

"Legislation for Ireland" [ms, 48, 48B]

201.0 Legislation for Ireland. ms
LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND. 48 → 48B

201.1 What ms
Lord John Russell has before Parliament, or in due time will have, two small Bills for improved Registration of Voters in Ireland; and a third for some slight loan, only another million or less, to Irish Landlords,

if they will behave well: but what 48 → 48B

201.1 Lord John Russell 48
Lord John Russell 48B

201.4 sale ms
Sale 48 → 48B

201.4 encumbered ms
Encumbered 48 → 48B

201.4 Bill? ms
Bill for Ireland? 48 → 48B

201.5 [M]inister ms
Minister 48 → 48B

201.6 this ms
that 48 → 48B

201.6 Bill ms
bill 48 → 48B

201.6 foundation stone ms
foundation-stone 48 → 48B

201.7 arrang[ts], ms
Irish arrangements 48 → 48B

201.7 whatsoever. By ms
whatsoever. ¶By 48 → 48B

201.8 Poor Law ms
Poor-law 48 → 48B

201.9 everywhere ms
every where 48B

201.9 declared that ms
declared, That 48 → 48B

201.11 man ms
man, 48 → 48B

201.11 shacklebones ms
shacle-bones, 48 → 48B

201.12 shoulders' ms
shoulders,' 48 → 48B

201.13 [S]un ms
sun 48 → 48B

201.15 strength ms
strength, 48B

201.15 wisdom ms
wisdom, 48B

201.18 That ms
That, 48 → 48B

201.18 word ms
word, 48 → 48B

201.18 Aristocracy or Landowner-
ship, ms
aristocracy, 48 → 48B
Aristocracy, Strouse

201.19 longer ms
longer, 48 → 48B

201.21 hunting saddles, ms
hunting-saddles, 48 → 48B

201.21 drawingrooms ms
drawing-rooms 48 → 48B

201.23 Poverty, ms
poverty, 48 → 48B

202.1 Poor-Law, ms
Poor-law, 48 → 48B

202.1 Everlasting Justice ms
everlasting justice 48 → 48B

202.2 law ms
Chancery 48 → 48B

202.2 declared that ms
declared, That 48 → 48B

202.3 Irish[n], ms
Irishman, 48 → 48B

202.4 rule of right, ms
law, 48 → 48B

202.4 That accordingly ms
That, accordingly, 48 → 48B

202.4 Aristoc[y] ms
aristocracy 48 → 48B
Aristocracy Strouse

202.8 [they] ms
they 48 → 48B

202.10 boat ms
boat, 48 → 48B

202.11 swim ms
swim, 48 → 48B

202.11 sink.—It ms
sink. It 48 → 48B

202.12 has ms
has, 48 → 48B

202.12 length ms
length, 48 → 48B

202.13 earth ms
Earth 48 → 48B

202.14* [L]andowners, ms
landowners, 48 → 48B

202.14 cla[n] ms
class 48 → 48B

202.15 Irish^{n}, ms
Irishmen, 48 → 48B

202.15 book ms
book, 48 → 48B

202.15 [L]ackalls ms
lackalls 48 → 48B

202.16 Is ms
"Is 48 → 48B

202.16 you ms
you, 48 → 48B

202.17 sins ms
vice 48 → 48B

202.17 miseries, ms
misery, 48 → 48B

202.18 *falsities* ms
***falsities*,** 48 → 48B

202.19 tho^{t}? ms
thought? 48 → 48B

202.19 so ms
so, 48 → 48B

202.20 never! ms
never!" 48 → 48B

202.21 [L]andlords ms
landlords 48 → 48B

202.21 law ms
law, 48 → 48B

202.22 Heaven ms
Heaven, 48 → 48B

202.22 ag^{t} ms
against 48 → 48B

202.22 [not] ms
not 48 → 48B

202.23 think it ms
think, It 48 → 48B

202.24 continue: ms
continue. 48 → 48B

202.25 it ms
it, 48 → 48B

202.25 beneficent legislation ms
beneficent British legisla-
tion 48 → 48B

202.27 whole ms
whole, 48 → 48B

202.27 nature ms
Nature 48 → 48B

202.28 continue! Such ms
continue!—Such,
48 → 48B

202.29 think ms
think, 48 → 48B

202.29 comp^{n} ms
computation 48 → 48B

202.32 so; ms
so: 48 → 48B

202.32 Potatoe, ms
potato 48 → 48B

202.33 much ms
(much 48 → 48B

202.33 boiled; ms
boiled); 48 → 48B

202.33 and ms
and, 48 → 48B

202.33 silence ms
silence, 48 → 48B

202.34 that ms
that, 48 → 48B

202.34 Potatoe ms
potato 48 → 48B

202.34 rotten ms
rotten, 48 → 48B

202.35 longer ms
longer, 48 → 48B

202.35 cunning ms
cunning, 48 → 48B

202.38 glittering ms
glittering, 48 → 48B

202.38 Pauperism ms
pauperism 48 → 48B

202.38 dying ms
dying, 48 → 48B

203.1 discern ms
discern, 48 → 48B

203.1 far ms
far, 48 → 48B

203.2 together ms
together, 48 → 48B

203.2 else live ms
else all live 48 → 48B

203.2 nay ms
nay, 48B

203.2 that ms
that, 48 → 48B

203.2 Potatoe ms
potato 48 → 48B

203.4 cannot ms
cannot, 48 → 48B

203.4 redtape ms
red-tape 48 → 48B

203.4 world ms
world, 48 → 48B

203.5 Decision of "Yes ms
Decision, "Yes, 48 → 48B

203.6 decision "No ms
or decision, "No, 48 → 48B

203.6 w^m^ en^gh^, ms
wisdom enough, 48 → 48B

203.7 have": ms
have:" 48 → 48B

203.8 coming ms
coming, 48 → 48B

203.9 circums^es^ ms
circumstances 48 → 48B

203.10 everything, ms
every thing, 48B

203.11 [L]andlord ms
landlord 48 → 48B

203.11 sh^d^ ms
should 48 → 48B

203.12 manipulation ms
manipulation, 48 → 48B

203.13 experiment ms
experiment, 48 → 48B

203.13 [with] [words cut off] ms
with at least the possibility of *trying* to 48 → 48B

203.14 thro ms
through 48 → 48B

203.14 it[illegible] ms
it! 48
it? 48B

203.14 present, [what] ms
present, what 48 → 48B

203.15 subleases, ms
sub-leases, 48 → 48B

203.15 for three lives, for two lives ms
for lives, leases for terms, 48 → 48B

203.15 other leases ms
other inextricable leases, 48 → 48B

203.16 cov^ts^, the ms
covenants,—the 48 → 48B

203.16 [at] ms
at 48 → 48B

203.18 £10,000 ms
10,000*l.* 48

203.18 year, ms
year 48 → 48B

203.19 rem^g^ ms
remaining 48 → 48B

203.19 9,000, ms
9,000*l.* 48
£9,000 48B

203.19 That ms
that 48 → 48B

203.19 sit^n^ ms
situation 48 → 48B

203.20 [L]andlord. ms
landlord. 48 → 48B

203.20 [of] ms
of 48 → 48B

203.21 Swiftly instantly ms
Swiftly, instantly, 48 → 48B

203.21 sh^d^ Gov^t^ ms
should Government 48 → 48B

203.22 an[y] ms
any 48 → 48B

203.22 [L]andlord, ms
landlord, 48 → 48B

203.22 his ms
this 48 → 48B

203.23 Swiftly instan[t]ly ms
Swiftly, instantly, 48 → 48B

203.24 the ms
this 48 → 48B

203.24 bill ms
bill, 48 → 48B

203.24 encumb[d] ms
encumbered 48 → 48B

203.25 Estates; to ms
estates**,—to** 48 → 48B

203.26 it, be ms
it,—be 48 → 48B

203.26 thro' Parl[t]. ms
through Parliament. 48 → 48B

203.27 ¶Nay ms
¶Nay, 48 → 48B

203.27 if bill and bills ms
if this bill and other bills 48 → 48B

203.27 w[d] ms
would 48 → 48B

203.27 Com[n] ms
Commission 48 → 48B

203.28 Twelve ms
twelve 48 → 48B

203.28 men, a ms
men,—a 48 → 48B

203.28 [L]awyer ms
lawyer 48 → 48B
Lawyer Strouse

203.28 Husbandmen, Tenants, ms
husbandmen, tenants, 48 → 48B

203.29 Landlords ms
landlords, 48 → 48B
Landlords, Strouse

203.29 and just ms
just 48 → 48B

203.29 business, should ms
business, the other eleven,—should 48 → 48B

203.30 swiftly ms
swiftly, 48 → 48B

203.30 ser[ve] ms
serve 48 → 48B

203.30 summary ms
summary, 48 → 48B

203.31 God settle ms
God, to settle 48 → 48B

203.31 it; ms
it, 48 → 48B

203.33 Min[r] ms
Minister 48 → 48B

203.33 that. ms
that! 48 → 48B

203.33 fact ms
fact, 48 → 48B

203.34 cir[s] ms
circumstance 48 → 48B

203.35 Poor-Law ms
Poor-law 48 → 48B

203.35 this law ms
this other law, 48 → 48B

203.36 possibility, is ms
possibility, remains unpassed,—is 48 → 48B

203.38 Landl[d] ms
landlord 48 → 48B

203.38 in fact ms
at heart 48 → 48B

204.1 but are idly thinking ms
but idly think, 48 → 48B

204.1 save ms
serve 48 → 48B

204.1 use and wont ms
use-and-wont 48 → 48B

204.2 tho[t] ms
thought 48 → 48B

204.3 Min[r] ms
Minister 48 → 48B

204.3 himself? ms
himself! 48B

204.4 comfortable ms
comfortable, 48 → 48B

204.5 Min[r]? ms
Minister? 48 → 48B

204.6 idle ms
idle, 48 → 48B

204.6 The ms
"The 48 → 48B

204.7 you, ms
her," 48 → 48B

204.7 says; ms
intimates; 48 → 48B

204.7 sleight-of-hand ms
"sleight-of-hand, 48 → 48B

204.8 England ms
England, 48 → 48B

204.8 you ms
her 48 → 48B

204.8 up.—What ms
up!" ¶What 48 → 48B

204.9 Min[r] ms
Minister 48 → 48B

204.9 moneylenders mortgagees ms
money-lenders, mortgagees, 48 → 48B

204.10 attorneys ms
attorneys, 48 → 48B

204.10 thro' ms
through 48 → 48B

204.11 Bill, ms
bill, 48 → 48B

204.11 Bills, ms
bills, 48 → 48B

204.11 Special ms
special 48 → 48B

204.11 Com[n] ms
commission 48 → 48B
Commission Strouse

204.11 whatever *will* ms
whatever else *will* 48 → 48B

204.12 landl[d] ms
landlord 48 → 48B

204.12 it that ms
it, as some surmise, that 48 → 48B

204.13 [L]andlords ms
landlords 48 → 48B

204.13 Attorney ms
attorney 48 → 48B

204.13 Mortg[s], ms
mortgagees, 48 → 48B
Mortgagees, Strouse

204.14 opp[n]? ms
opposition? 48 → 48B

204.14 *don't* then think ms
***don't* think** 48 → 48B

204.14 boat ms
boat, then; 48 → 48B

204.15 you, good friends:—nay ms
you, friends: nay, 48 → 48B

204.15 I myself might lose hold of the tiller in that case, ms
you will overset us if you make a stir, 48 → 48B

204.16 then you *would* sink!" Madder ms
then—!"—Madder 48 → 48B

204.16 legislation, ms
legislation 48 → 48B

204.17 Br Parl[t] ms
British Parliament 48 → 48B

204.19 But ms
Alas, 48 → 48B

204.19 everywhere ms
every where 48B

204.19 in the Creation ms
in Creation 48 → 48B

204.20 and in ms
and even in 48 → 48B

204.20 filaments; which ms

filaments,—which 48
filaments,—which, 48B

204.20 Parl[t] ms
Parliament, 48 → 48B

204.21 Gov[r] ms
Governor 48 → 48B

204.21 could ms
could 48 → 48B

204.21 together. ms
together! 48 → 48B

204.24 Aristocracy ms
aristocracy 48 → 48B

204.25 Aristocracy ms
aristocracy 48 → 48B

204.25 shape ms
shape, 48 → 48B

204.26 [C]lasses; ms
classes; 48 → 48B

204.26 Parl[t], ms
Parliament, 48 → 48B

204.27 with. ¶His ms
with. His 48 → 48B

204.27 Lordship, ms
lordship, 48

204.28 anywhere ms
any where 48B

204.29 of polishing ms
of passing registration bills for Ireland, and polishing 48 → 48B

204.30 perfection. ms
perfection there! 48 → 48B

204.31 if not, the ms
if he *is*,—the 48 → 48B

204.31 should ms
should, 48 → 48B

204.31 speed ms
speed, 48 → 48B

204.32 fact; ms
fact, 48 → 48B

204.33 soon: these ms
soon. These 48 → 48B

204.33 days ms
months 48 → 48B

204.34 swiftly—whitherward? ms
swiftly,—every one asks, Whitherward? 48 → 48B

204.35 then ms
then 48 → 48B

204.35 steering! [right justified] C. ms
steering!—C. 48B

"Death of Charles Buller" [ms, 48]

205.0* Death of Mr Buller ms
DEATH OF CHARLES BULLER. 48

205.9 now. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Mr ms
now. ¶Mr 48

205.11 year; ms
year, 48

205.15 "Reformer," ms
"reformer," 48

205.20 Parliamentary ms
parliamentary 48

205.22 purity; ms
purity, 48

206.2 hypocricy ms
hypocrisy 48

206.3 pretense, ms
pretence, 48

206.7 only ms
any of 48

206.19 shew, ms
show, 48

206.19 [to the] [illegible] ms
to the name 48

206.20 spontaneous ms
spontaneous, 48

206.21 him ms
him, 48

206.26 it: ms
it; 48

206.26 wi[t o]ffend ms
wit offend 48

206.29 coexisting ms
co-existing 48

206.30* large ms
long 48

206.30 man o[f] ms
man of 48

206.32 North. ms
north. 48

206.33 side; doing for it what lay
doable; helpful ms
side; helpful 48

206.37 continue ms
continue 48

207.2 Lernaean ms
Lernæan 48

207.7 Properly indeed ms
Properly, indeed, 48

207.7 career, ms
career 48

207.7 man, ms
man 48

207.7 Office ms
office 48

207.17 forevermore, ms
for evermore, 48

"Ireland and Sir Robert Peel" [49, 49B]

209.0 PEEL. [new line with no indent] Sir 49
PEEL. [new line] From "The Spectator," April 14th, 1849. ¶Sir 49B

209.1 Peel's 49
Peel's 49B

209.9 But 49
But, 49B

209.22 alarming 49
alarming, 49B

210.4 makeshifts, 49
make-shifts, 49B

211.5 gazette, 49
Gazette, 49B

211.22 everywhere 49
every where 49B

211.28 nowhere 49
no where 49B

211.28 sportsmanship! 49
sportsmanship? 49B

211.38 everywhere, 49
every where, 49B

212.1 last 49
last, 49B

212.11 respite, 49
respite 49B

212.19 phænomenon. 49
phenomenon. 49B

212.20 ahead; 49
a-head; 49B

212.26 phænomenon 49
phenomenon 49B

212.27 "common"; 49
"common;" 49B

212.32 Recognize 49
Recognise 49B

212.34 recognize 49
recognise 49B

212.36 recognize 49
recognise 49B

213.6 ask 49
ask, 49B

213.16 everywhere 49
every where 49B

213.21 baneful 49
baneful, 49B

213.23 long: 49
long; 49B

213.28 omen! [right justified] C. 49
omen!—C. 49B

"Indian Meal" [49]

No variants.

"Trees of Libery" [49]

222.27 surely, 49
surety, Strouse

"The Opera" [52, 57D, 57, 69]

223.0 THE OPERA. 52
The Opera. [new line] By Thomas Carlyle. 57D
THE OPERA.† [footnote inserted] † "Keepsake for 1852.—The 'dear P.' there, I recollect, was my old friend Procter (Barry Cornwall); and his 'pious Adventure' had reference to that same Publication, under touching human circumstances which had lately arisen." 57 → 69

223.1 P. 52
A. 57D
P., 57 → 69

223.2 these hot busy 52
these busy 57D → 69

223.4 'Conspectus of England,' 52
***Conspectus of England*,** 57 → 69

223.6 'Conspectus,' 52
***Conspectus*,** 57 → 69

223.7 Bunkum, 52
Buncombe, 57 → 69

224.7 fact; 52
the reality of things; 57 → 69

224.9 fact, 52
reality, 57 → 69

224.12 is, 52
is; 57D

224.17 it: 52
it; 57 → 69

224.17 Deity 52
Destiny 57 → 69

224.20 "sing 52
'sing 57 → 69

224.20 God," 52
God,' 57 → 69

224.32 what men 52
what things men 57 → 69

224.32 sing! ¶Of 52
sing! * * * [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Of 57 → 69

224.34 this:—Lustres, 52
this: Lustres, 57D → 69

224.35 discretion: 52
discretion; 57D → 69

224.36 fitted up 52
fitted-up 57 → 69

224.36 genies, 52
genii, 57D → 69

224.38 Artists 52
Artists, 57D → 69

225.6 *genius* 52
genius, 57D → 69

225.9 superior 52
superior, 57D

225.10 assiduity, 52
assiduity 69

225.10 travail, 52
travail 69

225.11 kings' 52
kings, 57D → 69

225.15 great-toe, 52
great toe, 57D → 69

225.16 degrees;—as 52
degrees,—as 57D → 69

225.25 indian-rubber, 52
Indian-rubber, 57D → 69

225.26 ceiling: 52
ceiling; 57D → 69

225.33 too; 52
too: 57 → 69

226.3 Populace 52
populace 57D → 69

226.5 self-vision: 52
Self-vision: 57D → 69

226.7* give 52
are giving here 57D → 69
226.8 Populace, 52
populace, 57D → 69
226.9 posture-maker: 52
posture-master: 57 → 69
226.11 shew 52
show 57D → 69
226.16 sent for, 52
sent for 57D
sent-for 57 → 69
226.19 And 52
And, 57D → 69
226.19 owned 52
owned, 57D → 69
226.19 upholsteries 52
upholsteries, 57D → 69
226.24 Singedelomme, 52
Chatabagues, 57 → 69
226.25 females; 52
females, 57D → 69
226.26 awhile, 52
awhile 57D
226.26 moustachios 52
moustachios, 57D
226.27 again:—and, 52
again;—and, 57D → 69
226.34 Singedelomme, 52
Chatabagues, 57 → 69
226.35 kindred 52
kindred, 57 → 69
226.36 judged 52
judged, 57 → 69
226.36 eternal,' 52
Eternal,' 57D → 69
226.36 weeded out 52
weeded-out 57 → 69
227.2 Singedelomme 52
Chatabagues 57 → 69
227.3 oh, 52
O, 69
227.5 *you*, 52
you 57D → 69
227.6 Rossini 52
Rossini, 57D → 69
227.7 Oh 52
Oh, 57D → 69
227.7 Heavens, 52
Heavens! 57D → 69
227.8 mad 52
mad, 57D → 69
227.10 too 52
too, 57D → 69
227.11 eyesocket' 52
eye-socket' 57 → 69
227.13 Despair. * * * [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Good 52
Despair. * * * * * ¶Good 57D
Despair. * * * ¶Good 57 → 69
227.17 you, 52
you: 57 → 69
227.21 needlewomen, 52
needlewomen 57 → 69
227.24 deal. * * * ¶Nor 52
deal. * * * * * * * * ¶Nor 57D
227.31 'amusements,' 52
"amusements," 57D → 69

"Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits" [55, 57, 69]

229.0 SUGGESTIONS FOR 55
PROJECT OF 57 → 69[11]
229.0 PORTRAITS IN EDINBURGH, IN THE YEAR

[11] As discussed in the Note on the Text, this article originally appeared within an article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Nonetheless, the title of the essay as reprinted in the *Miscellanies* clearly was derived from the

	1855; INCLUDING A COMMUNICATION ON THE SUBJECT FROM THOMAS CARLYLE, Esq. By DAVID LAING, Esq. F.S.A. Scot.	55
	PORTRAITS.†	57 → 69
229.1	*Esq., Signet*	55
	Esquire* (*Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*), *Signet	57 → 69
229.4	Chelsea, 3*d May*	55
	Chelsea, 3d May	57 → 69
229.9	project,	55
	project	69
230.20	every way	55
	everyway	57 → 69
230.21	stupified,	55
	stupefied,	57 → 69
230.23	preached in	55
	preached-in	57 → 69
230.33	pounds	55
	pounds,	57 → 69
230.36	Portrait Galleries	55
	Portrait-Galleries	57 → 69
231.14	countries. In	55
	countries. ¶In	69
231.19	Picture Galleries	55
	Picture-Galleries	57 → 69
231.23	thro'	55
	through	57 → 69
232.11	and	55
	and,	57 → 69
232.11	whole	55
	whole,	57 → 69
232.13	turn out	55
	turn-out	57 → 69
232.15	hunting up	55
	hunting-up	57 → 69
232.17	gathering in	55
	gathering-in	57 → 69
232.20	vitallest	55
	vitalest	69
232.29	winnow out	55
	winnow-out	57 → 69
232.37	judge—	55
	judge:	57 → 69
233.1	1*st*,	55
	1°.	57 → 69
233.5	realities	55
	realities,	69
233.15	plaster!—and	55
	plaster! And	69
233.20	2*d*,	55
	2°.	57 → 69
233.28	*unlike*	55
	***un*like**	57 → 69
233.29	boxing butcher,	55
	boxing-butcher,	57
	boxing Butcher,	69
233.31	hasten on	55
	hasten-on	57 → 69
234.3	3*d*,	55
	3°.	57 → 69
234.4	come out	55
	come-out	57
234.8	half genuine,	55
	half-genuine,	57 → 69
234.14	&c., &c.,	55
	&c. &c.;	57 → 69
234.17*	Morton, Mar,	55
	Morton, and Mar,	57 → 69

title of this article and therefore we include it in the collation, though we have not included the matter not written by Carlyle.

1857 and 1869 insert the following footnote to the title: "Printed in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i. Part 3 (4to, Edinburgh, 1855) 1857 and 1869 insert "[1854]" below the title. The half-title of 1869 gives the full title as in 1857, but the title at the head of the essay shortens the title by omitting the first three words ("Project of a").

234.26 *Hawley*, 55
Hawley, a 57 → 69

234.30 question 55
question, 69

234.30 'Who 55
"Who 57 → 69

234.30 Character?' 55
Character?" 57 → 69

235.2 History books 55
History-books 57 → 69

235.4 4*th*, 55
4°. 57 → 69

235.16 knowledge, 55
knowledge 57 → 69

235.30 me,—*possible* 55
me;—*possible* 57 → 69

235.31 '*Crystal Palace*' 55
"*Crystal Palace*" 57 → 69

235.33 'riches.'—Believe 55
"riches."—Believe 57
"riches." [new line and extra indent] Believe 69

235.34 Carlyle. 55
Carlyle.† [footnote inserted] † Some efforts, I believe, were made in the direction indicated, by Gentlemen of the Antiquarian Society and others; but as yet without any actual "Exhibition" coming to light. Later, and for Britain at large, we have had, by the Government itself, some kind of "Commission" or "Board" appointed, for forming a permanent "National Portrait-Gallery,"—with what success, is still to be seen.—(*Note of* 1857.) 57 → 69

"Ilias (Americana) in Nuce" [63, 69]

237.0 ILIAS (AMERICANA) IN NUCE. 63
Ilias (*Americana*) *in Nuce*. 69

237.1 *South*). 63
South): 69

237.4 Paul. 63
Paul: 69

237.7 Peter. 63
Peter: 69

237.9 ¶May, 1863. T. C. 63
.)—T.C. ¶3d May 1863.'—(*Macmillan's Magazine*, for August 1863.) 69

"Inaugural Address" [66, 66E, 69][12]

239.0 THE RECTOR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS. 66
INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT EDINBURGH, APRIL 2ND, 1866; BY THOMAS CARLYLE, ON BEING INSTALLED AS RECTOR OF THE

[12] As discussed in the Note on the Text, while we use the first printing in the *Scotsman* as the standard of collation, we have used the 1866 Edmonston as copy-text. We thus provide a complete collation, but the text of this edition will be found on the line labeled 66E, except in four instances noted below (243.2, 251.8, 261.22, 263.7).

[13] Title of 66E as given on the title page of the book; on the first page of the text the title is given as "INAUGURAL ADDRESS."

UNIVERSITY THERE.
66E[13]

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT EDINBURGH, 2d APRIL 1866, ON BEING INSTALLED AS RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY THERE. 69

239.1 Gentlemen, I 66
¶Gentlemen,—I 66E → 69
¶Gentlemen, ¶I 69

239.1 have 66
it is 66E → 69

239.2 the 66
my 66E → 69

239.3 I admit, 66
I must admit, 66E → 69

239.3 is very beautiful in itself, 66
is in itself very beautiful, 66E → 69

239.5 well-known 66
well known 66E → 69

239.5 in a position analogous to your own. 66
of an age like yours, nor is it yet quite gone. 66E → 69

239.6 that 66
that, with you too, 66E → 69

239.6 end—that 66
end,—this 66E → 69

239.8 it, for 66
it:—for 66E → 69

239.9 and many 66
and of many 66E → 69

239.10 else 66
else, 66E → 69

239.10 on. 66
on 69

239.10 (Laughter and cheers.) 66
(*Laughter and cheers.*) 66E
[*Laughter and cheers.*] 69

239.10 There are 66
It is 66E → 69

239.10 years 66
years, 66E → 69

239.11 November 66
November, 66E → 69

239.11 city, 66
City, 66E → 69

239.11 fourteen—fifty-six years ago—to attend classes 66
fourteen; to 'attend the classes' 66E → 69

239.12 know not what—with feelings 66
could little guess what, my poor mind full 66E → 69

239.13 a long, long 66
a long 66E → 69

239.14 to. 66
to 69

239.14 (Cheers.) 66
(*Cheers.*) 66E
[*Cheers*]. 69

239.15 see the third generation, as it were, 66
see, as it were, the third generation 66E → 69

239.16 land, 66
land 69

239.18 judges." 66
judges: this is our judgment of you!" 66E → 69

239.19 "He 66
'He 66E → 69

239.19 masters." 66
masters.' 66E → 69

239.21 it, though 66
it,—though 66E → 69

239.22 describe 66
go into describing 66E → 69

239.22 and, perhaps, 66
and perhaps 66E → 69

239.22 more conceivable 66
more perfectly conceivable 66E → 69

239.23 silence. 66
silence 69

239.23 (Cheers.) 66
(*Cheers*.) 66E
[*Cheers*]. 69

240.1 When 66
¶When 66E → 69

240.1 know that I 66
know I 66E → 69

240.2 it at first. 66
it, but had my doubts rather. 66E → 69

240.4 it—at least, in reconciling 66
it, and overcoming 66E → 69

240.5 things; for 66
things: 66E → 69

240.5 can 66
could 66E → 69

240.5 honour you and 66
serve 66E → 69

240.6 *Mater*, 66
Mater and you, 66E → 69

240.6 I not do so? 66
not I? 66E → 69

240.6 (Loud cheers.) 66
(*Loud cheers*.) 66E
[*Loud cheers*.] 69

240.9 400 66
four hundred 66E → 69

240.10 state 66
scene 66E → 69

240.10 health—now for 66
health, with the burden of the 66E → 69

240.11 years accumulating 66
years now accumulating 66E → 69

240.11 upon me—and 66
on me, and my 66E → 69

240.12 here—all 66
here,—all 66E → 69

240.14 may, however, 66
may 66E → 69

240.14 upon 66
on 66E → 69

240.14 it, that 66
it, however, that 66E → 69

240.15 do whatever 66
do in it whatever 66E → 69

240.16 judgment. 66
judgment 69

240.16 (Cheers.) 66
(*Cheers*.) 66E → 69
[*Cheers*]. 69

240.17 In the meanwhile, 66
¶Meanwhile, 66E

240.17 have at present—which 66
at present have,—which 66E → 69

240.18 quite the reverse, as 66
not quite so, for reasons 66E → 69

240.18 fancy—is 66
fancy,—is 66E → 69

240.19 you 66
you, if possible not quite useless, nor incongruous to the occasion, and 66E → 69

240.19 on some subjects 66
on subjects 66E → 69

240.20 In fact, 66
Accordingly, 66E → 69

240.20 had meant 66
mean 66E → 69

240.21 throw out 66
offer you 66E → 69

240.21 observations—loose 66
observations, loose 66E → 69

240.21 order, I mean—in 66
order, but the truest I have, in 66E → 69

240.22 a way 66
form 66E → 69

240.22 occur to me—the 66
present themselves; certain of the 66E → 69

240.22 I have 66
that are 66E → 69

240.23 are engaged 66
are here engaged 66E → 69

240.23 the race you have started on, what kind of race it is you young gentlemen have begun, 66
what kind of race it is that you young gentlemen have started on, 66E → 69

240.27 moment— 66
moment 69

240.27 (a laugh)—but, 66
(*A laugh*);—but, 66E
[A *laugh*];—but 69

240.27 when I attempted to write, 66
on attempting the thing 66E → 69

240.28 found that I 66
found I 66E → 69

240.28 accustomed 66
used 66E → 69

240.28 did not 66
didn't 66E → 69

240.29 away, 66
aside; 66E → 69

240.29 resolved 66
could only resolve 66E → 69

240.29 trust 66
trust, in all superficial respects, 66E → 69

240.30 inspiration 66
suggestion 66E → 69

240.30 moment—just to what came uppermost. 66
moment, as you now see. 66E → 69

240.31 readiest—what 66
readiest; what 66E → 69

240.33 true as 66
true, so 66E → 69

240.33 manage, 66
manage; 66E → 69

240.34 all that I 66
all I 66E → 69

240.34 for. 66
for 69

240.34 (A laugh.) 66
(*A laugh.*) 66E
[*A laugh*]. 69

240.35 Advices, 66
¶Advices, 66E → 69

240.35 men—as 66
men, as 66E → 69

240.35 men—are 66
men, are 66E → 69

240.36 performing—and 66
performing; and 66E → 69

241.1 It is, in fact, 66
In fact, it is 66E → 69

241.1 and you 66
and doubtless you 66E → 69

241.2 times, I dare say; 66
times; 66E → 69

241.2 thousandth and first 66
thousand-and-first 66E → 69

241.4 not—viz., that 66
not:—namely, That 66E → 69

241.4 own 66
whole 66E → 69

241.4 upon 66
on your 66E → 69

241.5 diligent 66
diligent, 66E → 69

241.5 to-day, 66
today, 69

241.6 education. Diligent!—that 66
education! Diligent: that 66E → 69

241.6 all virtues in it 66
in it all virtues 66E → 69

241.7 have: 66
have; 69

241.7 mean to include in it all qualities 66
mean it to include all those qualities of conduct 66E → 69

241.10 is—the 66
is, the 66E → 69

241.10 seedtime 66
seed-time 66E → 69

241.10 life, 66
life; 66E → 69

241.12 little indeed; while 66
little. And 66E → 69

241.13 advisers—and 66
advisers,—and 66E → 69

241.14 counsellors 66
counsellers 69

241.14 wisdom—you 66
wisdom,—you 66E → 69

241.18 let it 66
allow it, 66E → 69

241.18 order it 66
constrain it, 66E → 69

241.18 is in a 66
is then in a plastic or 66E → 69

241.19 state, 66
state; 66E → 69

241.19 up gradually 66
gradually, 66E → 69

241.19 or iron, 66
or of iron, 66E → 69

241.20 man; for 66
man: he, 66E → 69

241.20 begun 66
begun, so 66E → 69

241.21 last. By 66
last. ¶By 66E → 69

241.22 mean 66
mean, 69

241.22 things—and 66
things, and 66E → 69

241.22 chiefly—I mean honesty 66
chiefly too,—honesty, 66E → 69

241.23 inquiries into what 66
inquiries, and in all 66E → 69

241.24 calls 66
can name 66E → 69

241.25 mean to say, 66
should say for one thing, 66E → 69

241.26 your own minds 66
your minds 66E → 69

241.26 that on 66
that latter on 66E → 69

241.27 acquired 66
acquired, 66E → 69

241.28 stamp 66
admit 66E → 69

241.29 stamped 66
imprinted clearly 66E → 69

241.29 mind, so 66
mind, and has become transparent to you, so 66E → 69

241.32 knows about things, 66
knows things, 66E → 69

241.34 them. 66
them 69

241.34 (Hear, hear, and a laugh.)66
(*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*) 66E
[*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*) 69

241.34 cramming 66
cramming, 66E → 69

241.35 Universities—(a laugh)—that 66
Universities (*A laugh*),—that 66E
Universities [*A laugh*],—that 69

241.35 getting up 66
getting-up 69

241.37 diligent 66
assiduous 66E → 69

242.3 follow them 66
follow and adopt them 66E → 69

242.3 your 66
their 66E → 69

242.3 them. 66
you. 66E → 69

242.4 you can 66
you individually can 66E → 69

242.4 do; for it 66
do; it 66E → 69

242.5 fact, 66
short, 66E → 69

242.7 overrides 66
overrules 66E → 69

242.7 real; and it 66
real; he never will study with real fruit; and perhaps it 66E → 69

242.9 doing any such thing. 66
trying it. 66E → 69

242.10 doctrine—but 66
doctrine, but 66E → 69

242.12 latest. I 66
latest. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶I 66E → 69

242.14 700 66
some seven hundred 66E → 69

242.15 set up 66
set-up 69

242.16 people 66
thinkers 66E → 69

242.16 risen up 66
arisen 66E → 69

242.16 the 66
which 66E → 69

242.18 may now. 66
now may. 66E → 69

242.20 together—the 66
together, these speaking ones,—the 66E → 69

242.21 teach—and 66
teach;—and 66E → 69

242.21 gradually 66
gradually, 66E → 69

242.23 populations—nobly anxious for 66
populations, and nobly studious of 66E → 69

242.23 benefit—and 66
best benefit; and 66E → 69

242.24 University. 66
body-corporate, with high privileges, high dignities, and really high aims, under the title of a University. 66E → 69

242.26 I daresay 66
¶Possibly too 66E → 69

242.26 you have 66
you may have 66E → 69

242.26 all that 66
the course of centuries has changed all this; and that 'the true University of our days is a Collection of Books.' And beyond doubt, all this 66E → 69

242.28 printing, 66
Printing, 66E → 69

242.29 A man has 66
Men have 66E → 69

242.30 away 66
in person 66E → 69

242.30 speaking, 66
speaking; 66E → 69

242.31 he 66
you 66E → 69

242.31 book, 66
book; 66E → 69

242.31 can read 66
can then read 66E → 69

242.32 it. I don't know 66
it. That is an immense change, that one fact of

Printed Books. And I am not sure 66E → 69

242.33 way 66
University 66E → 69

242.34 whole facts of a subject may be more completely 66
whole of that fact has yet been completely 66E → 69

242.34 if our studies are moulded in 66
and the studies moulded in complete 66E → 69

242.36 society—a 66
society;—I think, a 66E → 69

242.36 high value. I consider 66
high, and it might be, almost the highest value. They began, as is well known, with their grand aim directed on Theology,—their eye turned earnestly on Heaven. And perhaps, in a sense, it may be still said, 66E → 69

243.1 man vitally 66
man are virtually 66E → 69

243.2* entrusted 66
intrusted 66E → 69[14]

243.2 been 66
been, and especially was then, 66E → 69

243.4 world—what 66
world,—what 66E → 69

243.4 universe, 66
Universe, 69

243.4 its 66
are our 66E → 69

243.5 all things, as known to man, and as only known 66
it, and to all things knowable by man, or known only 66E → 69

243.5 awful 66
great 66E → 69

243.6 it. 66
man and it. Theology was once the name for all this; all this is still alive for man, however dead the name may grow! 66E → 69

243.8 condition—(laughter)—for 66
condition—(*Laughter*)—for 66E
condition [*Laughter*] for 69

243.9 population, was 66
population, theology was 66E → 69

243.10 now intrinsically, 66
intrinsically now, 66E → 69

243.11 successful as 66
successful—(*A laugh*)—as 66E
successful [*A laugh*] as 69

243.11 wished at all. (A laugh.) 66
wished, by any manner of means! 66E → 69

243.12 It 66
¶It 66E → 69

243.12 however, a 66
however, practically a 66E → 69

243.12 very curious 66
most important 66E → 69

243.12 has been said by observant people, 66
I alluded to above, 66E → 69

243.13 of the Universities 66
of Universities 66E → 69

243.16 have 66
can 66E → 69

243.16 done—what 66
do for you,—what 66E → 69

[14] This is one of the four instances, noted above, in which we retain the reading in 66.

243.16 was that 66
is, That 66E → 69

243.17 read 66
read, 66E → 69

243.17 languages and 66
languages, in 66E → 69

243.17 sciences, 66
sciences; 66E → 69

243.18 that 66
which 66E → 69

243.18 pry 66
gradually penetrate 66E → 69

243.18 anything 66
any department 66E → 69

243.19 of gradually, 66
of, 66E → 69

243.19 me. Whatever 66
me. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Well, gentlemen, whatever 66E
me. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Well, Gentlemen, whatever 69

243.21 all that, 66
these historical points, 66E → 69

243.23 readers—which 66
readers,—which 66E → 69

243.23 is, perhaps, 66
is perhaps 69

243.24 reading—to 66
reading; to 66E → 69

243.24 read all 66
read faithfully, and with your best attention, all 66E → 69

243.25 that 66
which 66E → 69

243.25 an interest in, 66
a real interest in, a real not an imaginary, 66E → 69

243.26 that 66
which 66E → 69

243.28 recommended to you by 66
recommended by 66E → 69

243.29 And, 66
And 66E → 69

243.29 get out of 66
leave 66E → 69

243.30 University[,] 66
University, 66E → 69

243.31 selected 66
chosen 66E → 69

243.31 a province 66
some province specially suited to you, 66E → 69

243.32 that 66
who 66E → 69

243.33 that 66
who 66E → 69

243.33 cut out 66
cut-out 69

243.35 mankind—honest 66
mankind,—honest 66E → 69

243.36 If 66
¶If, in any vacant vague time, 66E → 69

243.36 strait, a 66
strait as to choice of reading,—a 66E → 69

234.37 as to choice—perhaps 66
for you, perhaps 66E → 69

234.37 get—is a 66
get, is towards some 66E → 69

244.2 learn 66
learn, however, 66E → 69

244.3 real. 66
true. 66E → 69

244.4 diet, 66
diet; 66E → 69

244.5 things 66
things, 66E → 69

244.5 and would not 66
nor would, 66E → 69

244.6 it is 66
the things are 66E → 69

244.6 from 66
that he is under 66E → 69

244.7 inquire 66
examine 66E → 69

244.8 for—what 66
for, what 66E → 69

244.8 constitution; 66
constitution and condition; 66E → 69

244.8 is the 66
is in general the 66E → 69

244.9 have, in general. 66
have. 66E → 69

244.9 books. As 66
books. [extra leading between paragraphs]. ¶As 66E → 69

244.11 to almost all 66
to all 66E → 69

244.12 history—to 66
history; to 66E
History; to 69

244.12 you in 66
you on this Earth, and in 66E → 69

244.13 family 66
Family 66E → 69

244.13 man. The 66
Man. ¶The 66E → 69

244.16 have the 66
have two of the 66E → 69

244.17 you—to 66
you, calculated to open innumerable reflections and considerations; a mighty advantage, if you can achieve it;—to 66E → 69

244.18 of the languages, 66
of what their two languages will yield you, 66E → 69

244.19 explain, and which, I believe, are admitted 66
explain; model languages, which are universally admitted 66E → 69

244.20 orders 66
forms 66E → 69

244.22 nations shining, 66
nations, shining 66E → 69

244.23 pillar 66
beacon, or solitary mass of illumination, 66E → 69

244.23 light up 66
light-up 69

244.23 life in 66
some noble forms of human life for us, in 66E → 69

244.24 the darkness 66
the otherwise utter darkness 66E → 69

244.27 as I have found, that 66
empty rumour and tradition, which 66E → 69

244.28 see Roman and Greek 66
see the old Roman and the old Greek 66E → 69

244.31 I 66
¶I 66E proof → 69[15]

244.31 a 66
one important 66E proof → 69

244.31 that 66
That 66E proof → 69

244.32 That 66
This 66E proof → 69

[15] This and the following items include collation of the second proof discussed in the Note on the Text (000).

[16] The original proof here reproduces 1866 Scotsman. Carlyle writes at the top of the proof: "I am not sure but this was *forgotten* in the sheet just gone? Put it *so*, at any rate." He then draws a line to the insertion which indicates the change to the wording given here.

244.32 noted 66
pointed out 66E proof → 69
244.33 wisest 66
wiser kind 66E proof → 69
244.33 particularly 66
very 69
244.34 history—and 66
history,—and 66E proof → 69
244.35 book. 66
work. 66E → 69
244.36 the wildness and ferociousness of their nature. 66
their ruggedly positive, defiant, & fierce ways. 66E proof[16]
their ruggedly positive, defiant, and fierce ways. 66E
their ruggedly positive, defiant and fierce ways. 69
245.1 men, 66
nations, 66E proof → 69
245.1 commands—to 66
commands,—to 66E → 69
245.1 difficulty, and to stand 66
danger, all difficulty, and stand 66E → 69
245.2 front—to 66
front, and 66E → 69
245.3 veracity, to promise, to integrity, 66
truth, to promise, to integrity, 66E proof
truth of promise, to thorough veracity, thorough integrity, 66E → 69
245.4 surround 66
accompany 66E → 69
245.5 man—courage—to 66
man, valour,—to 66E proof → 69
245.5 which the 66
which latter the 66E proof → 69
245.5 virtue, manhood, 66
'virtue' proper (*virtus*, manhood), 66E → 69
245.6 one thing 66
crown and summary of all that is 66E proof → 69
245.7 Rome, 66
Rome 69
245.7 that 66
this religious feeling 66E proof → 69
245.8 still it had retained 66
it still retained 66E → 69
245.11 Sophocles, 66
Sophocles 69
245.11 distinct 66
deep-toned 66E proof → 69
245.13 that that 66
of nations, that this 66E proof → 69
245.13 head 66
origin 66E → 69
245.14 that 66
which 66E proof → 69
245.15 feeling 66
belief 66E proof → 69
245.16 all-wise, 66
all-wise 66E → 69
245.16 all-virtuous 66
all-just 66E proof → 69
245.17 it—no 66
it,—no 66E → 69
245.19 world. Our 66
world. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Our 66E proof[17]
world. [page break between paragraphs] ¶Our 66E → 69
245.21 will take 66

[17] This is the only instance in which we adopt a variant from the fragments of the proofs of 1866 Edmonston.

will naturally take
66E proof → 69

245.21 of natural pains 66
of pains 66E → 69

245.23 study; because 66
study. For indeed 66E → 69

245.23 nation—and I include 66
nation,—including
66E → 69

245.24 nation—produced 66
nation,—produced
66E → 69

245.25 world. 66
world 69

245.25 (Applause.) 66
(*Applause.*) 66E
[*Applause*]. 69

245.25 know 66
know, 66E → 69

245.26 Rome 66
Rome, 66E → 69

245.26 Cromwell. 66
Cromwell, for example. 66E
Cromwell, for example 69

245.27 (Applause.) 66
(*Applause.*) 66E
[*Applause*]. 69

245.27 we 66
we, too, 66E
we too 69

245.27 memory 66
memory, 66E → 69

245.28 island here 66
Island here, 66E → 69

245.28 others, 66
others; 66E → 69

245.28 been strong 66
had its heroic features all along; and did become great 66E → 69

245.29 least 66
last 66E → 69

245.29 the world-history—for 66
world-history:—for
66E → 69

245.30 well 66
well, 66E → 69

245.31 would never 66
never would 66E → 69

245.32 all 66
all, 66E → 69

245.32 Scotchman. 66
Scotchman 69

245.32 (Applause.) 66
(*Applause.*) 66E
[*Applause*]. 69

245.33 part at all. (Laughter and applause.) 66
part, but will stand examining. (*Laughter and applause.*) 66E
part, but will stand examining [*Laughter and applause*]. 69

245.35 And it is very possible, 66
¶In fact, 66E → 69

245.37 the 66
that 66E → 69

245.38 away 66
away, 66E → 69

245.38 get 66
get, 66E → 69

246.1 dursn't 66
durst not 66E → 69

246.2 complaints, to 66
complaints, and demands to
66E → 69

246.3 they 66
they, and all men,
66E → 69

246.4 according to the will of God; and 66
the exact transcript of the Will of God;—and
66E → 69

246.4 there could 66
could there 66E → 69

246.5 be no aim more legitimate. However, they could not have got their desire fulfilled at all if Knox had not

66
be, for man, a more legitimate aim? Nevertheless, it would have been impossible in their circumstances, and not to be attempted at all, had not Knox 66E → 69

246.6 succeeded by 66
succeeded in it here, some fifty years before, by 66E → 69

246.8 is also 66
also is 66E → 69

246.8 me—John 66
me,—John 66E → 69

246.8 Knox. 66
Knox 69

246.8 (Applause.) 66
(*Applause.*) 66E
[*Applause*]. 69

246.12 modern 66
the 66E → 69

246.12 at 66
at, misknown, 66E → 69

246.12 abused. 66
abused 69

246.13 (Applause.) 66
(*Applause.*) 66E
[*Applause*]. 69

246.13 Scotland—the 66
Scotland; the 66E → 69

246.13 him with 66
him, believed him to66E → 69

246.14 bones—they 66
bones: they 66E → 69

246.15 said. 66
said; "we will and must!" 66E → 69

246.16 at that time 66
in this state of things that 66E → 69

246.16 England, 66
England; 66E → 69

246.17 that 66
how 66E → 69

246.17 Earls 66
earls 66E → 69

246.18 Hill, 66
Hill in 1639, 66E → 69

246.18 there; and 66
there: 66E → 69

246.18 in 66
at 66E → 69

246.18 course 66
crisis 66E → 69

246.20 on the top of Dunse 66
on Dunse 66E → 69

246.20 Hill— 66
Hill,— 66E → 69

246.20 thirty thousand 66
thirty-thousand 69

246.20 drilled 66
drawn out 66E → 69

246.21 around 66
round 66E → 69

246.21 Earl, 66
earl, 66E → 69

246.22 eager for 66
zealous all of them 'For 66E → 69

246.22 Covenant. 66
Covenant.' 66E → 69

246.23 England 66
England's 66E → 69

246.24 on 66
on, 66E → 69

246.25 rule—whether 66
rule; whether 66E → 69

246.26 use and wont, 66
use-and-wont, 69

246.27 here 66
here, 66E → 69

246.28 prosperity—which 66
prosperity; which 66E → 69

246.28 mastery; 66
mastery: 66E → 69

246.29 know. I
know. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶I 66E → 69

246.31 Cromwell's—notwithstanding 66
Cromwell's, notwithstanding 66E → 69

246.32 abuse 66
censures 66E → 69

246.32 was able to get on 66
could continue 66E → 69

246.33 on—it 66
on, it 66E → 69

246.33 been 66
been, on the whole, 66E → 69

246.34 England, on the whole. 66
England. 66E → 69

246.36 perhaps 66
probably 66E → 69

246.37 true 66
true, 66E → 69

246.37 fibre 66
fibre, 66E → 69

246.37 mind—there 66
mind; there 66E → 69

246.37 was truth 66
was perfect truth 66E → 69

246.37 when 66
while 66E → 69

246.38 Machiavelli 66
¶Macchiavelli 69

246.38 about 66
of 66E → 69

246.38 democracy 66
Democracy 66E → 69

247.1 cannot exist 66
cannot long exist 66E → 69

247.1 world—that 66
world; that 66E → 69

247.2 Government 66
mode of government, of national management or administration, 66E → 69

247.2 is 66
involves 66E → 69

247.2 impossibility that it should be continued; and 66
impossibility, and after a little while must end in wreck. And 66E → 69

247.3 that 66
that, 66E → 69

247.4 this 66
that 66E → 69

247.4 conviction—(hear)—but 66
conviction—(*hear*),—but 66E
conviction [*Hear*],—but 69

247.5 truth that it is a 66
truth; he considers it a 66E → 69

247.6 should govern 66
should ever govern 66E → 69

247.6 says 66
has to admit 66E → 69

247.6 Romans 66
Romans, 66E → 69

247.7 time, 66
time; 66E → 69

247.7 but it 66
but believes, it 66E
but believes it 69

247.8 constitution—namely, that they had all 66
constitution, namely, of their all having 66E → 69

247.9 necessary 66
necessary, 66E → 69

247.9 times 66
times, 66E → 69

247.9 Dictator—a 66
Dictator; a 66E → 69

247.10 everything—who 66
everything, who 66E → 69

247.12 Republic 66
republic 66E → 69

247.12 suffered 66
suffer 66E → 69

247.13 detriment, and 66
detriment. And 66E → 69

247.13 Machiavelli 66
Macchiavelli 69

247.13 that 66
this 66E → 69

247.13 that 66
which 66E → 69

247.14 system 66
system, 66E

247.14 did—an 66
did. Probable enough, if you consider it. And an 66E → 69

247.15 likely thing, if it 66
proper function surely, this of a Dictator, if the republic 66E → 69

247.16 nothing but 66
little other than 66E → 69

247.17 men 66
men, 66E → 69

247.18 will, 66
will let me name it so, 66E → 69

247.19 that 66
which 66E → 69

247.20 heaven 66
Heaven 69

247.20 Oliver. 66
Oliver 69

247.20 (Applause.) 66
(*Applause.*) 66E
[*Applause*]. 69

247.21 For 66
¶For 66E → 69

247.21 Parliament, called "Bare-bones"—the 66
Parliament of Notables, what they call the 'Bare-bones Parliament,'—the 66E → 69

247.22 probably—(laughter)—that 66
probably (*laughter*),—that 66E
probably [*Laughter*],—that 69

247.23 that 66
which 66E → 69

247.24 apology—no 66
apology; no 66E → 69

247.25 fifteen thousand, 66
fifteen-thousand, 69

247.25 fifteen hundred—(laughter)—I 66
fifteen hundred (*Laughter*),—I 66E
fifteen-hundred [*Laughter*],—I 69

247.26 shall 66
will 66E → 69

247.26 last—(renewed laughter)—there 66
last number, to be safe (*Renewed laughter*);—there 66E
latter number, to be safe [*Renewed laughter*];—there 69

247.27 fifteen hundred 66
fifteen-hundred 69

247.29 waving 66
wagging 66E → 69

247.30 Upon which 66
Upon view of all which, 66E → 69

247.32 and the Fountain 66
and Fountain 66E → 69

247.32 for the 66
in the name of what was 66E → 69

247.33 the 66
said 66E → 69

247.34 wiser, 66

wiser in their generation, 66E → 69
247.35 it 66
this 66E → 69
247.36 would never 66
wouldn't 66E → 69
247.37 it. 66
it 69
247.37 (Laughter.) 66
(*Laughter.*) 66E
[*Laughter*]. 69
247.38 it, 66
it: 66E → 69
248.1 president 66
Speaker 66E → 69
248.1 it—old 66
the Parliament, old 66E → 69
248.1 Rous, who 66
Rous,—who 66E → 69
248.2 Psalms—those 66
Psalms for us, those 66E → 69
248.2 sing every 66
sing here every 66E → 69
248.2 yet—a 66
yet; a 66E → 69
248.3 man, and 66
and learned, 66E → 69
248.3 Eton—he 66
Eton College afterwards,—he 66E → 69
248.4 Dictator 66
Dictator, 66E → 69
248.5 officially 66
officially, 66E → 69
248.5 signature 66
signature, 66E → 69
248.6 morning 66
morning, 66E → 69
248.6 thing was 66
act of abolition had been 66E → 69
248.7 night, 66
night; 66E → 69
248.7 morning 66
morning, 66E
248.8 carry on 66
carry-on 69
248.9* Protector a second time. I 66
Protector, virtually in some sort a Dictator, for the first time. ¶And I 69
248.11* Oliver 66
Oliver was faithfully doing a Dictator's function, and of his prudence in it, as well. Oliver 66E
Oliver did faithfully set to doing a Dictator's function, and of his prudence in it as well. Oliver 69
248.13 Parliament that had been dismissed 66
Parliament, now dismissed, 66E → 69
248.15 or reforming 66
or else reforming 66E → 69
248.16 it, 66
the matter, 66E → 69
248.17* assembled sixty 66
assembled fifty or sixty 69
248.18 law—men 66
law; men 66E → 69
248.18 laws as 66
laws of England as 66E → 69
248.19 does now, I suppose. 66
ever did; and who knew withal that there was something still more sacred than any of 66E → 69
248.20 these. (A laugh.) 66
these. (*A laugh.*) 66E
these [*A laugh*]. 69
248.20 them—Go 66
them, "Go 66E → 69
248.21 with regard to it. 66
with it. 66E → 69

248.22 clean out 66
clean-out 69

248.22 in it that 66
in that Chancery Court, which 66E → 69

248.23 everybody. 66
everybody." 66E → 69

248.23 then, 66
accordingly, 66E → 69

248.24 weeks—there 66
weeks,—(there 66E → 69

248.25 hand—they 66
hand,)—they 66E
hand),—they 69

248.26* got sixty 66
got some sixty 69

248.26 minds of 66
minds as the summary of 66E → 69

248.28 remodelled, 66
remodelled; 66E → 69

248.28 it has 66
it got a new lease of life, and has 66E → 69

248.30 in which things 66
of things that 66E → 69

248.31 what 66
how 66E → 69

248.31 did. Upon 66
did them. I reckon, all England, Parliamentary England, got a new lease of life from that Dictatorship of Oliver's; and, on 66E → 69

248.33 whole, I 66
whole, that the good fruits of it will never die while England exists as a nation. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶In general, I 66E → 69

248.36 do not 66
hardly 66E → 69

248.36 that, in general, 66
that 66E → 69

248.36 history books, 66
history books 66E
history-books 69

248.37 or anything particular which 66
or ascertain anything which can specially illuminate it for you, and which 66E → 69

249.1 beseem 66
most of all behove 66E → 69

249.2 books 66
books, 66E → 69

249.3 do any other thing than 66
do other than 66E → 69

249.4 Man is 66
God and the Godlike, as our fathers would have said, has fallen asleep for them; and plays no part in their histories. A most sad and fatal condition of matters; who shall say how fatal to us all! A man 66E → 69

249.7 condition that he will 66
condition will 66E → 69

249.7 only 66
but 66E → 69

249.7 anything, and 66
anything:—in short, 66E → 69

249.8 if you are like 66
I believe, by aid of 66E → 69

249.13 I 66
¶I 66E → 69

249.13 Collins' 66
Collins's 66E → 69

249.13 "Peerage" 66
Peerage 66E → 69

249.13 read—a 66
read,—a 66E → 69

249.13 peerage 66
performance 66E → 69

249.15 time—(applause)—I 66

time. (*Applause.*) I 66E
time [*Applause*]. I 69

249.15 dictionary, 66
dictionary available; 66E → 69

249.16 book would 66
Book, since most of my men were peers or sons of peers, would 66E → 69

249.17 least tell 66
least would tell 66E → 69

249.18 young, and about all persons concerned in the actions about which I wrote. I got 66
young, where they lived, and the like particulars, better than absolute nescience and darkness. And accordingly I found amply all I had expected in poor Collins, and got 66E → 69

249.20 poor Collins. 66
him. 66E → 69

249.20 and dark 66
dull 66E → 69

249.20 bookseller 66
bookseller, 66E → 69

249.21 parchment chests, 66
parchments, charter-chests, 66E → 69

249.22 all kinds of things out of which 66
gathered far and wide wherever 66E
gathered far and wide, wherever 69

249.23 it, 66
it 66E

249.23 information he wanted. 66
information wanted. 66E → 69

249.24 I 66
¶I 66E → 69

249.24 anything 66
everything 66E → 69

249.24 wanted 66
had expected 66E → 69

249.26 for—if he has 66
for, if you have 66E → 69

249.27 kings 66
Kings 66E → 69

249.27 England 66
England, 66E → 69

249.28 the First 66
I., 66E → 69

249.28 appointed, 66
actually, in a good degree, 66E → 69

249.28 knew, those 66
knew, been in the habit of appointing as Peers those 66E → 69

249.29 deserved 66
deserved 66E → 69

249.29 appointed, Peers. They 66
appointed. In general, I perceived, those Peers of theirs 66E → 69

249.30 men, 66
men of a sort, 66E → 69

249.30 justice and valour 66
justice, valour, 66E
justice, valour 69

249.31 that are good for men to have who ought to rule 66
that menought to have who rule 66E → 69

249.32 Then 66
And then 66E → 69

249.32 genealogy 66
genealogy, the kind of sons and descendants they had, this also 66E → 69

249.33 remarkable—and 66
remarkable:—for 66E → 69

249.33 genealogies 66
genealogy 66E → 69

249.34 came out of 66
came of 66E → 69

249.35 people. 66
people 69

249.35 (Laughter. 66
(*Laughter*.) 66E
[*Laughter*]. 69

249.35 around 66
around, among 66E → 69

249.36 directions—I 66
directions;—I 66E → 69

249.36 it has been the case in mine. 66
my own experience is steadily that way; 66E → 69

249.38 them, so 66
them. So 66E → 69

250.1 deal—the 66
deal, the 66E → 69

250.1 principle in 66
principle,—in 66E → 69

250.2 be recognised 66
be again recognised 69

250.3 remark 66
remark, too, in your Collins, 66E → 69

250.4 fails—if 66
goes awry, if 66E → 69

250.4 fool in these 66
fool,—in those 66E → 69

250.5 striking 66
practical 66E → 69

250.5 times—the 66
times, the 66E → 69

250.5 gets into mischief and gets into treason; he gets himself 66
soon gets into mischief, gets into treason probably,—soon gets himself and his peerage 66E → 69

250.6 fact. (Laughter.) 66
short. (*Laughter*.) 66E
short [*Laughter*]. 69

250.7 From 66
¶From 66E → 69

250.7 these 66
those old 66E → 69

250.7 of old Collins, 66
of Collins, 66E → 69

250.7 it seems 66
you learn and ascertain 66E → 69

250.7 Peer 66
peer 66E → 69

250.8 solemn, good, pious, 66
pious, high-minded, grave, dignified, and 66E
pious, high-minded, grave, dignified and 69

250.9 way when 66
way, in his course through life, and when 66E → 69

250.9 life, and when he 66
life:—his last will is often a remarkable piece, which one lingers over. And then you perceive that there was kindness in him as well as rigour, pity for the poor; that he 66E → 69

250.11 hospitable habits, and is valiant in his procedure throughout; and 66
fine hospitalities, generosities,—in fine, that he is throughout much of a noble, good and valiant man. And 66E → 69

250.13 a king, 66
the King, 66E → 69

250.13 noble 66
beautiful 66E → 69

250.14 what was right, 66
accuracy, 66E → 69

250.14 man, 66
kind of man; 66E → 69

250.15 Sir; come 66
sir. Come 66E → 69

250.16 upon; 66
upon, jostled about, and can do in a manner nothing

with your fine gift; 66E → 69

250.21 thing we see that 66
thing, which, we see, 66E → 69

250.21 went all 66
went on all 66E → 69

250.22 England, and that 66
England for about six hundred years. That 66E → 69

250.22 history. 66
history 69

250.23 (Cheers.) 66
(*Cheers.*) 66E
[*Cheers*]. 69

250.23 that 66
that, 66E → 69

250.23 of Charles 66
of James, or even Charles 66E → 69

250.24 I. 66
I., 66E → 69

250.24 having a merit 66
having merit 66E → 69

250.25 Peerage. 66
peerage. 66E → 69

250.25 time, 66
time 69

250.26 by birth 66
born 66E → 69

250.26 gentleman and was worth £10,000, and bestowed his gifts 66
gentleman, and cared to lay out £10,000 judiciously 66E
gentleman, and cared to lay-out 10,000*l.* judiciously 69

250.28 on with still more rapidity, 66
on still faster, 66E → 69

250.29 velocity 66
velocity, 66E → 69

250.29 perfect 66
perfectly 66E → 69

250.30 now—(a laugh)—and 66
now (*A laugh*), so that 66E
now [*A laugh*], so that 69

250.30 Peerage 66
peerage 66E → 69

250.31 these 66
those 66E → 69

250.33 One 66
¶First, however, one 66E → 69

250.35 books—in 66
books,—in 66E → 69

250.36 sense—you 66
sense,—he 66E → 69

250.37 of 66
into 66E → 69

250.37 books—there is 66
books. Everywhere 66E → 69

250.38 of a book. 66
of book. 66E → 69

250.38 all very 66
unacquainted, or 66E → 69

250.38 acquainted 66
acquainted, 69

251.1 this; 66
this plain fact; 66E → 69

251.1 is a 66
is becoming a 66E → 69

251.2 at present. It casts 66
in our day. And we have to cast 66E → 69

251.2 idea that people 66
idea people 66E → 69

251.3 that, 66
that 69

251.3 book—that 66
book, that 66E → 69

251.4 I entirely 66
I must entirely 66E → 69

251.5 question. 66
question; 66E → 69

251.5 it. 66
that 66E → 69

251.5 (Laughter and cheers.) 66
(*Laughter and cheers.*) 66E
[*Laughter and cheers*]. 69

251.6 would he have 66
for many a reader, that he had 66E → 69

251.6 are 66
is 66E → 69

251.7 an 66
a frightfully 66E → 69

251.8 to him, 66
to the readers of them, 66E → 69

251.8 useful. 66
useful 69

251.8 (Hear.) 66
(*Hear.*) 66E
[*Hear*]. 69

251.8 he 66
an ingenuous reader 66E → 69

251.8 learn also 66
learn, also, 66E → 69[18]

251.9 supreme, 66
supremely 66E → 69

251.9 people—not 66
people,—not 66E → 69

251.10 number, 66
number of books, 66E → 69

251.10 adhere 66
fit to occupy all your reading industry, do adhere 66E → 69

251.12 souls—divided 66
souls; divided 66E → 69

251.13 goats. 66
goats 69

251.13 (Laughter and applause.) 66
(*Laughter and cheers.*) 66E
[*Laughter and cheers*]. 69

251.13 of them 66
few 66E → 69

251.13 calculated 66
going up, and carrying us up, heavenward; calculated, I mean, 66E → 69

251.14 very great 66
priceless 66E → 69

251.14 teaching—in 66
teaching,—in 66E → 69

251.15 Others 66
Others, a frightful multitude, 66E → 69

251.16 down, 66
down; 66E → 69

251.16 more and more wilder and 66
ever the more and the wider and the 66E → 69

251.16 mischief. And 66
mischief. Keep a strict eye on that latter class of books, my young friends!—¶And 66E → 69

251.18 studies here, 66
studies and readings here, 66E → 69

251.18 and whatever 66
and to whatever 66E → 69

251.20 knowledges—that you are going to get 66
knowledges,—not that of getting higher and 66E → 69

251.21 lies 66
lying 66E → 69

251.24 wisdom—namely, 66
wisdom;—namely, 66E → 69

[18] This is one of the four instances, noted above, in which we retain the reading in 66.

251.25 round about you, 66
round you, 66E → 69

251.26 justice and wisdom. 66
justice, candour, clear insight, and loyal adherence to fact 66E → 69

251.26 In short, great 66
Great 66E → 69

251.27 wisdom—great 66
wisdom; infinite 66E → 69

251.28 man—"Blessed 66
man: 'Blessed 66E → 69

251.28 understanding." 66
understanding.' 66E → 69

251.29 occasionally 66
on occasion, 66E → 69

251.29 easily; but never 66
easily; never 66E → 69

251.30 I think. 66
I sometimes think. 66E → 69

251.30 a failure. However, 66
failure!—However, 66E → 69

251.31 matter. In this University, I learn from many sides, there is a great and considerable stir about endowments. But 66
matter. ¶But 66E → 69

251.32 said 66
said, 66E → 69

251.32 book reading, 66
book-reading, 66E → 69

251.33 University. 66
University! 66E → 69

251.33 hope 66
hope, 66E

251.34 those 66
the 66E → 69

251.34 you—and, 66
you; and, 66E → 69

251.36 it; 66
it, 66E → 69

251.36 You 66
Nay, I have sometimes thought, why should not there be a library in every county town, for benefit of those that could read well, and might if permitted?
True, you 66E → 69

252.1 do that, and 66
accomplish that;—and withal, what perhaps is still less attainable at present, 66E → 69

252.2 require also judgment 66
require judgment 66E → 69

252.2 of the books—pious 66
of books; real 66E → 69

252.2 is really for 66
is for 66E → 69

252.4 people—(laughter)—and 66
people (*Laughter*), and 66E
people [*Laughter*], and 69

252.5 books—as 66
books, as 66E → 69

252.5 possible good 66
possible of good 66E → 69

252.5 As 66
Let us hope the future will be kind to us in this respect. [extra leading between paragraphs]. ¶In this University, as 66E → 69

252.8 was saying, 66
learn from many sides, 66E → 69

252.8 appears to be a great demand for endowments—an 66
is considerable stir about endowments; an 66E → 69

252.10 for encouraging 66
to encourage 66E → 69

252.10 in 66
of 66E → 69

252.11 the 66
our 66E → 69

252.11 University of the country. (Hear, hear.) 66
University. (*Hear, hear.*) 66E
University [*Hear, hear*]. 69

252.13 one expects most assuredly 66
one surely expects it 66E → 69

252.15 Universities 66
Universities, and institutions 66E → 69

252.17 backward 66
slack 66E → 69

252.17 endowments—(a laugh)—at least in rivalry to 66
endowments (*A laugh*); at any rate, to the extent of rivalling 66E
endowments [*A laugh*]; at any rate, to the extent of rivalling 69

252.19 praise, 66
praise; 66E → 69

252.20 them 66
them, 66E → 69

252.20 say 66
say, 66E → 69

252.21 equality. (Laughter.) 66
equality. (*Laughter.*) 66E
equality [*Laughter*]. 69

252.21 overabundance 66
abundance and over-abundance 66E → 69

252.22 money, and sometimes 66
money. Sometimes 66E → 69

252.22 been 66
been, 66E → 69

252.23 time 66
time, 66E → 69

252.23 Scotland 66
Scotland, 66E → 69

252.24 part, for 66
part. For 66E → 69

252.24 go 66
go, 69

252.24 gold-nuggeting—(a laugh)—that 66
same gold-nuggeting (*A laugh*),—that 66E
same gold-nuggeting [*A laugh*],—that 69

252.25 prosperity. Many men are 66
'unexampled prosperity,' and men 66E → 69

252.26 millions. 66
the million sterling. 66E → 69

252.27 it. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) 66
it. (*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*) 66E
it [*Hear, hear, and a laugh*]. 69

252.27 knows—or 66
knows,—or 66E → 69

252.28 know—what 66
know,—what 66E → 69

252.30 believed. (Laughter.) 66
believed. (*Laughter.*) 66E
believed [*Laughter*]. 69

252.30 it a 66
it would be a 66E → 69

252.31 beautiful 66
beneficent 66E → 69

252.31 a man 66
a rich man 66E → 69

252.31 that 66
who 66E → 69

252.32 him 66
him, 66E → 69

252.32 a handsome 66
some 66E → 69

252.32 some meritorious 66
the gifted poor 66E → 69

252.33 in to 66
into 66E → 69

252.33 him a little to 66
him to 66E → 69

252.33 in his way. 66
his way a little. 66E → 69

252.34 described to you—to 66
been describing; to 66E → 69

252.35 a 66
some noble poor 66E → 69

252.35 mud 66
mud, 69

252.35 trampled, unworthily on his part, 66
trampled on unworthily, by the unworthy, 66E
trampled on unworthily by the unworthy, 69

252.36 may 66
might 66E → 69

252.37 some 66
a little 66E → 69

252.37 generation. 66
generation! 66E → 69

252.38 done 66
achieved 66E → 69

252.38 that way; 66
this direction; and 66E → 69

253.1 At the same time, in 66
In 66E → 69

253.1 department of things, it is 66
department, above all, it surely is 66E → 69

253.2 desired that 66
desired by us that 66E → 69

253.2 supported—that 66
supported,—that 66E → 69

253.2 allow people 66
allow the fit people 66E → 69

253.3 go 66
have their scholarships and subventions, 66E → 69

253.3 leisure possibly to 66
leisure to 66E → 69

253.5 have. I 66
have; and I hope we shall. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶I 66E → 69

253.7 if 66
if, 66E → 69

253.7 times 66
times, 66E → 69

253.8 was 66
were 66E → 69

253.9 for endowments on the face of the earth 66
in the world for endowments 66E → 69

253.9 a remarkable 66
an evident 66E → 69

253.10 that 66
that, 66E → 69

253.10 Bentley 66
Bentley, 66E → 69

253.11 great 66
European 66E → 69

253.11 scholarship amongst them, 66
scholarship, 66E → 69

253.12 that 66
who 66E → 69

253.12 that 66
so 66E → 69

253.13 remembered amongst men, although 66
remembered; and 66E → 69

253.13 may be a poor man 66
is poor, 66E → 69

253.13 endowed with worldly wealth. 66
an Englishman. 66E → 69

253.14 Saxony, 66
Saxony; 66E → 69

253.15 Tibullus in Dresden in the room of 66
Tibullus, in Dresden, in 66E → 69

253.15 comrade, 66

comrade's garret, with the floor for his bed, and two folios for pillow; 66E → 69

253.16 while he was editing 66
while editing 66E → 69

253.17 his pease-cod shells 66
peasecod shells 66E
peasecods 69

253.17 endowment. (Laughter.) 66
endowment. (*Laughter.*) 66E
endowment [*Laughter*]. 69

253.19 Heine. (Cheers.) 66
Heyne. (*Cheers.*) 66E
Heyne [*Cheers*]. 69

253.19 remember 66
remember, 66E → 69

253.20 book on 66
edition of 66E → 69

253.20 that 66
that, 66E → 69

253.20 time 66
time, 66E → 69

253.21 had understood him—that he 66
understood Virgil; that Heyne 66E → 69

253.21 me 66
me, 66E → 69

253.21 time 66
time, 66E → 69

253.22 life, and 66
life and ways of thought; had 66E → 69

253.23 written 66
written, 66E → 69

253.23 their interpretation; and it 66
me their interpretation. And the process 66E → 69

253.24 development, 66
developments, 66E → 69

253.25 Upon 66
¶On 66E → 69

253.26 they 66
men 66E → 69

253.28 changed now. Why that has decayed away, 66
now changed; a vast decay of zeal in that direction. And truly the reason 66E → 69

253.29 be 66
be, 66E → 69

253.30 that 66
whether 66E → 69

253.30 that which 66
what 66E → 69

253.31 call 66
called 66E → 69

253.31 more—anything 66
more, anything 66E → 69

253.31 more—than 66
more, than 66E → 69

253.32 a suspicion in the world 66
in the world a suspicion 66E → 69

253.33 time. (A laugh.) 66
time. (*A laugh.*) 66E
time [*A laugh*]. 69

253.33 What is an old saying, an old proverb, "An 66
There goes a proverb of old date, 'An 66E → 69

253.34 mother wit 66
mother-wit 66E → 69

253.34 clergy?" (Laughter.) 66
clergy.' (*Laughter.*) 66E
clergy' [*Laughter*]. 69

253.36 copiously. (Laughter.) 66
copiously. (*Laughter.*) 66E
copiously [*Laughter*]. 69

253.36 the 66
'the 66E → 69

253.36 arts on 66
arts,' 66E
arts,' 69

253.37 based came 66
based on, came 66E → 69

253.38 for, or to promote, 66
for 66E → 69

253.38 society—though 66
society,—though 66E → 69

254.1 us—there 66
us,—there 66E → 69

254.2 even though he 66
is not the synonym of wisdom by any means! That
a man 66E → 69

254.3 great speaker, an eloquent orator, yet there is no 66
'great speaker,' as eloquent as you like, and but little
66E → 69

254.4 there—if 66
in him,—especially, if
66E → 69

254.7 "ologies," and so on, 66
'ologies,' 66E → 69

254.7 totally 66
becoming more and more
66E → 69

254.8 baking—(laughter)—above
66
baking (*Laughter*); and above 66E
baking [*Laughter*]; and above 69

254.8 all things, 66
all, are 66E → 69

254.9 highest to 66
highest of us to 66E → 69

254.9 lowest—strict 66
lowest,—faithful 66E → 69

254.10 obedience, humility, 66
obedience, modesty, humility, 66E → 69

254.10 conduct. Oh, 66
conduct. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Oh,
66E

254.12 that 66
that, 69

254.12 it!—what 66
it,—what 66E → 69

254.13 speech. 66
speech! 66E → 69

254.14 would 66
could now 66E → 69

254.14 be now; 66
be; 66E → 69

254.15 they are 66
they were and are
66E → 69

254.15 conviction. (Hear, hear.) 66
conviction. (*Hear, hear.*)66E
conviction [*Hear, hear*]. 69

254.16 me, 66
me as if 66E → 69

254.17 world—the 66
world,—the 66E → 69

254.17 American—are 66
American, in chief,—were
66E → 69

254.18 away 66
off 66E → 69

254.18 tongue. (Applause and laughter.) 66
tongue. (*Applause and laughter.*) 66E
tongue [*Applause and laughter*]. 69

254.19 by-and-by, 66
by and by, 69

254.19 it. Silence 66
it. There is a time to speak, and a time to be silent.
Silence withal 66E → 69

254.22 any other 66
aught else 66E → 69

254.22 maintaining silence. "Watch
66
keeping silence too. 'Watch
66E → 69

254.23 tongue," 66
tongue,' 66E → 69

254.24 I 66
¶I 66E → 69

254.24 do not 66
don't 66E → 69

254.26 thing 66
thing, 66E → 69

254.26 proper thing 66
most proper, 66E → 69

254.29 Demosthenes and 66
Demosthenes, and to 66E → 69

254.30 speech 66
speech, in the case even of Demosthenes, 66E → 69

254.30 seem to me, 66
seem, 66E → 69

254.31 account. Why 66
account. He advised next to nothing that proved practicable; much of the reverse. Why 66E → 69

254.32 speaker 66
speaker, 66E → 69

254.33 who did 66
who mostly did 66E → 69

254.34 Demosthenes. (Laughter.) 66
Demosthenes. (*Laughter.*) 66E
Demosthenes [*Laughter*]. 69

254.35 Athenians—"You 66
Athenians, "You 66E → 69

254.35 Philip. You 66
Philip. Better if you don't provoke him, as Demosthenes is always urging to you to do. You 66E
Philip. Better if you don't provoke him, as Demosthenes is always urging you to do. You 69

254.37 him. 66
Philip. 66E → 69

254.38 he 66
a full treasury; 66E → 69

255.1 and he 66
while you, with your idle clamourings, with your Cleon the Tanner spouting to you what you take for wisdom—! Philip 66E → 69

255.3 kind 66
set 66E → 69

255.5 one day—"The Athenians will get 66
once, "Phocion, you will drive the Athenians 66E → 69

255.5 day and kill 66
day, and they will kill 66E → 69

255.6 says, 66
answered, 66E → 69

255.6 are mad, 66
go mad; 66E → 69

255.7 (Laughter and applause.) 66
(*Laughter and applause.*) 66E
[*Laughter and applause.*] 69

255.7 It 66
¶It 69

255.7 about 66
of 66E → 69

255.7 going 66
how he went once 66E → 69

255.8 Messene 66
Messene, 66E → 69

255.8 that 66
which 66E → 69

255.8 wanted on 66
wanted him to head, on 66E → 69

255.9 nature, that 66
nature: 66E → 69

255.10 with some 66
accordingly; and had, as usual, a clear 66E → 69

255.10 in his mouth to speak about. 66
to have told for himself and case. 66E → 69

255.11 words—of no unveracity; and after 66
words, but all of them true and to the point. And so 66E → 69

255.12 the story a certain time,

there was one burst of 66
his story for a while, when there arose some
66E → 69

255.13 man interrupted 66
man, interrupting
66E → 69

255.13 something 66
something, 66E → 69

255.13 answer, and 66
answer; 66E → 69

255.13 another; and, 66
another, the like; till
66E → 69

255.14 the people 66
too many went in, and all
66E → 69

255.14 bragging 66
arguing 66E → 69

255.14 bawling, 66
bawling 66E → 69

255.14 debate. Phocion 66
debate. Whereupon Phocion 66E → 69

255.15 drew 66
struck down his staff; drew
66E
struck-down his staff; drew
69

255.15 altogether, struck dumb, and would not speak another word 66
altogether, and would speak no other word 66E → 69

255.16 man; and he left it to them to decide in any way they liked. 66
man. 66E → 69

255.17 that which 66
that rap of Phocion's stick which 66E proof
that rap of Phocion's staff which 66E → 69[19]

255.17 said—"Take 66
said, 'Take 66E proof
said: "Take 66E → 69

255.18 and let me out altogether." 66
then; I go out of it altogether.' 66E proof
then; I go out of it altogether." 66 → 69

255.18 (Applause.) 66
(*Applause.*) 66E proof → 66E
[*Applause*]. 69

255.19 All these considerations, 66
¶All these considerations, 66E proof
¶Such considerations, 66E → 69

255.19 them—innumerable 66
them,—innumerable
66E → 69

255.20 moment—have 66
epoch,—have
66E proof → 69

255.21 many 66
various 66E → 69

255.24 good speaker—an eloquent speaker—is 66
'good speaker,' never so eloquent, does not see into the fact, and is
66E proof → 69[20]

255.25 truth, is 66
truth of that, but the untruth and the mistake of that, is 66E proof
truth of that, but the untruth and the mistake of that,—is 66E → 69

255.27 (Loud cheers.) 66
(*Loud cheers.*)

[19] This and the following items include the collation of the first proof discussed in the Note on the Text.

[20] Carlyle has substituted the "never" in the passage for the original "not."

66E proof → 66E
[*Loud cheers*.] 69

255.27 manner and kind of 66
manner of 66E proof → 69

255.27 say, it is excellent; but I 66
say, 'How excellent!' Well, really I 66E proof
say, "How excellent!" Well, really it 66E → 69

255.29 little about how 66
little how 66E → 69

255.29 he 66
the man 66E → 69

255.29 it, 66
him, 66E → 69

255.30 but 66
But 66E → 69

255.30 untrue, that are not 66
contrary to 66E → 69

255.31 fact about it—if 66
fact; what if 66E → 69

255.31 it—if 66
the fact,—if 66E → 69

255.31 has no judgment in 66
has in 66E → 69

255.32 mind to
mind (like Phocion's friend, Cleon the Tanner) no power to 66E → 69

255.33 conclusion 66
judgment 66E → 69

255.34 saying—"Ho, 66
saying, "Ho, 66E → 69

255.34 true, come hither!" 66
true; here is the man for you!" 66E → 69

255.35 (Great laughter and applause.) 66
(*Great laughter and applause*.) 66E
[*Great laughter and applause*]. 69

255.35 I would recommend 66
I recommend 66E → 69

255.36 speech. (Renewed laughter.) 66
speech. (*Renewed laughter*.) 66E
speech [*Renewed laughter*]. 69

256.1 Well, 66
[extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Well, 66E → 69

256.1 that being 66
that sad stuff being 66E → 69

256.1 products 66
product 66E → 69

256.2 education—the 66
education,—the 66E → 69

256.2 mouth 66
teacher 66E → 69

256.3 way—(laughter)—it 66
way (*Laughter*),—it 66E
way [*Laughter*],—it 69

256.3 a great many 66
various 66E → 69

256.4 a very great distrust 66
a distrust 66E → 69

256.4 procedure, 66
procedure; 66E → 69

256.5 kind of practical 66
less theoretic, and more practical and concrete 66E → 69

256.6 working out 66
working-out 69

256.6 business. 66
problem of education;—in effect, for an education not vocal at all, but mute except where speaking was strictly needful. 66E → 69

256.8 it, 66
this, 66E → 69

256.9 reading that 66
writing on it is in a book of Goethe's,—the whole of which 66E → 69

256.10 take and 66
take up, and 66E → 69

256.11 it, 66
it with understanding. It 66E → 69

256.11 a book by Goethe—one 66
one 66E → 69

256.11 books, which he wrote 66
books; written 66E → 69

256.12 about 66
above 66E → 69

256.12 age—I think 66
age: I think, 66E → 69

256.13 mild wisdom, and 66
meek wisdom, of intellect and piety; 66E → 69

256.14 be very 66
be strangely illuminative, and very 66E → 69

256.14 touching 66
touching, 66E → 69

256.15 It 66
This about education 66E → 69

256.16 Wilhelm Meister's Travels. 66
Wilhelm Meister's Travels; or rather, in a fitful way, it forms the whole gist of the book. 66E → 69

256.17 read it through 66
first read it 66E → 69

256.17 its 66
the 66E → 69

256.18 when 66
of it while 66E → 69

256.18 it—(applause)—and 66
it (*Applause*); and 66E
it [*Applause*]; and 69

256.18 always 66
ever since 66E → 69

256.19 about 66
perhaps 66E → 69

256.19 that 66
which 66E → 69

256.20 said—There are 66
said that there are some 66E → 69

256.21 that 66
that, 66E → 69

256.22 written, than 66
written, been able to write, than 66E → 69

256.23 world. (Cheers.) 66
world. (*Cheers.*) 66E
world [*Cheers*]. 69

256.24 These 66
Those 66E → 69

256.25 Christian life—altogether 66
the modern and the ancient world: altogether 66E → 69

256.25 airy, 66
aërial, 66E → 69

256.26 delicately-wise 66
delicately wise 66E → 69

256.29 Among
¶Among 66E → 69

256.29 aërial, flighty 66
airy, sketchy 66E → 69

256.29 with, 66
with 66E → 69

256.30 there, 66
there 66E → 69

256.30 touch 66
touch,—the sum-total of 66E → 69

256.30 picture—a 66
picture,—a 66E → 69

256.33 they 66
the pupils 66E → 69

256.33 that can be got are met to consider what is 66
discoverable in the world have been got together, to consider, to manage and supervise, 66E → 69

256.34 importance to build 66
importance; that of building 66E

importance,—that of building 69
256.35 generation, which shall be 66
generation so as to keep it 66E → 69
256.35 from all that 66
from that 66E → 69
256.36 step, and which 66
step;—which function, indeed, 66E → 69
256.37 with 66
with, 66E → 69
256.38 it 66
it, 66E → 69
256.38 man 66
Chief, 66E → 69
257.1 eldest 66
Eldest 66E → 69
257.1 three 66
three, 66E → 69
257.1 Goethe—"You give by Nature to the 66
Wilhelm: "Healthy 66E → 69
257.1 children you bring 66
children bring 66E → 69
257.2 a great 66
with them 66E → 69
257.2 gifts, 66
gifts; 66E → 69
257.3 a very 66
but 66E → 69
257.3 assistance 66
assistance, 66E → 69
257.5 overlooker 66
overseer 66E → 69
257.5 process of education; but 66
process. But 66E → 69
257.5 that 66
which 66E → 69
257.6 it, 66
him, 66E → 69
257.7 says—"What 66
asks, "And what 66E → 69
257.7 "All who enter the world want 66
"All want 66E → 69
257.8 eldest; 66
Eldest; 66E → 69
257.8 says—"Well, 66
says "Well, but 66E → 69
257.9 says 66
answers 66E → 69
257.9 eldest, 66
other, 66E → 69
257.9 "Reverence." 66
"Reverence 66E → 69
257.9 *Ehrfurcht*— 66
(*Ehrfurcht);* 66E
(*Ehrfurcht*); 69
257.9 "Reverence! 66
Reverence! 66E
Reverence!" 69
257.10 grander 66
greater 66E → 69
257.10 you, without fear; 66
ourselves; honour 66E → 69
257.11 *Ehrfurcht*—The 66
Ehrfurcht; the 66E → 69
257.11 ever has 66
has ever 66E
257.11 be." 66
be. 69
257.12 And 66
¶And 66E → 69
257.12 practicality. 66
details about the religions of the modern and the ancient world. 66E → 69
257.13 are 66
are, or have been, 66E → 69
257.14 world, 66
world; 66E → 69
257.14 he makes out 66

says that for men there are 66E → 69

257.15 gesticulations, 66
gesticulations; 66E → 69

257.16 and 66
in sign of the first reverence; other forms for the other two: so 66E → 69

257.19 in man 66
in the antique man 66E → 69

257.20 us and about us—reverence 66
us,—reverence 66E → 69

257.21 us—to 66
us; to 66E → 69

257.22 sorrow, 66
in sorrow 66E → 69

257.22 odious as they are to 66
odious to 66E → 69

257.23 blood—to 66
blood, what divine meanings are in them; to 66E → 69

257.24 these a 66
these also, and more than in any of the preceding, a 66E → 69

257.25 religion—the 66
religion,—the 66E → 69

257.26 a height, 66
'a height,' 66E → 69

257.26 says—and 66
says (and 66E → 69

257.27 consider—a 66
consider), 'a 66E → 69

257.27 the human species 66
mankind 66E → 69

257.27 attain, 66
attain; 66E → 69

257.28 it 66
they 66E → 69

257.28 retrograde. 66
retrograde.' 66E → 69

257.28 It 66
Man 66E → 69

257.29 descend down below that permanently, Goethe's idea is. Often one thinks it was good to have a faith of that kind—that 66
quite lose that (Goethe thinks), or permanently descend below it again; but 66E → 69

257.30 sunken, 66
sunken 69

257.31 that 66
who 66E → 69

257.31 that 66
this highest of the religions 66E → 69

257.33 retrograding. He goes on then 66
ever wholly disappearing. ¶The Eldest then goes on 66E → 69

257.34 tell us the way in which 66
explain by what methods 66E → 69

257.34 teach boys—in the sciences particularly, whatever 66
educate and train their boys; in the trades, in the arts, in the sciences, in whatever pursuit 66E → 69

257.36 fit for. Wilhelm 66
found best fitted for. Beyond all, they are anxious to discover the boy's aptitudes; and they try him and watch him continually, in many wise ways, till by degrees they can discover this. Wilhelm had 66E → 69

257.38 there, expecting 66
there, perhaps expecting 66E → 69

258.2 when he comes 66
on coming 66E → 69

258.2 coming 66
rushing 66E → 69

258.3 could 66
can 66E → 69

258.3 turned 66
turns 66E → 69

258.4 hunting with their 66
horsemanship, for hunting,
and being 66E → 69

258.5 was 66
is 66E → 69

258.5 found 66
finds 66E → 69

258.6 was 66
has been 66E → 69

258.6 he 66
he 66E → 69

258.6 for. (Laughter.) 66
for. (*Laughter*.) 66E
for [*Laughter*]. 69

258.7 This 66
¶The highest outcome, and
most precious of all the
fruits that are to spring
from this ideal mode of
educating, 66E → 69

258.8 art, 66
Art:—of 66E → 69

258.8 should not make 66
could at present give no
definition that would make
it 66E → 69

258.9 you by any definition 66
you, 66E → 69

258.10 clear already. (A laugh.) 66
clearer already than is likely.
(*A laugh*.) 66E
clearer already than is likely
[*A laugh*]. 69

258.10 I would not attempt to
define it as 66
Goethe calls it 66E → 69

258.10 poetry, and so on: 66
poetry: but 66E → 69

258.11 one, 66
one; 66E → 69

258.11 and in 66
and a sense in 66E → 69

258.12 poets, 66
poets 69

258.12 music men, 66
music-men 69

258.12 muster. (A laugh.) 66
muster. (*A laugh*.) 66E
muster [*A laugh*]. 69

258.13 that 66
this as 66E → 69

258.13 go; and 66
go; infinitely valuable and
ennobling; and 66E → 69

258.15 about 66
about, 66E

258.15 with 66
in the 66E → 69

258.16 it 66
his notion of the matter
66E → 69

258.16 greatly better is 66
far better and higher, some-
thing as high as ever, and
indubitably true too, is still
66E → 69

258.18 the world. 66
this world.—And that
is all I can say to you of
Goethe's fine theorem of
mute education. 66E → 69

258.20 I 66
¶I 66E → 69

258.20 it is 66
there is in it 66E → 69

258.20 come, 66
one day be; will and must,
66E → 69

258.21 perfectly 66
altogether 66E → 69

258.22 like that, 66

analogous to that; 66E → 69

258.24 distance—a 66
distance: a 66E → 69

258.26 For rarely 66
Not very often or much, rarely rather, 66E → 69

258.26 all 66
all, 66E → 69

258.27 to say that thing 66
for the sake of something 66E → 69

258.27 and 66
this spoken, 66E → 69

258.29 I 66
¶I will only add that it is possible,—all this fine theorem of Goethe's, or something similar! Consider what we have already; and what 'difficulties' we have overcome. I 66E
¶I will only add, that it is possible,—all this fine theorem of Goethe's, or something similar! Consider what we have already; and what 'difficulties' we have overcome. I 69

258.32 soldiers—rough, 66
soldiers. Rough, 66E → 69

258.33 ignorant people—gather 66
ignorant, disobedient people; you gather 66E → 69

258.34 a-day; 66
a day; 66E → 69

258.35 drill—for the 66
drilling and compelling (the 66E → 69

258.35 drill seems as if it meant the treatment that would force them to learn—they 66
drilling, if you go to the original, means 'beating,' 'steadily *tormenting*' to the due pitch), they do 66E → 69

258.37 the man—a 66
your man in red coat, a trained soldier; 66E → 69

258.38 machine—a 66
machine incomparably the most potent in this world; a 66E → 69

259.1 and obey 66
where bidden; obeys 66E → 69

259.1 and 66
will 66E → 69

259.2 him, and do anything whatever that is commanded him by 66
him; does punctually whatever is commanded by 66E → 69

259.3 in 66
of 66E → 69

259.3 way 66
kind 66E → 69

259.4 done, 66
accomplished, 66E → 69

259.4 were anything like the 66
were the 66E → 69

259.5 regimented and 66
regimented, 66E → 69

259.5 organised 66
organized 66E

259.5 the 66
this 66E → 69

259.5 system of education that Goethe evidently adumbrates there. But, I believe, when people look into it, it will be found that they will not be very long in trying to make some efforts in that direction; for 66
system;—and perhaps in some of the mechanical,

commercial, and manufacturing departments, some faint incipiences may be attempted before very long. For 66E
system;—and perhaps in some of the mechanical, commercial and manufacturing departments, some faint incipiences may be attempted before very long. For 69

259.8 misery, would 66
misery, the effects would 66E → 69

259.8 uncountable if it were 66
incalculable, were it 66E → 69

259.10 Alas! 66
¶Alas, 66E → 69

259.10 is—any 66
all is, any real 66E → 69

259.11 things; for 66
things! For 66E → 69

259.11 gentlemen—and 66
gentlemen,—and 66E
Gentlemen,—and 69

259.11 that 66
it 66E → 69

259.12 you—that 66
you,—that 66E → 69

259.13 it improve the footing you have, 66
your path in it to be smoother than ours has been, 66E → 69

259.15 on—which 66
on, which 66E → 69

259.18 world 66
world, I think, 66E → 69

259.19 ever, I think. As far as I have noticed, 66
ever. Look where one will, 66E → 69

259.21 the wind rises around 66
blows the element round 66E → 69

259.21 say, now, 66
see how, 66E → 69

259.22 to lie 66
as lying 66E → 69

259.24 are getting afloat. 66
are afloat. 66E → 69

259.24 not made 66
not inconsumable, made 66E → 69

259.25 asbestos 66
asbestos, 66E → 69

259.25 burned 66
burnt, 66E → 69

259.25 It will not 66
Nothing other will 66E → 69

259.27 And 66
¶And 66E → 69

259.27 it is 66
I am 66E → 69

259.28 anarchy—anarchy 66
anarchy. Anarchy 66E → 69

259.28 the constable. 66
a constable! 66E → 69

259.28 (Laughter.) 66
(*Laughter*.) 66E
[*Laughter*.] 69

259.29 up. (Renewed laughter.) 66
up. (*Renewed laughter*.) 66E
up [*Renewed laughter*]. 69

259.30 thing he is 66
point, man is becoming more and more 66E → 69

259.31 and 66
discontented, 66E → 69

259.31 reckless, 66
reckless 69

259.32 altogether a waste 66
altogether waste 66E → 69

259.32 object—a 66
object (the 66E → 69

259.32 man in 66
man is, in 66E → 69

259.32 epochs; 66
epochs); 66E → 69

259.33 man—the select, 66
man,—the select few, 66E → 69

259.33 part—has 66
part,—has 66E → 69

259.34 it, 66
this, 66E → 69

259.34 forward, 66
vigilantly forward; 66E → 69

259.35 wisdom; and will 66
wisdom. Will 66E → 69

259.35 that he has 66
he has got 66E → 69

259.36 or 66
all 66E → 69

259.36 about, 66
him, 66E → 69

259.36 be, 66
go, 66E → 69

259.37 wherever he may go. 66
however great it be. 66E → 69

260.1 But 66
¶But 66E → 69

260.1 for 66
For 66E → 69

260.2 to 66
to, 66E → 69

260.3 him 66
him, 66E → 69

260.3 for—to 66
for; to 66E → 69

260.5 get—which 66
get,—which 66E → 69

260.5 of 66
of, 69

260.5 it—is 66
it,—is 66E → 69

260.6 or, 66
or 66E → 69

260.6 least, 66
least 66E → 69

260.7 say 66
say, 66E → 69

260.9 have ten 66
buy those necessaries with seven 66E → 69

260.9 pounds, 66
a year, 66E → 69

260.9 ten million pounds, 66
with seven million, 66E → 69

260.10 or seventy 66
or with seventy 66E → 69

260.10 a-year. 66
a year? 66E → 69

260.11 very little real difference intrinsically, if he is a wise man. (Laughter.) 66
intrinsically, if he is a wise man, wonderfully little real difference. (*Laughter*.) 66E
intrinsically, if he is a wise man, wonderfully little real difference [*Laughter*]. 69

260.13 I 66
¶On the whole, avoid what is called ambition; that is not a fine principle to go upon,—and it has in it all degrees of *vulgarity*, if that is a consideration. 'Seekest thou great things, seek them not:' I 66E → 69

260.15 the 66
that 66E → 69

260.16 men—"Don't 66
men. Don't 66E → 69

260.16 be at all too desirous of success: 66
too much need success; 66E → 69

260.17 modest." 66
modest. 66E → 69

260.17 that you get 66
that get 66E → 69

260.19 planet 66
Planet 66E → 69

260.20 now. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) 66
now. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*.) 66E
now [*Loud and prolonged cheers*]. 69

260.21 Finally, 66
[extra leading between paragraphs] ¶Finally, 66E → 69

260.22 gentlemen, 66
Gentlemen, 69

260.22 you 66
you, 66E → 69

260.23 one it is. 66
one. 66E → 69

260.23 middle 66
midst 66E → 69

260.24 ardour—for 66
ardour,—for 66E → 69

260.24 believe, 66
foresee, 66E → 69

260.24 be sufficient 66
rise high enough, 66E → 69

260.25 you; 66
you,—remember the care of health. 66E → 69

260.26 you will have 66
you have 66E → 69

260.26 people 66
young souls 66E → 69

260.27 high—but 66
high; but 66E → 69

260.29 consider—that 66
consider, that 66E → 69

260.30 continually—that 66
continually; that 66E → 69

260.31 you. (Applause.) 66
you. (*Applause*.) 66E
you [*Applause*]. 69

260.33 said—"Alas! why 66
said, "Why, 66E → 69

260.34 sold?" 66
sold!" 66E → 69

260.34 quotation. (Laughter and 66
quotation. (*Laughter and applause*.) 66E
quotation [*Laughter and applause*]. 69

260.35 It 66
¶It 66E → 69

260.35 that 66
which 66E → 69

260.36 "holy" 66
'holy' 66E → 69

260.36 German language—*heilig*—also 66
Teutonic languages, *heilig*, also 66E → 69

260.37 "healthy." 66
'healthy.' 66E → 69

260.37 And so 66
Thus 66E → 69

260.37 "holy-well," 66
indifferently 'holy-well,' 66E → 69

260.37 "healthy-well." 66
'health-well.' 66E → 69

260.38 have 66
have, 66E

260.38 Scotch 66
Scotch, 69

260.38 hale; 66
too, 'hale,' and its derivatives; 66E → 69

261.1 whole—with 66
'whole' (with 66E → 69

261.1 "w"—all 66
'w'), all 66E → 69

261.1 hole 66
hole 66E → 69

261.1 it—is 66
it, is 66E → 69

261.2 "holy" 66
'holy' 66E → 69

261.3 "healthy"—"completely healthy"—*Mens* 66
'healthy.' Completely healthy; *mens* 66E → 69

261.3 *sano*. (Applause.) 66
sano. (*Applause*.) 66E
sano [*Applause*]. 69

261.4 with his 66
all lucid, and in equilibrium. His 66E → 69

261.4 plain geometric mirror, 66
mirror geometrically plane, 66E → 69

261.5 of 66
to 66E → 69

261.5 around 66
made on 66E → 69

261.6 proportions—not 66
proportions; not 66E → 69

261.8 manipulation—healthy, 66
manipulation: healthy, 66E → 69

261.8 clear, 66
clear 69

261.8 seeing 66
discerning truly 66E → 69

261.9 round about him. 66
round him. 66E → 69

261.11 operation—if 66
operation that will last a long while; if, for instance, 66E → 69

261.12 book 66
book,—you cannot manage it 66E → 69

261.13 it, 66
it: 66E → 69

261.13 you must 66
one nevertheless must; 66E → 69

261.13 business and 66
business, 66E → 69

261.14 must 66
are obliged to 66E → 69

261.14 at—do it sometimes but 66
at, and to do it, if even 66E → 69

261.15 remember 66
remember, 66E → 69

261.15 times 66
times, 66E → 69

261.16 health, 66
health; 66E → 69

261.16 regard the 66
regard that as the 66E → 69

261.16 as the 66
and 66E → 69

261.17 holy, and holy means healthy. 66
'holy' as well as 'healthy.' 66E → 69

261.18 Well, 66
¶And 66E → 69

261.18 etymology—what 66
etymology,—what 66E → 69

261.19 æsthetic 66
ascetic 66E → 69

261.19 that 66
who 66E → 69

261.19 prison-house. 66
prison-house! 69

261.20 that 66
which 66E → 69

261.21 it, 66
it; 66E → 69

261.21 verdure of 66
the green of prophetic 66E → 69

261.22 autumn, and all that, 66
harvests coming,—all this is 66E → 69

261.22 it too. 66
it, too. 66E[21]

261.24 in moderation 66
wisely 66E → 69

261.24 with old Knox. If 66
with the best sort,—with old Knox, in particular. No; if 66E → 69

261.25 him you 66
Knox you 66E

261.28 him 66
Knox, 69

261.29 "History of the Reformation"—which 66
History of the Reformation,—which 66E → 69

261.30 read—(applause)—a 66
read (*Applause*), a 66E
read [*Applause*], a 69

261.30 glorious book. 66
glorious old book. 66E → 69

261.31 On 66
¶On 66E → 69

261.32 it—not 66
it; not 66E → 69

261.32 contradiction 66
contradictions 66E → 69

261.33 goal; and 66
goal. And 66E → 69

261.33 you in 66
you or have you at ill-will, in 66E → 69

261.34 You 66
In general, you 66E → 69

261.35 is 66
were 66E → 69

261.36 more or less; 66
setting itself against you: 66E → 69

261.36 be because 66
mean only, that 66E → 69

261.37 and 66
and, 66E → 69

261.37 path. Each man has only 66
path, heedlessly treads on you. That is mostly all: to you no specific ill-will;—only each has 66E → 69

262.1 good will 66
good-will 66E → 69

262.1 himself—which 66
himself, which 66E → 69

262.1 have—and 66
have, and 66E → 69

262.1 moving 66
rushing 66E → 69

262.2 literature 66
literature, I should say also, 66E → 69

262.2 rule, I should say also. (Laughter.) 66
rule (*Laughter*),—though that is by-the-by. 66E
rule [*Laughter*],—though that is by the bye. 69

262.4 you 66
you, 66E → 69

262.4 that 66
which 66E → 69

262.4 unhospitable 66
inhospitable 66E → 69

262.5 cruel—as 66
cruel, as 66E → 69

262.5 creature—you 66
creature, you 66E → 69

262.8 appointed to you. I 66
appointed you. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶I 66E → 69

262.10 wind up 66
wind-up 69

262.10 verse, that 66

[21] This is one of the four instances, noted above, in which we retain the reading in 66.

verse which 66E
verse, which 69

262.10 Gtoehe 66
Goethe 66E → 69

262.11 me, 66
me 69

262.11 a tone 66
something 66E → 69

262.12 sweet and clear—the clearest of sceptical men had not anything like so clear a mind as that man had, freer from cant and misdirected notion of any kind than any man in these ages has been. 66
deep as the foundations, deep and high, and it is true and clear:—no clearer man, or nobler and grander intellect has lived in the world, I believe, since Shakspeare left it. 66E → 69

262.14 says. It is a 66
sings;—a 66E → 69

262.15 marching music 66
road-melody or marching-music 66E → 69

262.15 mankind— 66
mankind: 66E → 69

262.17 in / Gladness 66
in it / Gladness 66E → 69

262.18 sorrow: 66
sorrow; 66E → 69

262.20 in / Daunting 66
in it / Daunting 66E → 69

262.21 us—Onward 66
us,—onward. 66E → 69

262.23 "And 66
And 66E → 69

262.24 Portal, 66
Portal; 66E → 69

262.25 mortal, 66
mortal:— 66E → 69

262.26 us— 66
us, 66E → 69

262.27 silent. 66
silent! 69

262.29 "While 66
While 66E → 69

262.31 error, 66
error; 66E → 69

262.35 "But 66
But 66E → 69

262.35 voices, 66
Voices, 66E → 69

262.37 worlds 66
Worlds 66E → 69

262.38 'Choose 66
"Choose 66E → 69

262.38 well, 66
well; 69

263.1 "Here 66
Here 66E → 69

263.1 you 66
you, 66E → 69

263.2 stillness. 66
stillness; 66E

263.5 not.'" 66
not.'" 66E → 69

263.7 ¶One last word. 66
¶Work, and despair not: 66E
[new line without indent]
Work, and despair not: 69

263.7 *hoffen*—We 66
hoffen, 'We 69

263.7 hope. 66[22]
hope!'—let that be my last word. Gentlemen, I thank you for your great patience in hearing me; and, with

[22] This is one of the four instances, noted above, in which we retain the reading in 66.

many most kind wishes, say
66E → 69

263.9* time. 66

time. [extra leading and rule] ¶Finis of Rectorship.—'*Edinburgh University*. Mr. Carlyle, ex-Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, has been asked to deliver a valedictory address to the students, but has declined. The following is a copy of the correspondence.
'2 S.-W. Circus Place, Edinburgh, 3d December, 1868.
¶'Sir,—On the strength of being Vice-President of the Committee for your election as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, I have been induced to write to you, in order to know if you will be able to deliver a Valedictory Address to the Students. Mr. Gladstone gave us one, and we fondly hope you will find it convenient to do so as well. Your Inaugural Address is still treasured up in our memories, and I am sure nothing could give us greater pleasure than once more to listen to your words. I trust you will pardon me for this intrusion; and hoping to receive a favourable answer, I am, &c.
[right justified as signature] 'A. Robertson, M.A.
¶'T. Carlyle, Esq.
'Chelsea, 9th December 1868.
¶'Dear Sir,—I much regret that a Valedictory Speech from me, in present circumstances, is a thing I must not think of. Be pleased to assure the young Gentlemen who were so friendly towards me, that I have already sent them, in silence, but with emotions deep enough, perhaps too deep, my loving Farewell, and that ingratitude, or want of regard, is by no means among the causes that keep me absent. With a fine youthful enthusiasm, beautiful to look upon, they bestowed on me that bit of honour, loyally all they had; and it has now, for reasons one and another, become touchingly memorable to me,—touchingly, and even grandly and tragically,—never to be forgotten for the remainder of my life.
¶'Bid them, in my name, if they still love me, fight the good fight, and quit themselves like men, in the warfare, to which *they* are as if conscript and consecrated, and which lies ahead. Tell them to consult the eternal oracles (not yet inaudible, not ever to become so, when worthily inquired of); and to disregard, nearly altogether, in comparison, the temporary noises, menacings and deliriums. May they love Wisdom as Wisdom, if she is to yield *her* treasures, must be loved,—piously, valiantly, humbly, beyond life itself or the prizes of life, with all one's heart, and all one's soul:—in that case (I will say again), and not in any other case, it

shall be well with them.
¶'Adieu, my young Friends, a long adieu.
¶'Yours with great sincerity,
[right justified as signature] 'T. Carlyle.
¶'A Robertson, Esq.'† [footnote] † Edinburgh Newspapers of December 12-13, 1868. 69

"Shooting Niagara: And After?" [67, 67C, 69]

265.0 AFTER? 67
AFTER?† 69[23]

265.5 flinging up 67
flinging-up 69

265.20 hundred and fifty 67
hundred-and-fifty 69

265.23 50 67
fifty 67C → 69

266.2 badly-scented 67
badly scented 67C

266.9 universe; 67
Universe; 67C → 69

266.21 mountain side 67
mountain-/side 67C
mountain-side 69

266.22 time':—so 67
time:'—so 67C → 69

266.37 people?" 67
people!" 67C → 69

267.13 swarm;—but 67
swarm; but 67C → 69

267.23 *quàm primùm* 67
without delay 67C → 69

267.25 liberty" 67
Liberty" 67C → 69

267.26 universe, 67
Universe, 67C → 69

267.29 imagined, 67
imagined 67C → 69

267.30 Shakspere; 67
Shakspeare; 67C → 69

268.3 fulfilment:—once 67
fulfilment. Once 67C → 69

268.5 then. ¶By 67
then. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶By 67C → 69

268.7 result 67
case 67C → 69

268.20 the 67
those 67C → 69

268.21 "Sheffield 67
'Sheffield 67C → 69

268.22 (Limited)," 67
(Limited),' 67C → 69

268.26 flunkies, 67
flunkeys, 67C

268.27 too often 67
naturally enough, 67C → 69

268.27 needle-women;" 67
needle-women" who cannot sew; 67C → 69

268.28 thirty thousand 67
thirty-thousand 69

268.30 frantic 67
fond 67C → 69

269.2 all. 67
all.† [footnote inserted] † "*Ilias* (*Americana*) *in Nuce*. ¶Peter *of the North* (*to* Paul *of the South*): "Paul, you unaccountable scoundrel, I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year as I do! You are going straight to Hell, you—!" ¶Paul "Good words, Peter! The risk is my own; I am will-

[23] 1869 inserts the footnote: "† Reprinted from *Macmillan's Magazine*, for August 1867. With some Additions and Corrections."

ing to take the risk. Hire you your servants by the month or the day, and get straight to Heaven; leave me to my own method." ¶Peter: "No, I won't. I will beat your brains out first!" (*And is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it.*)—T.C. ¶3d May 1863.'—(*Macmillan's Magazine*, for August 1863.) 69

269.15 is, 67
they have, 67C → 69

269.17 exaggerate†) [footnote] † "More than half a million." (Lunt, *Origin of the late War:* New York, 1867.) 67
exaggerate†) [footnote] † **'More** than half a **million.'** (Lunt, *Origin of the late War:* New York, 1867.) 67C
exaggerate) 69

269.18 slit 67
torn and slashed 67C → 69

269.19 remembrance, 67
remembrance 67C → 69

269.20 million Blacks, 67
million absurd Blacks, 67C → 69

269.21 "improved 67
'improved 67C → 69

269.22 earth" 67
earth' 67C → 69

269.26 *Papae, papae;* 67
Papæ, papæ; 69

270.8 man, 67
man 69

270.16 contrariwise, 67
contrariwise 67C → 69

270.16 fatallest 67
fatalest 69

270.31 fetters, 67
fetters 69

270.37 thrum, 67
thrum 69

271.1 Garotter; 67
garotter; 67C → 69

271.3 "board 67
board 67C → 69

271.3 expense," a 67
expense, a 67C
expense,—a 69

271.11 is! But 67
is! ¶But 67C → 69

271.13 "Reformation," 67
'Reformation,' 67C → 69

271.14 neighbour's; 67
neighbour's, which is always much welcomer; 67C → 69

271.16 Extension 67
"Extension 67C → 69

271.16 Suffrage! 67
Suffrage." 67C → 69

271.17 puddle 67
quagmire 67C → 69

271.29 finished off 67
finished-off 69

271.30 shut up 67
shut-up 69

271.33 "reflex 67
'reflex 67C → 69

271.33 reverberation," 67
reverberation,' 67C → 69

272.33 "*swarmeries*" 67
'*swarmeries*' 67C → 69

272.9 the last thirty years 67
a generation past, 67C → 69

272.14 it:—but, 67
it. And yet, 67C → 69

272.20 Nay, 67
Nay 69

272.25 weigh out 67
weigh-out 69

272.27 shan't 67
sha'n't 67C → 69

272.28 sort. 67
sort. Other traits there are abundantly ludicrous, but they are too lugubrious to be even momentarily pleasant. A superlative Hebrew Conjuror, spell-binding all the great Lords, great Parties, great Interests of England, to his hand in this manner, and leading them by the nose, like helpless mesmerised somnambulant cattle, to such issue,—did the world ever see a *flebile ludibrium* of such magnitude before? Lath-sword, and Scissors of Destiny; Pickleherring and the Three *Parcæ*, alike busy in it. This too, I suppose, we had deserved. The end of our poor Old England (such an England as we had at last made of it) to be not a tearful Tragedy, but an ignominious Farce as well!— 67C → 69

272.33 Lath-sword, 67C
Lath-sword 69

273.2 given up 67
given-up 69

273.4 Home Secretary 67
Home-Secretary 67C → 69

273.6 necessary, 67
necessary 67C → 69

273.7 kicked 67
kicked, 67C → 69

273.7 down-/stairs, 67
down stairs, 67C → 69

273.7 orders 67
injunction 67C → 69

273.16 frightfullest 67
frightfulest 69

273.21 laws, 67
laws 67C → 69

273.25 Statute Book 67
Statute-Book 67C → 69

273.33 which 67
which, 67C → 69

274.7 Walter-the-Pennyless, 67
Walter the Penniless, 67C → 69

274.9 mob, 67
mob 67C → 69

274.10 the 67
this 67C → 69

274.10 Official 67
official 67C → 69

274.10 slinking off, 67
slinking-off, 67C → 69

274.14 soothing down 67
soothing-down 69

274.14 Roughs. So 67
Roughs. ¶So 67C → 69

274.15 that 67
that, 67C → 69

274.25 alas 67
alas, 67C → 69

274.36 time,—with 67
time, with 69

274.37 us 67
us, 67C → 69

275.3 others, 67
others 69

275.13 man: 67
man; 67C → 69

275.14 date, 67
date 69

275.16 “immortal smash,” 67
‘immortal smash,’ 67C → 69

275.18 conjecturing 67
conjecturing, 67C → 69

275.19 if 67
of 69

275.29 Shew 67
Show 67C → 69

275.29 shew 67
show 67C → 69

275.29 us, 67
us; 69

276.7 That, 67
That 67C → 69

276.7 Plebs 67
Plebs 67C → 69

276.7 Princeps, 67
Princeps, 67C → 69

276.16 once, 67
once 69

276.18 paltry: 67
paltry; 67C → 69

276.19 Giving 67
giving 67C → 69

276.25 "in Council" 67
'in Council' 67C → 69

276.26 son 67
Son 69

276.34 Niggers, 67
Niggers 67C → 69

276.36 (and your 67
(and perhaps your 67C → 69

277.4 instant: 67
instant. 67C → 69

277.7 fruitfullest 67
fruitfulest 69

277.14 work, 67
work 67C → 69

277.15 Frederick William, 67
Friedrich Wilhelm, 67C → 69

277.15 Frederick, 67
Friedrich, 67C → 69

277.16 round, 67
round 69

277.16 laved, 67
laved 67C → 69

277.17 beautifullest 67
beautifulest 69

277.18 "For ever 67
¶"Forever 67C → 69

277.18 regulations, 67
regulations 67C → 69

277.19 thinking?" 67
thinking"? 69

277.19 dare say. 67
daresay. 67C → 69

277.21 Niggers, 67
Niggers 67C → 69

277.24 jungle quarries 67
jungle-quarries 67C → 69

277.26 iron 67
iron, 67C → 69

277.30 see, who 67
see,—who 67C → 69

277.35 bed; which 67
bed. Which 69

277.38 others? But 67
others?—But 69

278.8 Speech, 67
Speech 69

278.8 deed, 67
deed 69

278.10 name 67
name, 67C → 69

278.11 lot!—— 67
lot!— 67C → 69

278.16 gracefullest 67
gracefulest 69

278.20 index, 67
index 69

278.22 "men 67
'men 67C → 69

278.22 genius" 67
genius' 67C → 69

278.26 ¶It 67
¶Withal it 67C → 69

278.28 change, 67
Many, 67C → 69

278.36 old 67
old, 67C → 69

278.37 didactic! ¶And 67
didactic! And 69

279.1 conscious 67
conscious, 69

279.6 years. Ever 67
years. ¶Ever 69

279.18 fruits, such 67
fruits,—such 67C → 69

279.19 wholly-consciously,—*liars* 67
wholly consciously, *liars* 67C → 69

280.6 fortune, 67
fortune 67C → 69

280.10 "who 67
'who 67C → 69

280.11 God." 67
God.' 67C → 69

280.14 "Copper-Captaincy" 67
'Copper-Captaincy' 67C → 69

280.20 answer 67
answer, 67C → 69

280.21 guess 67
guess, 67C → 69

280.36 you," or "Death 67
you," "Death 67C → 69

280.36 dubitations, 67
dubitations 67C → 69

281.4 them) 67
it) 69

281.5 shed 67
spend 67C → 69

281.6 capable of 67
capable at last of 67C → 69

281.9 Behold 67
Behold, 67C → 69

281.14 "while 67
'while 67C → 69

281.14 lives" 67
lives' 67C → 69

281.15 tho' 67
though 67C → 69

281.23 "men 67
'men 67C → 69

281.23 *genius*" 67
genius' 67C → 69

281.23 "inspired 67
'inspired 67C → 69

281.23 God" 67
God' 67C → 69

281.25 "touched 67
'touched 67C → 69

281.26 fire!" 67
fire'! 67C → 69

281.28 (political 67
(*political* 67C → 69

281.30 Nevertheless I will omit these at present, and touch only of 67
Nevertheless [inserted passage 281.30-286.28] ¶Of 67C → 69

282.23 all, 67C
all 69

285.10 *Ruin*, 67C
Ruin 69

285.13 Maker 67C
Maker, 69

285.18 Man.' 67C
Man.'† [footnote inserted] † 'Zwei Dinge erfüllen das Gemüth mit immer neuer und zunehmender Bewunderung und Ehrfurcht, je öfter und anhaltender sich das Nachdenken damit beschäftigt: *der bestirnte Himmel über mir*, und *das moralische Gesetz in mir*,' . . . *u. s. w.* Kant's *Sämmtliche Werke* (Rosenkranz and Schubert's edition, Leipzig, 1838), viii. 312. 69

285.28 Religion; 67C
Religion: 69

286.28 or Industrial 67

or silent Industrial 67C → 69

286.28 Hero, as 67
Hero, I may now say something, as 67C → 69

286.29 reader's. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶This 67
reader's. ¶This 67C → 69

286.30 recognisable, 67
recognisable 67C → 69

286.34 degrees, 67
degrees 67C → 69

286.37 co-operate 67
coöperate 67C → 69

287.1 believe 67
well discern 67C → 69

287.5 "man 67
'man 67C → 69

287.5 genius" 67
genius' 67C → 69

287.6 millionaire, 67
millionaire 67C → 69

287.10 recivilize, 67
recivilise, 67C → 69

287.11 to 67
To 67C → 69

287.11 annihilation of 67
to annihilate 67C → 69

287.13 body 67
body 67C → 69

287.14 matters, 67
matters 67C → 69

287.14 &c.;—no 67
&c.:—no 67C → 69

287.16 reformed 67
Reformed 67C → 69

287.16 will 67
will, 67C → 69

287.17 suppose 67
suppose, 67C → 69

287.17 industrial 67
Industrial 67C → 69

287.18 "4 67
"Four 67C → 69

287.19 hand 67
hand, 67C → 69

287.19 on reformed 67
on Reformed 67C → 69

287.19 and reformed 67
and Reformed 67C → 69

287.20 it 67
it, 67C → 69

287.20 further. 67
farther. 69

287.22 free trade 67
"Free Trade" 67C → 69

287.23 *Nasty*, let 67
***Nasty*. Let** 67C → 69

287.26 which 67
which, 67C → 69

287.26 places 67
places, 67C → 69

287.26 taints 67
haunts 67C → 69

287.33 or employing 67
and all producing 67C → 69

287.34 patronize, 67
patronise, 67C → 69

287.35 wearing, 67
wearing 67C → 69

287.37 work, and eight 67
work, eight 67C → 69

287.37 play; 67
play, 67C → 69

287.38 day."—*Reformed* 67
day!" ¶(*Reformed* 67C → 69
day!" ¶*Reformed* 69

287.39 *Song*. 67
***Song*.)** 67C

288.3 that for 67
for that of 67C → 69

288.8 treason 67
treason, 67C → 69

288.11 Debts 67
Debts, 67C → 69

288.11 comparison? 67
comparison! 67C → 69

288.15 Devil's dust 67
Devil's-dust 67C → 69

288.18 mean, 67
mean 69

288.19 practical 67
Practical 67C → 69

288.19 infinitely 67
not a little 67C → 69

288.20 question, and 67
question. Infinitely anxious to 67C → 69

288.20 Free Trade 67
"Free Trade," 67C → 69

288.21 tied 67
got *tied* 67C → 69

288.21 little. 67
little, and forbidden to make a very brute of itself at this rate! 67C → 69

288.23 ¶One 67
¶Take one 67C → 69

288.23 only! 67
only. 67C → 69

288.26 cannons, 67
cannon, 67C → 69

288.28 brick,—we 67
brick;—we 69

288.32 frightful! For 67
frightful! "Not a house this of mine," said one indignant gentleman, who had searched the London Environs all around for any bit of Villa, "Alpha"-cottage or Omega, which were less inhuman, but found none: "Not a built house, but a congeries of plastered bandboxes; shambling askew in all joints and corners of it; creaking, quaking under every step;—filling you with disgust and despair!" For 67C → 69

289.4 thing! 67
object! 67C → 69

289.5 England 67
¶England 67C → 69

289.6 be 67
be, 67C → 69

289.6 cent. 67
cent 67C → 69

289.6 day 67
Day 67C → 69

289.6 judgment. 67
Judgment. 67C → 69

289.11 Adam, not 67
Adam, and not 67C → 69

289.14 you, 67
you; 69

289.18 beer-butts, 67
beer-buts, 67C

289.20 Earth 67
Earth, 67C → 69

289.25 high, 67
high; 67C → 69

289.28 creeds, 67
creeds 67C → 69

289.29 to 67
To 67C → 69

289.31 Devil's dust, 67
Devil's-dust, 67C → 69

289.31 and 67
and with constant invocation of the Devil, 67C
and, with constant invocation of the Devil, 69

289.33 sown?——But 67
sown?— [inserted passage 289.33-291.4] ¶But 67C → 69

290.5 generally 67C
generally, 69

290.7 "Four-eights," 67C
"Four eights," 69

290.27 say,—"Away 67C
say, "Away 69

290.31 faithfullest 67C
faithfulest 69

291.8 VII. 67
VIII. 67C → 69

291.19 classes 67
classes, 67C → 69

291.27 *dis*-countenancing 67
*dis*countenancing 67C → 69

291.33 had, 67
had 69

291.35 *Vogeler*), 67
Vogler), 67C → 69

292.2 "noble" 67
'noble' 67C → 69

292.5 "Management 67
'Management 67C → 69

292.5 principle," 67
principle,' 67C → 69

292.8 (*Hear, hear!*) 67
[*Hear, hear!*] 69

292.10 (In 67
In 67C → 69

292.12 at!) 67
at! 67C → 69

292.12 merit 67
merit, 67C → 69

292.15 Alas! no? 67
Alas, no: 67C → 69

292.18 ¶In 67
¶And yet, in 67C → 69

292.24 it. Schools, 67
it. ¶Schools, 67C → 69

292.27 methods, 67
methods 69

292.37 vitallest 67
vitalest 69

292.39 Civil Service 67
Civil-Service 67C → 69

293.7 clamouring 67
clamoring 67C → 69

293.10 "the *wise*," 67
'the *wise*,' 67C → 69

293.13 *sham-wise*. 67
***sham*-wise.** 67C → 69

293.19 king 67
King 69

293.22 writing paper, 67
writing-paper, 67C → 69

293.25 sun: 67
sun; 67C → 69

293.26 dirt, 67
dirt 67C → 69

293.29 partially-vocal 67
partially vocal 69

293.30 small, 67
small 69

293.31 *have* 67
have 67C → 69

293.34 VIII. 67
IX. 67C → 69

294.1 co-operative 67
coöperative 67C → 69

294.8 hypothesis, 67
hypothesis 69

294.12 Prussia: *he* 67
Prussia; *he* 67C
Prussia;—*he* 69

294.20 Nay 67
Nay, 67C → 69

294.23 Courts martial 67
Court-martial 67C → 69

294.25 thrice miserable 67
thrice-miserable 67C → 69

294.25 Drill-Sergeant?
Drill-Sergeant? Reformed Parliament, I hear, has decided on a "thorough Army reform," as one of the first things. So that we shall at length have a perfect Army, field-worthy and correct in all points, thinks Reformed

Parliament? Alas, yes;—and if the sky fall, we shall catch larks, too!— 67C → 69

294.30 king 67
King 69

294.31 only 67
only, 67C → 69

295.5 symbolling 67
symboling 69

295.15 too[«»] 67
too, 67C → 69

295.22 persons 67
Persons 69

295.23 had 67
had, 67C → 69

295.27 Whit Sunday, 67
Whit-Monday, 67C → 69

295.36 Drilling Processes; 67
Drilling; 67C → 69

296.5 Hero 67
hero 67C → 69

296.9 warring down 67
warring-down 69

296.12 Man, 67
Man 69

296.15 That, 67
that, 67C → 69

296.19 universe, 67
Universe, 67C → 69

296.19 nation 67
Nation 67C → 69

296.21 Anarchy, 67
Anarchy 67C → 69

296.21 universe 67
Universe 67C → 69

296.21 for ever 67
forever 67C → 69

296.22 it 67
it 67C → 69

296.22 slowly 67
slowly, 67C → 69

296.22 moments 67
moments, 67C → 69

296.24 fast 67
fast, 67C → 69

296.24 time 67
time, 67C → 69

296.26 are minded 67
are now minded 67C → 69

296.31 this! 67
this! [inserted passage 296.32-299.26] 67C → 69

297.27 practical 67C
Practical 69

297.35 three 67C
Three 69

297.37 "*Buncombe*," 67C
'*Buncombe*,' 69

298.7 "*Buncombe*" 67C
'*Buncombe*' 69

298.14 forwardness, 67C
forwardness 69

298.21 Birth-land, 67C
Birthland, 69

298.32 giving up 67C
giving-up 69

299.20 quagmires, 67C
quagmires 69

299.20 ignominous 67C
ignominious 69

299.20 pools, 67C
pools 69

299.22 existence (or 67C
existence:—or 69

299.22 rats; is 67C
rats? Why not? Is 69

299.24 now?)—Game preserving, 67C
now!—Game-preserving, 69

299.24 deer-stalking 67C
deer-stalking, 69

299.24 all that, will have 67C
the like, will soon all have 69

299.25 country; 67C
Country; 69

299.26 vulgar. 67C
vulgar!— 69

"Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-71" [70, 72]

301.0 *MR. CARLYLE ON THE WAR*. [new line] TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES. ¶Sir, 70
LATTER STAGE OF THE FRENCH-GERMAN WAR, 1870-71. [new line] ***To the Editor of the*** **Times. [new line] Chelsea, 11 Nov. 1870. ¶Sir,** 72

301.7 conquerors, 70
conquerors; 72

301.9* country, 70
Country, 72

301.10 "magnanimity," 70
'magnanimity,' 72

301.11 "heroic 70
'heroic 72

301.11 foe," 70
foe,' 72

301.11 prudence 70
prudence, 72

301.17 history, 70
history 72

301.18 Max 70
Max, 72

301.18 age 70
age, 72

301.18 chivalrous, allegorical, 70
chivalrous allegorical 72

301.19 the 70
The 72

301.21 title), 70
title); 72

302.1 Germany 70
Germany, 72

302.1 time 70
time, 72

302.5 was that 70
was, That 72

302.9 well, 70
well; 72

302.11 however, 70
however; 72

302.12 egged on 70
egged-on 72

302.16 V.—a 70
V.;—a 72

302.18* one. 70
one of them. 72

302.18 two 70
Two 72

302.20 most 70
Most 72

302.21 Soliman—that 70
Soliman,—that 72

302.25 state. 70
estimate. 72

302.26 most 70
Most 72

302.26 King, 70
King; 72

302.26 harassed 70
harassed, 72

302.27 terror 70
terror, 72

302.27 ensuing. Richelieu's 70
ensuing. ¶Richelieu's 72

302.28 trade again 70
trade, again, 72

302.32 there." 70
there?" 72

302.33 Rochelle, 70
Rochelle; 72

302.34 30-years' war, 70
Thirty-Years War, 72

302.38 nations. 70
Nations. 72

303.1 crueller 70
crueler 72

303.1 or 70
nor 72

303.2 body); 70
body): 72

303.4 Europe—for 70
Europe,—for 72

303.5 ambition 70
ambition, 72

303.6 goods—of 70
goods,—of 72

303.12 world—Advent, 70
world,—advent, 72

303.13 the French Revolution, 70
The French Revolution; 72

303.13 embarcation 70
embarkation 72

303.14 tumbles. ¶The 70
tumbles. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶The 72

303.19 such—*the* 70
such,—*the* 72

303.25 history 70
History 72

303.26 smashing down 70
smashing-down 72

303.28 generally ill-fortune, 70
generally of ill-fortune, 72

303.29 manner; and 70
manner:—and 72

303.31 neighbour 70
neighbour, 72

303.32 nature 70
Nature 72

303.36 nature. 70
Nature. 72

304.4 egged on 70
egged-on 72

304.6 operation, except 70
operation,—except 72

304.10 violently sharp 70
violently-sharp 72

304.10 Attorneyism, 70
attorneyism, 72

304.12 of, 70
of 72

304.14 himself 70
himself, 72

304.15 *Excelsus super omnes Gentes Dominus*, 70
Excelsus super omnes gentes Dominus; 72

304.15 certain 70
certain, 72

304.20 night. Nor 70
night. ¶Nor 72

304.23 II. 70
II 72

304.23 places—Protestants[,] 70
places,—Protestants 72

304.24 need—as 70
need,—as 72

304.28 brazen-faced, 70
brazen-faced 72

304.28 back,—had 70
back,—"had 72

304.29 them, 70
them," 72

304.29 him, 70
him; 72

304.34 rational, 70
rational 72

304.35 campaign, 70
campaign; 72

304.37 visits. ¶The 70
visits. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶The 72

305.8 France, 70
France; 72

305.8 again—to 70
again,—to 72

305.9 for ever 70
forever 72

305.10	splendour, far	70	306.10	mournfullest	70
	splendour,—far	72		mournfulest	72
305.11	sort, and	70	306.12	and, indeed,	70
	sort,—and	72		and indeed	72
305.13	French. For	70	306.14	universe;	70
	French. ¶For	72		**Universe;**	72
305.15	pitiable,	70	306.15	semi-delirious,	70
	pitiable	72		semi-delirious	72
305.17	recognizable	70	306.16	50	70
	recognisable	72		fifty	72
305.25	be,—To	70	306.16	years	70
	be, To	72		years,	72
305.26	“refuges	70	306.19	doom’s voice	70
	‘refuges	72		doom’s-voice	72
305.26	lies”	70	306.21	phenomenon—the	70
	lies’	72		**phenomenon,—the**	72
305.28	that	70	306.22	transcendant	70
	That	72		transcendent	72
305.28	recognize	70	306.26	civilized	70
	recognise	72		civilised	72
305.29	she—a	70	306.27	dismally chaotic	70
	she,—a	72		dismally-chaotic	72
305.30	anarchy—has	70	306.28	shams	70
	anarchy,—has	72		shams,	72
305.31	quietly human,	70	306.29	everything; but,	70
	quietly-human,	72		**everything:—but,**	72
305.31	sober,	70	306.35	further	70
	sober	72		**farther**	72
305.32	state,	70	306.36	for ever	70
	state;	72		**forever**	72
305.34	impotence,	70	306.38	France,	70
	impotence;	72		France	72
305.35	anarchy,	70	307.1	81	70
	anarchy	72		eighty-one	72
306.3	evidently adamantine	70	307.1	nothing,	70
	evidently-adamantine	72		**Nothing,**	72
306.5	The	70	307.3	rove in	70
	But indeed the	72		rove about in	72
306.8	*un*conscious mendacity	70	307.3	darkness	70
	‘*un*conscious mendacity’	72		**darkness,**	72
306.9	unrecognized	70	307.4	who	70
	unrecognised	72		who,	72

307.4 self-deception 70
self-deception, 72

307.5 "Given 70
'Given 72

307.5 delusion," 70
delusion,' 72

307.12 "*Cartouche* 70
Cartouche 72

307.12 Nations," 70
Nations, 72

307.12 "Christ 70
Christ 72

307.13 Nations" 70
Nations 72

307.13 qualities, 70
qualities; 72

307.14 sufferings, 70
sufferings; 72

307.15 hair 70
hair, 72

307.20 neighbours, instead 70
neighbours,—instead 72

307.25 again. ¶A 70
again. [extra leading between paragraphs] ¶A 72

307.30 honourable 70
Honourable 72

307.32 "one 70
'one 72

307.32 all," 70
all,' 72

307.33 object, 70
object; 72

307.33 it, had 70
it,—had 72

307.34 it, 70
it; 72

307.36 nation, 70
Nation, 72

307.37 Bismark, 70
Bismarck, 72

308.1 just, 70
just 72

308.4 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.7 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.11 "Slow 70
'Slow 72

308.12 malt." 70
malt.' 72

308.12 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.15 there (a 70
there,—a 72

308.15 France!); and 70
France!—and 72

308.18 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.20 Bismark, 70
Bismarck, 72

308.21 Bismark 70
Bismarck 72

308.26 gone, 70
gone; 72

308.27 Bismark, 70
Bismarck, 72

308.31 grand, 70
grand 72

308.32 pious, 70
pious 72

308.33 nation 70
Nation, 72

308.35 restless, 70
restless 72

308.35 hopefullest 70
hopefulest 72

308.40 Chelsea, Nov. 11. T. CARLYLE. 70
T. Carlyle. 72

"The Portraits of John Knox" [75, 82]

309.5 Volume, 75
volume, 82

309.6 Learning':† 75
Learning:'† 75C → 82

309.24 *Beza* 75
Bezâ 75C → 82

310.5 nations, 75
nations; 75C → 82

310.6 meanwhile 75
mean while 82

310.8 'Young,') 75
'Young'), 82

310.9 merits. 75
merit. 82

310.12 half ridiculous half pathetic 75
half-ridiculous half-pathetic 82

310.12 (overleaf) 75
(opposite) 82

310.17 wood-cut 75
wood-cut, 75C
woodcut, 82

310.25 Portrait 75
portrait 82

310.27 enquiries 75
inquiries 75C → 82

310.37 well meant, 75
well-meant, 75C → 82

312.12 cruelty 75
cruelty, 75C → 82

312.16 No 75
No, 82

312.24 Commissary, 75
Commissary 75C → 82

312.28 Seas, they 75
Seas, and they 75C → 82

312.34 gentle 75
gentle, 82

312.36 *literarum*; 75
literarum; 75C → 82

313.11 much censured 75
much-censured 75C → 82

313.16 Scotus'; 75
Scotus;' 82

313.23 months 75
months, 82

313.28 sleep in a whole skin, and digest his victuals. 75
digest his victuals, and sleep in a whole skin. 75C → 82

314.1 foolish 75
foolish, 82

314.4 falsity 75
falsity, 75C → 82

314.37 distinct 75
distinct, 82

315.19 Hameston,'—a 75
Hamestonum,'—a 75C → 82

315.22 cut-off 75
cut off 75C → 82

315.25 'Hamestown, 75
'Hamestonum, 75C → 82

315.27 nobleman' 75
nobleman,' 82

315.28 'Hameston' 75
'Hamestonum' 75C → 82

315.29 *Ormiston's*; 75
Ormiston's; 75C → 82

316.3 a 75
on 75C → 82

316.10 Poet; 75
poet; 82

316.17 Prince 75
Princes 75C → 82

316.22 Head-tutor, 75
Head-Tutor, 82

316.25 phrensy 75
phrenzy 75C → 82

316.31 work, 75
Work, 82

317.18 St.-Martin's-in-the-Fields. 75
St.-Martin's-in-the-Fields: 75C → 82

317.34 wrote 75
'wrote 75C → 82

317.34 books, 75
books,' 75C → 82

318.1 *Laonium*; 75
Laonium; 75C → 82

318.34 as seems 75
as it seems 82

320.1 of 75
on 75C → 82

320.8 enquiry, 75
inquiry, 82

320.25 cognizant 75
cognisant 82

320.27 Knox, 75
Knox; 75C → 82

320.27 following portrait; 75
portrait given over leaf; 75C
portrait given here; 82

320.29 figure-head; 75
Figure-head; 75C → 82

320.32 browbeating 75
brow-/beating 75C
brow-beating 82

321.37 therein, 75
therein 82

322.20 guineas. 75
guineas[«»] 82

322.33 meantime, 75
mean time, 82

322.34 nature, 75
Nature, 82

323.1 forever 75
for ever 82

323.6 egg-yolks 75
egg-yolks, 75C → 82

323.19 nameable 75
namable 82

323.27 here subjoined. 75
on the next page subjoined. 75C
subjoined on p. 157. 82

324.37 testify the 75
testify to the 82

325.6 all 75
all, 75C → 82

325.21 Biographical Dictionary. 75
Biographical Dictionary. 75C → 82

325.22 in 75
'in 75C → 82

325.22 'Miss 75
Miss 75C → 82

325.24 Torphichen, 75
Torphichen 75C → 82

325.25 Vos 75
Vos, 75C → 82

326.2 by-and-by), 75
by and by), 82

326.6 nature, 75
Nature, 82

326.6 portrait 75
portrait, 82

326.11 '*Hofnarr*,' 75
"*Hofnarr*," 75C → 82

326.14 than enough 75
than enough, 82

326.18 II 75
II. 75C → 82

326.20 ¶Will 75
[no indent] WILL 82

326.21 actions: 75
actions? 82

326.36 after. 75
after: 82

327.12 Father, 75
Father 82

327.12 gossips) 75
gossips), 82

327.20 as 75
us 75C → 82

327.20 plack," 75
plack" 82

327.23 sark 75
sark, 82

327.23 therefore, 75
therefore 82

327.26 away 75
away, 82

327.38 Edinburgh: 1846-'64, vol. I, 75
6 vols. Edinburgh, 1846-'64: i. 75C → 82

327.38 *et seq*. 75
et seq. 82

328.5 Tylney, still copiously 75
Tylney, copiously 82

328.14 a visible terrestrial 75
a terrestrial 75C → 82

328.36 heart-felt, 75
heartfelt, 75C → 82

329.31 meditation"; 75
meditation;" 82

330.14 paraphrase 75
paraphase 75C

330.16 were 75
were, 75C → 82

330.17 good night, 75
good-night, 82

330.28 Ormeston; 75
Ormiston; 82

330.37 more, 75
more 75C → 82

330.39 p. 75
pp. 75C → 82

331.10 Dumbar, 75
Dunbar, 82

331.31 to 75
by 75C → 82

331.31 neffelling,' 75
neffelling' 82

331.31 *fistcuffing*); 75
***fisticuffing*);** 75C → 82

331.32 *Dispersit*, 75
Dispersit 75C → 82

332.10 *ago* 75
ago, 75C → 82

332.14 Andrews, these 75
Andrews,—these 75C → 82

332.22 was, as we said, 75
was 75C → 82

332.24 *Natus*: 75
Natus: 75C → 82

332.26 well-/nigh 75
well-nigh 75C → 82

332.31 stog-/sweard,' 75
stog-sweard,' 75C → 82

332.34 night-/mare, 75
night-mare, 75C
nightmare, 82

332.39 *Knox's Works*, I, 75
***Works of Knox*, i.** 75C → 82

333.8 Chatelherault, 75
Chatelherault 75C → 82

333.13 two and twenty 75
two-and-twenty 82

333.19 he 75
'he 75C → 82

333.19 'them' 75
them' 75C → 82

333.36 Rough, 75
Rough 82

334.2 John 75
John, 75C → 82

334.15 while, 75
while 82

334.22 prisons.' 75
prisons. 75C → 82

334.28 Mass (for 75
Mass, for 82

335.3 it"; 75
it;" 82

335.8 6,000 75
6000 82

335.10 Pinky 75
Pinkie 82

335.18 occurred: 75
occurred. 75C → 82

335.35 dispiritments 75
dispiritments, 82

335.39 I, 75
i. 75C → 82

336.3
6,000 75
6000 82

336.4
Siege 75
siege 75C → 82

336.6
the poor townsfolk 75
the townsfolk 75C → 82

336.7
fleet however 75
fleet, however, 82

336.15
world, setting 75
world,—setting 75C → 82

336.15
destiny. 75
destiny!— 75C → 82

336.17
prefacing 75
prefacing, 82

337.1
declined, 75
declined it, 75C → 82

337.34
Exiles 75
exiles 75C → 82

338.11
all important, 75
all-important, 75C → 82

338.29
conflagration 75
conflagration, 75C → 82

338.29
Johnstone's 75
Johnston's 75C → 82

338.35
knoweth'; 75
knoweth;' 82

338.36
remained, 75
remained 82

339.26
Mother-in-law 75
mother-in-law 82

339.27
rest 75
rest, 82

339.30
Pandects, Digest, 75
the Pandects, the Digest, 75C → 82

339.33
diligent 75
diligent, 82

339.34
enquiry, 75
inquiry, 82

340.4
Genius': 75
Genius:' 75C → 82

340.11
intrinsically 75
intrinscially 82

340.14
everyone, 75
every one, 82

340.16
emotional 75
emotional, 82

340.19
impressive 75
impressive, 82

340.30
enquire 75
inquire 82

341.12
over night, 75
over-night, 82

341.13
here, skilfully 75
here, as if by *tryst*, at mid-distance; skilfully 75C → 82

341.25
June, 75
June 82

341.33
over night 75
over-night 82

342.7
epoch; 75
epoch, 75C → 82

342.14
night; 75
night, 75C → 82

342.18
'If 75
"If 75C → 82

342.19
dog.' 75
dog." 75C → 82

342.21
and, 75
and 82

342.39
1774). 75
1774), pp. 126-'7. 75C
1774), pp. 126-7. 82

343.5
naîveté 75
naîveté, 82

343.6
swift flowing 75
swift-flowing 75C → 82

343.7
excellencies 75
excellences 75C → 82

343.13
and an 75
and withal even an 75C → 82

343.20
young beautiful 75
young, beautiful, 82

343.21
Knox, would 75
Knox would, 82

343.31 nothing: 75
nothing; 75C → 82

344.6 sympathize 75
sympathise 75C → 82

344.6 terror 75
terror, 82

344.12 reverse; 75
reverse: 75C → 82

344.16 back-/stairs 75
backstairs 75C
back-stairs 82

344.25 illstarred, 75
ill-starred, 82

344.25 graceful 75
graceful, 82

344.29 study†; 75
study;† 75C → 82

344.35 'What 75
"What 82

345.1 enemy?' 75
enemy?" 82

345.2 'Alas, 75
"Alas, 82

345.6 eternal?' 75
eternal?" 82

346.8 III 75
III. 75C → 82

346.10 ¶In 75
[no indent] In 82

346.11 Engraving 75
engraving 75C → 82

346.15 fac-/simile 75
fac-simile 75C → 82

346.19 enquiries 75
inquiries 82

346.24 any body 75
anybody 75C → 82

346.27 in—evidently 75
in,—evidently 75C → 82

346.29 enquiry 75
inquiry 82

346.31 Of its 75
Its 75C → 82

346.32 it 75
it, 75C → 82

348.4 entrusted 75
intrusted 82

348.4 enquirers, 75
inquirers, 82

348.7* still hangs. 75
remained for above a year. 82

348.9 as 75
as, 82

348.13 character 75
character, 82

348.27 manipulation. . . . 75
manipulation 75C

348.31 portraits 75
portraits, 82

349.2 appearance. 75
appearance.† [footnote inserted]
Since this was first printed, Mr. Laurence himself favours me with the following remarks, which seem too good to be lost: . . . 'I wish the reason for my copying the Somerville Picture had been given, viz., its being in a state of dilapidation and probable decay. Entirely agreeing with your own impressions as to its representing the individuality and character of the man, I undertook to make a copy that should, beside keeping the character, represent the condition of this Picture in its undamaged state. It is now not only "much cracked," but the *half-tints* are taken off, by some bad cleaner; the gradations between the highest lights and the deepest shades wanting: hence the unpleasant look.

I think it more than a matter of "surface." The very ground, a "bricky" red one, exposed, here and there; the effec[t o]f which upon the colours may be likened to a tune played upon a piano-forte that has missing keys . . .—SAMUEL LAURENCE (6, Wells Street, Oxford Street, March 30, 1875).' 75C → 82

349.4 engraving, 75
Engraving, 82

349.5 scratchy 75
scratchy, 82

349.10 half obliterated 75
half-obliterated 82

349.12 type 75
type, 82

349.30 viz., 75C
viz. 82

349.37 effec[t o]f 75C
effect of 82

349.38 piano-forte 75C
pianoforte 82

349.38 (6, 75C
(6 82

350.3 falsifying 75
contradicting 75C → 82

350.26 scrutinizers 75
scrutinisers 82

350.32 enquiry 75
inquiry 82

350.32 can 75
Can 82

350.37 Collection; 75
collection; 75C → 82

350.39 Fitz Gerald's edit., Lond. 1874, 75
Fitzgerald's edit. (London, 1874), 75C → 82

351.5 enlarged 75
enlarged, 82

351.10 autumn 75
Autumn 75C → 82

351.26 as 75
as, 82

351.27 autumn 75
Autumn 82

351.28 Brussels 75
Brussels, 82

351.32 painted, 75
painted 82

352.6 Gallery, who 75
Gallery,—who 82

352.9 Kensington 75
Kensington Museum, 75C → 82

352.12 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, 75
DEVONSHIRE STREET, PORTLAND PLACE, 75C → 82

352.13 January 75
January 75C → 82

352.15 portrait, 75
Portrait, 75C → 82

352.28 House of Commons' 75
House-of-Commons 75C → 82

352.30 In external 75
In point of external 75C → 82

352.32 complete in
complete or final in 75C → 82

352.34 share 75
share, 82

352.35 is. 75
is. THE END. 75C

ALTERATIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The following table lists all alterations in the manuscripts of "Louis Philippe," "Legislation for Ireland," and "Death of Charles Buller." In this listing, we have used the following symbols. Words with a line through them (e.g. ~~over~~) indicate a cancellation. Words enclosed within double slashes (e.g. //over\\) indicate a cancellation within a cancellation. Words enclosed in vertical lines (e.g. |over|) indicate an interlinear insertion; double vertical lines indicate an insertion within an insertion. Words enclosed in minus and plus signs (e.g. -+over+-) were canceled by mistake. Tentative readings of words or letters are enclosed in square brackets (e.g. [over]).

"Louis Philippe"

177.3 Paris ~~create~~ |excite| in
177.4 than [~~weare~~] weariness
177.7 rather; ~~a~~ sad
177.9 eternity[!]
177.20 at ~~ł~~ last,
177.22 [th]an
178.4 much ~~faculty,~~ talent,
178.6 deliberately, ~~nay with a consciousness that he is right~~, |with steadfast ||persistence|| for seventeen year,| attempting
178.8 vulpine ~~faculties~~ capabilities
178.8 by [~~illegible illegible] courageous, patient [illegible] [was~~] |appealing,| |with courageous energy and patience,| to what~~soever~~ was
178.10 him (~~ɯ~~ which
178.10 tho' ~~far-apart~~ |wide-scattered, and| in
178.12 sordid, |and ~~to that~~ only,| has ~~Louis~~ he
178.13 him, ~~in these seventeen years,~~ what
178.14 upon? ~~Not one~~ None. His ~~policy~~ |management| has
178.15 of [~~chicane] Paltry rhetori-~~ |Iniquity, in all its basest shapes. [B]ribery has flourished; scandalous corruption, till the air was thick with it, and the hearts of men sick. Paltry rhetori|-cians,
178.18 every [~~illegible~~] |service-ablest|form
178.19 the |poor French Peo|-ple,
178.20 their [~~illegible] bloody agony~~ |blood and agony,| bore
178.20 what ~~has he done~~ |did he accomplish|? Penal
178.23 other, ~~this was his solution of the difficulty~~ and
178.26 |¶|Alas
178.26 thro' thi~~s~~|e| world,
178.28 all. ~~That the universe was other than a huge swindle seems not to have been revealed to him in his travels~~ If
178.28 Swindle? ~~That~~ In
178.28 case, 2/Sovereign Ruler// will mean 1/Supreme Swindler// ~~in that case~~ |: in that case,— but not in the [other]|! Poor
178.30 had |just| prospered
178.31 had ~~just~~ |at length| achieved
178.32 the ~~edifice, or~~ Louis-Philippe
178.33 bribery-mortar, ~~tied by~~ bound
178.34 architecture, [~~illegible~~] |when,—| the
178.34 Earth~~, (which will support no such edifices~~ |(impatient of such edifices|-+)+- gave
178.37 Passy,'|—| towards
178.37 doom. ~~"[[Do] illegible]!" as the men in blouse said.~~ Egalité Fils, |after long painful [~~illegible~~] life-voyage,| has
179.1 Egali[~~illegible~~]té Père
179.3 blame; ~~but on the People's~~ were

179.5 men[1] ~~very sad to , on all sides! These wild men~~ in blouses, |with| their faces |and their hearts| once more ~~a blaze with lightning~~ |all blazing in| celestial
179.6 infernal |lightning|, with their ~~barriers piled~~ |barricades up,| and
179.7 the ~~wild men of 89 and 93~~«:» ~~they~~ |Bastillers of '89 and the Septemberers of '92: the| |fathers fought in 1830; they in 1848 are still fighting. To the third generation it has been bequeathed by the second and the first; by the third generation the immense problem, still to solve, is not deserted, is duly taken up. They|[2] also
179.8 fathers ~~have done, on~~ |did:| p|P|rotest,
179.12 say, |audibly as with the voice of whirlwinds,| "In
179.13 will ~~not~~ |not| have
179.14 done. [~~single letter illegible~~] Take
179.15 first |transcendant| French Revolution |did| meant; for
179.17 peace |or rest| is
179.17 the ~~Earth~~ |world| till then!" ~~¶The Throne was carried out by armed men in blouses; was~~ |'The throne was carried out by armed men in blouses; was|[3] dragged
179.19 Journals. ~~Smashed small~~ |Into small pieces|; let
179.24 end. ~~Thrones that found themselves on~~ Thrones
179.25 founded on [fal]sity, ~~All this is sad enough, miserable enough; and haggard~~ on
179.27 ~~thou, it must be something other than thou!"~~ [~~illegible~~] When ~~Bounaparte~~ |Napoleon|, the
179.33 magnificence, |at ~~Notre~~ Notre-Dame|, to
179.34 Concordat, |~~or Coronation~~ ("the
179.35 himself [~~illegible~~] ~~to be)~~ |privately named it)|[4]

"Legislation for Ireland"

201.5 other [~~illegible~~] bills, [~~illegible~~] |the [M]inister|[5] was
201.8 the ~~New~~ Poor Law |Bill|, now
201.8 into ~~a~~ law,
201.13 food ~~in Ireland~~; that
201.13 the [S]un
201.15 wealth, ~~if it will~~ |which means ~~that~~ Irish strength and wisdom and resource, shall not| continue
201.18 Aristocracy |or| Landownership, |if it will preserve its land much longer| shall
201.20 playing ~~at~~ roulette
201.20 saddles |~~and~~, descend from its idle drawingrooms into the neighbouring ||hunger-||-

[1] The key words "in blouses" were replaced by the repetition of these words on the next sheet.

[2] The latter insertion is on a separate slip; it begins with the cancelled key words: "~~and '93: the~~" and ends with the key word "also."

[3] This insertion is on the separate slip on fol. 54/3r and is preceded by the key words "till then!"

[4] There is a cancelled earlier draft of a portion of the manuscript on folio 54/3v; we do not transcribe it here.

[5] A word, probably "he," has been blotted out, and the insertion, which appears not to be in Carlyle's hand, is added. The change is probably in response to the change in the opening of the article, which does not appear in the manuscript.

cabins|;[6] and
202.1 |¶|By[7] this
202.1 Poor-[L]aw, |speaking a small piece of Everlasting Justice in law dialect for once,| it
202.3 by ~~just law,~~ |some judge or rule of right,| shall
202.4 have |now| before
202.5 really ~~tremendous fearful~~ |tremendous| task
202.5 work; ~~the~~ a
202.6 and |which has| now
202.6 till [~~illegible~~] it
202.7 That~~;~~ nevertheless~~;~~ it
202.7 task, |and| with
202.8 lose! [~~illegible~~][8]
202.9 That ~~more expressly than before~~ they
202.11 or |else| all
202.11 of ~~h~~|H|eaven;
202.12 has [~~and~~] |at length| become
202.12 express [~~inexorably unrepealably~~] law
202.14 |¶|So
202.14 considerable c|l|a[n] of
202.16 there ~~any~~ |any| wisdom
202.16 you, ~~is there~~ |any| heroism
202.17 of ~~miseries~~ vices
202.18 injustices, ~~and~~ |—in one word, of| long-continued
202.18 falsities ~~and miseries~~ |acted, spoken, tho[t]|? ~~Now then or never.~~ If
202.19 not ~~so~~ so
202.19 to |the| work;
202.20 else ~~too~~ litera|ll|y never!
202.21 |¶|Whether
202.21 inexorable |just| law |long valid in Heaven| has
202.23 know; |but| guess
202.23 think ~~the~~ |it cannot be possible but the| old
202.24 continue~~;~~|:| They
202.25 it [~~and~~] or
202.27 nature ~~somehow~~ suddenly
202.28 the |old use-and-wont will| continue!
202.29 that ~~it is a~~ |such comp[n] is| fallacious
202.31 it~~;~~ will
202.32 |¶ ~~And~~ Even so; and| all
202.35 any ~~sleight-of-hand~~ |human cunning| be
202.36 either ~~remedy~~ |begin to base| itself
202.38 henceforth~~; but~~|. No, we discern with inexpressible thankfulness so far| that
203.3 critical |crucial| experiment ~~of the~~ |(a true ^experimentum crucis^^)| has
203.4 cunning |and all the redtape of the world| ~~by~~|e| prevented
203.5 on |ever more rapidly,| and ~~ending!~~ getting
203.5 decision. |Decision| of "Yes ~~or No~~ we
203.6 enough~~;~~|,| and
203.9 is ~~and~~ any
203.13 [his ~~illegible~~ stern]
203.14 [what] |with mortgages,

[6] The caret for the preceding insertion follows the semi-colon, but the comma at the beginning of the insertion makes it clear that it should precede it; that is how the passage appeared in print.

[7] This paragraph down to "have not a minute to lose!" is an insertion on a separate slip attached to the manuscript; it replaces, and covers, an earlier draft of the passage on the sheet to which it is attached and its continuation on the top of the next sheet (fol. 201/2r). The following is the text of the latter, which has been cancelled with a vertical line: generations, ~~and~~ | and now accumulated till it seeks its fellow in the ~~earth~~ world. That it is their ~~Work, and that they must do it or die~~ | not a minute to lose!

[8] There is the insertion key "|That| verily" at the bottom of the slip (see preceding note).

debts, ~~jointures,~~ encumbrances, what| with
203.15 and ~~for [illegible] no life or term~~ |other leases contracts, and cov^ts|, the
203.16 stands |indeed| looking
203.16 it. |Landlords nominally of £10,000 a year, rent, do not command more than one thousand; over the rem^g 9,000, they have no more command than I: That is the sit^n of the Irish [L]andlord.|[9] A
203.22 every |true| Irish
203.23 try ~~to~~ his
203.24 should ~~a~~ |the| bill
203.27 |¶ ~~Or~~ Nay| if
203.27 bills~~, such as can be h~~ w^d
203.28 just ~~Tenants~~ |Husbandmen|, Tenants, Landlords~~, all men inflexibly just~~ |and just men experienced| in
203.30 Ireland, ~~as~~ in ~~the~~ regard
203.32 it |such a plan even as the latter|; but
203.33 Min^r ~~likely~~ will
203.34 the [~~illegible~~] world,
203.37 and ~~gives~~ excites
204.1 but |are idly| think|ing| official
204.2 which |delusive| tho^t ~~if~~ |does| the Min^r |perhaps| encourage them, ~~he is far beyond his duty~~ encourage himself? 2/I can compare ~~it~~ |him| only to the steersman~~'s~~ encouraging his ~~crew~~ fellow-rowers to ~~sit~~ |continue| idle and not bale the sinking boat!// 1/A flattering unction indeed, and very comfortable laid softly on the soul; but what will the cost of it be, thinks this Min^r?// The
204.9 mortgagees |steward| attorneys
204.11 Bill, [~~we~~] these
204.11 will ~~and can~~ straightway
204.12 Is -+it+- ~~to please~~ |that| the
204.14 don't |[then]| think
204.15 boat |sit quiet|;[10] I
204.18 present. [~~all~~] ~~there will soon be no oaring or steering!~~[11]
204.19 struggle ~~filam~~ (as
204.19 Creation~~)~~ and
204.20 Chaos ~~itself~~) organic
204.25 Priests ~~so-called~~. Sore ~~degraded and~~ defaced
204.26 yet «both extant;» ~~offering to the Chief Gov^r~~ |capable, both, of being dealt with by the British Parl^t,—to unspeakable profit, both, if| well
204.27 with. ~~//[Now any]\\ Nay with one of them the Brit^h Parl^t has already begun operations; and ought to have continued them I think. Thro' the Irish Landlords and the His //[L^r]\\ Lordship, even in the depth of //redtape and debating parl^ts\\ |his parliamentary element|, is not without resources; no living man anywhere ever was. Resources // [much]\\ far superior, it may behoped, to this of polishing //into perfectiong\\ the electoral suffrage into perfection.~~

[9] At the end of this insertion there is the cancelled insertion key: "~~A crueller sitn~~".

[10] There is no caret so it is not clear whether the insertion precedes or follows the semi-colon.

[11] There is a bracket at the beginning of the following sentence, but it does not, as usually is the case, indicate that material is not to be used or is to be moved elsewhere. Rather it seems to be related to the cancellation that precedes it.

~~a see slip~~[12] His
204.28 not |quite| without
204.29 ever |was|. Resources
204.33 these ~~hours~~ |weeks and days| are
204.34 swiftly |~~—one knows no~~ whitherward? ~~Like~~| t|T|he |rapids of| Niagara, ~~rapids, whither there will soon be~~ |after a while, become too rapid; and then there is| no

"Death of Charles Buller"

205.2 clearest;
205.5 sadness; ~~for he had many loving friends, and, more than most men, hardly any~~ which has ~~dimmed the cheerfulness of many a social circle~~
205.5 pub-~~light~~|ic|.
205.5 The ~~cheerfulness~~ |light| of
205.6 henceforth, ~~and misses~~ |and will miss long| |~~wanting now~~| a
205.11 Buller ~~we believe~~ was
205.11 Parliament ~~for above~~ |some| twenty
205.13 importance, ~~in~~ |of| late
205.15 was |what||,|| ~~is called~~ in party language, is called| a "r|R|eformer,"
205.16 intellect ~~disclosed~~ |laid bare| to
205.18 thing ~~which~~ |that| was
205.18 tenable, ~~which~~ |that| it
205.19 the ~~cause~~ |dreary| weltering
205.20 Parliamentary |confusion, with its disappointments and bewilderments,| ~~Debate, had not quenched this tendency which quenches so many~~ had
205.22 nature |itself|: for
205.23 with ~~the untrue~~ |fraud in any of its forms.| What
206.1 There ~~was in him a veracity so deep as to be~~ |shone mildly in his whole conduct a beautiful veracity, as ||if|| it were| unconscious
206.4 man. |Very gentle too, tho' full of fire; simple, brave, graceful.| What
206.6 had |thus always| in it ~~in many respects~~ a
206.8 a ~~good space of time~~ |long while|, Mr
206.10 levity, ~~was [a thing]~~, was ~~by many~~ |commonly| thought
206.10 for |many| years,
206.11 his 2/higher// 1/intrinsic// qualities.
206.12 this ~~light~~ many-coloured
206.13 resources, |~~and~~ and| loyal |by nature itself| to
206.15 service [~~illegible~~]. |¶|A
206.16 was|, whatever more|; among
206.17 and ~~manne~~ manner
206.17 soft ~~lambent~~ brilliancy
206.20 was |spontaneous like all else in him,| genuine, ~~spontaneous,~~ humane,
206.21 man. |~~Alone of wits~~| ~~Buller never made wit; he could be silent, where better was going; rather liked to be silent [illegible] permissible, and always was when needful. His was wit //always grounded itself on just insight\\ |moreover was always the ally of wisdom| To~~ «men.» To
206.23 silent, |or grave enough,| where
206.23 going; |often| rather
206.25 was ~~always~~ |ever| the
206.25 wisdom|, not of folly or unkindness or injustice|;[13] no

[12] There is white space in the manuscript, followed by the insertion key "if well dealt with."

[13] The caret indicates that the preceding insertion should come after the semi-colon, but the comma at the beginning of the insertion indicates that it cannot come there, and rather belongs at the end of the insertion.

206.32 convictions,~~ever true to the right side~~ |—and true without effort, as the magnet| is
206.33 doable|;| ~~and~~ helpful
206.33 obstructive ~~to~~ |of| it, ~~so far as he went.~~ |in all he attempted or performed.| ¶Weak
206.36 the ~~grave~~ |stern| energy
206.38 which, ~~doubtless~~ |perhaps| with
206.38 enough, ~~his clear discernment natural cleverness recognised as the just ones~~ |~~natural veracity and practical//ly\\||ity|| would quietly admit and recognise.~~| his
207.1 stand |by|. He
207.3 Hydras|;| ~~, and perish in wrestling with it, but when that man, whom we still look for, and cannot long dispense with some approach to, shall make his appearance, the man who of all others would have most loyally recognised him, shown fealty to him [but]~~«;» perhaps
207.3 did, |unassisted,| what
207.4 something|, nay something truly considerable|;—and
207.7 career, ~~was~~ as
207.8 Pauperism ~~was~~ is;
207.11 aware ~~of the~~ |what| methods
207.11 and ~~deeply~~ |altogether| contradictory
207.12 and |idle| philosophies
207.14 but |he| is
207.14 tried [~~either~~] with
207.15 fallen, |at this point of the march,| an
207.15 and |has| left
207.16 and ~~noble~~ |honourable| to
207.17 ought. ~~This light~~ |What in him was true and valiant endures for-/evermore,—beyond all memory or record. His light airy| brilliancy
207.19 solemn, ~~blended with~~ |fixed in| the
207.19 There ~~|also|~~ shall we ~~also~~ |also,| and
207.20 works, |all| shortly

INDEX

Abélard, Pierre, 242, 644
Abercromby, Robert, 234, 637-38
Adam (Old Testament), 122, 144, 170, 193, 210, 215, 289, 390, 394, 401, 513, 518, 543, 568, 614, 654, 735
Adamnan, Saint, 233, 634
Adams, John, 407
Adamson, Henry, 763
Addison, Joseph, 384
Adelung, Johann Christoph, 679
Aeschylus, 224, 577, 622, 765
Ajax, 184, 586
Albert (Prince), 711
Albertus Magnus, 124, 519
Alembert, Jean le Rond de, 393, 416
Alexander II (Russia), 690
Alexander, Archibald, 419
Alfred the Great, 500
Álvarez, Fernando de Toledo y Pimentel, Duke of Alba, 15, 381
Ambrose, Saint, 339, 761
Antæus, 89, 480
Anticipation; or, an Hundred Years Hence, 3, 355
Aquinas, Thomas, 402
Arabian Nights, 434, 480, 514, 622
Arachne, 114, 510
Archer, Henry, 689
Archimedes, 9, 148, 371, 548
Argus, 19, 155, 389, 559, 684
Aristophanes, 491, 671
Aristotle, 26, 29, 30, 339, 397, 402, 423, 489, 671, 761
Arkwright, Richard, 105, 112, 113, 114, 213, 499, 508, 509, 510, 612
Artigas, José Gervasio, 151, 554, 561
Asaph, 224, 621
Ashburton, Lord, 630
Astley, Philip, 151, 554
Attwood, Thomas, 452
Augereau, Pierre-François-Charles, Duc de Castiglione, 179, 579
Augustine of Hippo, Saint, 339, 761
Augustus II (Poland), 231, 631
Babbage, Charles, 368
Bacchus, 466
Bacon, Francis, 112, 123, 478, 508
Bacon, Roger, 13, 378
Baillie, Robert, 628, 647-48
Balfour, James, 335, 757
Balnaves, Henry, 333, 336, 755, 757
Balsamo, Giuseppe, 34, 409
Barbarossa. *See* Frederick I
Barbon, Praise-God, 247, 649
Barbour, John, 649
Barlow, J. H., 363
Barnum, Phineas Taylor, 232, 633
Basil, Saint, 339, 791
Bayard, Pierre Terrail, 307, 725
Beales, Edmond, 267, 273, 274, 662, 671, 680-81, 682
Beaton, David, 315, 328, 331-33, 736, 749, 750, 751, 752, 754, 755, 758
Beaton, James, 753
Bede the Venerable, 106, 500
Bedlam, 57, 93, 224, 267, 271, 448, 449, 484
Beelzebub, 57, 447
Belgrano y González, Manuel, 155, 559
Belial, 57, 447
Belle-Isle, Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet duke of, 303, 716
Bentham, Jeremy, 5, 11, 36, 60, 108, 118, 124, 128, 361, 365, 376-77, 396, 412, 413, 416, 458
Bèze, Théodore de (Beza), 309-10, 312-20, 322-23, 325, 328, 346, 730-34, 735, 736, 737-39, 740-41, 742-43, 744, 745, 767, 769, 772, 776
Bingham, George, Earl of Lucan, 708
Bismarck, Otto von, 307-308, 669-70, 717, 721, 725, 727-29
Blackwood's Magazine, 442, 476
Blakiston, John, 388
Blanc, Louis, 197, 591, 597-98
Boccaccio, 589
Boehm, Joseph Edgar, lx, 325, 350-52, 747, 770, 774, 775-76
Bolívar, Simón, 132-33, 155, 527-30, 558, 562

Bonaparte, Louis-Napoleon. *See* Louis III (France)
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 27, 37, 95, 131, 133, 155, 179, 290, 302, 303, 308, 399, 486, 488, 507, 510, 526-27, 530, 558, 579, 683, 690, 715, 721, 729
Bonpland, Aimé, 139, 174, 538-39, 573-74
Borgeaud, Charles, lxiii, 731, 737, 740, 741
Book of Murder, 523-24
Bossu, René le, 40, 422
Boswell, James, 350, 612, 637, 773-74
Bouillon, Robert II de La Marck, duc de, 302, 304, 714, 718
Bourrienne, Louis-Antoine, 579
Bowes, Elizabeth, 759, 761
Bowes, Marjory, 338, 339, 759, 760
Brewster, David, xvii, 391, 405, 643
Bright, John, 512, 662, 672
Brindley, James, 112, 213, 508, 612
British and Foreign Bible Society, 364
Brougham, Henry, 514
Barrett, Elizabeth Barrett, 629
Browning, Robert, 429, 629
Brueghel, Pieter the Elder, 140, 539
Brühl, Heinrich von, 231, 631
Brummel, Beau, 15, 382, 427
Bruyère, Jean de la, 693
Buchanan, George, 234, 310, 316-17, 344, 350-52, 636-37, 731, 738, 765, 773, 774, 775
Buller, Charles, xx, xliii, 205-207, 455, 517, 607-608
Buncombe (Bunkum), 223, 297, 620
Burgkmair, Hans, 713
Burke, Edmund, 384, 387, 406, 410, 439, 486
Burns, Robert, 77, 98, 120, 234, 387, 430, 469, 493, 495, 637, 665, 690, 708, 735
Burrit , Elihu, 216, 614
Butler, Samuel: *Hudibras* 17, 384, 489, 727
Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 19, 40, 45, 387-88, 400, 421, 422-23, 427, 429, 430, 488
Cabanis, Pierre-Jean-Georges, 9, 374
Cagliostro. *See* Balsamo, Giuseppe
Caldwell, James, 635
California, 260, 295, 654, 664
Calvin, John, 316, 738
Cameron, Richard, 446
Cameronians, 56, 446
Camões, Luís de, 6, 363
Campbell, Alexander, 414
Campbell, Archibald, 5th earl of Argyll, 341, 763
Campbell, John, 453
Campbell, Thomas, 383
Campe, Friedrich, 565
Canning, George, 407, 459, 550
Caratacus, 167, 569
Carbonari, 21, 391
Carlyle, Alexander, 473, 517, 613
Carlyle, James, 693
Carlyle, Jane Welsh, li, liii, liv, lxxix, lxxxiii, 393, 409, 410, 434, 442, 449, 450, 488, 517, 542, 615-16, 629, 633, 638, 643, 674, 678, 686, 701, 727, 730, 772
Carlyle, John, lii, lxviii, lxxxix, 360, 364, 367, 445
Carlyle, Thomas: "Baillie the Covenanter," xlvi, 546, 628, 646, 647-48, 727, 766; "Biography," 390, 497, 499, 563; "Boswell's Life of Johnson," 409, 495, 563, 585, 601, 612, 743, 774; "Burns," lxix, 420, 493, 621, 626, 637, 690; "Chartism," xvii, xviii, xx, xxx, xlviii, lxx-lxxi, 418, 437, 441, 452, 459, 460, 462, 469, 470, 474, 492, 502, 538, 550, 558, 563, 584, 593, 596, 597, 598, 601, 603, 609, 612, 614, 619, 625, 663, 664, 667, 674, 689, 691, 711; "Characteristics," xviii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, lxix, 392, 393, 410, 413, 414, 421, 436, 439, 440, 521, 664, 700; "Corn-Law Rhymes," 567, 606, 660; "Count Cagliostro," 409, 441, 466, 479, 497, 550, 558, 563, 566, 567, 585, 660; *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, lxv-lxviii, lxxxiv-xci, "Death of Charles Buller," xliii, lxxv; "Death of Goethe," 496, 621; "Death of the Rev. Edward Irving," xx, lxix, xxvi-xxvii, "Diderot," 383, 403, 439, 520, 565, 693, 700, 743; "The Diamond Neck-

lace," 409, 566, 585, 610, 611, 625, 693, 754; "Dr. Francia," xviii-xxxvi, lxxi-lxxii, 366, 530, 532, 534, 547; "Early Kings of Norway," 655; *Elements of Geometry* (translation), 370; *Frederick the Great*, xix, xx, xxxvi, xlv, xlvii, xlix, lvii, 368, 407, 563, 598, 631, 632, 642, 665, 669, 704, 713, 716, 79, 723; *French Revolution,* xxiii, xvxvii, xxxi, xxxvi, xlv, 357, 379, 403, 406, 407, 409, 410, 417, 427, 439, 440, 441, 451, 458, 466, 467, 468, 469, 479, 480, 481, 482, 485, 486, 492, 495, 496, 499, 512, 513, 514, 516, 537, 538, 546, 550, 565, 567, 568, 576, 578, 619, 623, 625, 628, 649 , 662, 722, 723, 756; "German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," 378, 403, 411; "German Playwrights," 378, 393, 567; *German Romance*, 355, 376, 436, 519, 555, 576, 659, 735; "Goethe," 374, 375, 390, 403, 569, 606, 622, 660, 700; "Goethe's Faust," 611; "Goethe's Helena," 357, 427, 439, 443, 626, 700; "Goethe's Works," 383, 425, 493, 563, 725, 743; "Heintze's Translation of Burns," 493; *History of Literature,* 390, 397, 473, 497, 518, 523; "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce," xix, xlvii-lv, 640, 673, 675; "Inaugural Address," xx, liii-lv, lxxviii-lxxxi, 394, 662, 688, 696, 706, 735; "Indian Meal," xliii-xliv, lxxv, 469, 609, 627; "Ireland and the British Chief Governor," xlii, lxxiii-iv, 611; "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel," xliii-xlliv, lxxv; "Irish Regiments," xlii, lxxiv, 596, 619, 661; "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter," 601, 743; "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again," 390, 407, 428, 430, 516, 621, 627; *Latter-Day Pamphlets,* xx, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xliv, xlix, lvi, 407, 475, 488, 513, 549, 558, 563, 598, 600, 608, 613, 620, 621, 622, 649, 651, 652, 657, 661, 663, 669, 672, 674, 677, 684, 698, 703, 710, 711, 743, 746, 776; "Latter Stage of the French-German War, 1870-1871," lvii-lviii, lxxxii-lxxxiii, 670, 733; "Legislation for Ireland," xli-xlii, lxxiv, 667; "The Life of Heyne," 655, 656; *The Life of Sterling,* 418, 420, 623, 663, 665; "Life and Writings of Werner," 386, 443, 621; "Louis Philippe," xxxvi-xxxvii, lvii, lxxii, 582, 596; "Memoirs of Mirabeau," 386, 420, 486, 487, 550, 578, 601; "The Negro/Nigger Question," xix, xxxiv, xli, l, 475, 552, 568, 593, 639, 640, 672, 673, 674, 683; "Novalis," 370, 371, 372, 386, 395, 398, 408, 440, 477, 489, 520, 601; "On History," 362, 407, 410, 766; "On History Again," 498, 500, 545; *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches,* xix, xxxiv, xlvi, 379, 486, 592, 629, 640, 641, 646, 648, 668, 684, 727; *On Heroes,* xviii, xxxv, lviii, lix, 384, 385, 399, 403, 409, 411, 420, 441, 469, 473, 486, 488, 493, 495, 497, 508, 523, 538, 565, 566, 579, 589, 603, 603, 612, 621, 631, 643, 644, 646, 648, 649, 660, 662, 665, 691, 694, 696, 700, 729, 734, 735, 746, 755, 756, 764, 766; "The Opera," xx, xliv, lxxvi-vii, 646; "Parliamentary History of the French Revolution," 519-20; *Past and Present*, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxxiv, xxxviii, 367, 386, 391, 407, 409, 410, 417, 437, 441, 457, 459, 473, 475, 482, 484, 486, 492, 494, 497, 499, 508, 513, 513, 517, 518, 520, 538, 545, 547, 553, 558, 563, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 583, 584, 585, 589, 590, 594, 596, 597, 598, 599, 601, 603, 605, 609, 612, 614, 625, 639, 643, 645, 649, 661, 666, 669, 673, 675, 684, 691, 695, 707, 710, 762; "Petition on the Copyright Bill," xx, xxviii-xxiv, lxx; "The Portraits of John Knox," xx, lviii-lxiii, lxxxiii, 629, 634, 635-36, 685; "The Prinzenraub," 631; "Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits," xx, xlv-xlvi, lxvii-viii, 730; "Repeal of the Union," xx, xxxix-xli, lxii-lxiii, 473, 595, 601, 602, 605; *Reminiscences,* xxii, 370, 441, 445, 450, 451, 637, 693, 701, 704; "Reminis-

cence of My Irish Journey," 600, 609, 706; "Revolutions in Modern Europe," 510; *Sartor Resartus*, xxiii, xxv, xxxviii, lxvii, lxxxix, xc, 357, 359, 362, 363, 385, 386, 387, 390, 393, 395, 398, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 407, 409, 411, 416, 420, 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 436, 437, 440, 441, 451, 457, 460, 466, 468, 469, 472, 475, 478, 481, 484, 488, 491, 497, 504, 521, 522, 525, 539, 546, 547, 550, 552, 557, 565, 567, 572, 579, 601, 605, 620, 624, 625, 627, 643, 660, 665, 690, 695, 696, 698, 722, 735, 743; "Shooting Niagara," lxvi, lxxviii, lxxxi-lxxxii, xc, lxxxi-lxxxii, 572, 605, 620, 664, 665, 666, 667, 670, 673, 675, 678, 679, 680, 682, 696, 701, 704; "Signs of the Times," xvii, xviii, xxi-xxiii, xxv, xxvi, lxiii, lxviii-lxix, 358, 359, 363, 368, 370, 372, 384, 395, 401, 424, 437, 440, 448, 487; "Sir Walter Scott," 422, 488, 550, 558, 578, 589, 621; "State of German Literature," 370, 372, 373, 383, 428, 488, 565, 690; "The Tale" (translation), 443; "Taylor's Historic Survey of German Literature," 407, 420; "Trees of Liberty," xx, xliv, lxxv, 565, 619; "Voltaire," 355, 368, 378, 383, 389, 390, 439, 444, 725; *Wotton Reinfred*, 366, 423 630
Carteret, John, Earl of Granville, 725-26
Cartouche. *See* Louis Dominique Garthausen
Catherine II (the Great), 624
Catholic Emancipation Act, 358, 444, 445, 470, 581
Cato the Younger, 106, 502
Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, 15, 382
Celts, 80, 106, 107, 189, 473, 478, 492, 501, 502-503, 506, 590, 593, 653, 723
Cerrito, Fanny, 623
Cervantes, Miguel, 396, 397, 665, 735
Chadwick, Edwin, 460, 461-62, 464, 466, 524
Chalmers, Thomas, 442, 522
Chambers, Robert, 471, 744, 746
Chamerovzow, Louis, 683
Chancery, Court of, 122, 202, 247, 248, 290, 518, 603, 650, 651
Channing, William Ellery, 402, 419
Charles (Austria), 433
Charles Albert (Holy Roman Empire), 716
Charles I (England), 249, 486, 506, 575, 592, 648, 652, 684, 727
Charles II (England), 279, 308, 357, 575, 615, 635, 650, 689, 691, 707
Charles V (Holy Roman Empire), 302, 304, 381, 713, 714, 719, 720, 733
Charles X (France), 422, 445
Charles XII (Sweden), 217, 615
Chartism, xxix, xxxi-xxxiii, xxxviii, 63-130, 116, 194, 453, 512, 596
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 474
Cheyne, Charles, 1st Viscount Newhaven, 701
chimera, 63, 140, 185, 360, 448, 453
Choctaws (Chactaws), 182, 189, 583, 586, 593
Christina (Sweden), 7, 367
Cicero, 397, 406, 585, 657
Circe, 57, 289, 448
Cisneros, Jiménez de, 15, 381
Civil War (U. K.), 188, 359, 379, 592, 648, 727
Civil War (U. S.), 552, 639-40, 662, 672, 675
Clare, Richard de, 79, 471
Clarendon, Lord, Viceroy of Ireland, 594, 610, 611
Cleon the Tanner, 255, 267, 658, 671
Clive, Robert, 114, 510
Clytemnestra, 344, 577, 765
Cobbett, William, xvii, 407, 415, 458, 507
Cobden, Richard, 212, 512, 611, 672
Cockburn, Alexander, 682
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 392, 395, 412, 415, 435, 671
Coletti, Filippo, 225-27, 623-24
Collins, Arthur, 249, 651-52
Collins, William, 408
Columba, Saint, 233, 634
Columbus, Christopher, 15, 381
Combe, George, 431,
Common Sense Philosophy, 369, 372-

73
Comte, Auguste, 280, 440, 691
Condamine, Charles Marie de La, 144, 543, 544
Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de, 416, 432
Constant, Benjamin, 16, 382
Constitutions, 15, 35, 36, 52, 111, 132, 150, 159, 188, 200, 377, 381, 405, 406, 407, 410, 413, 439, 479, 481, 508, 529, 562, 592, 676
Conway, Moncure, li-liii, lxxviii, lxxx, 642
Cooper, Abraham, 635
Cope, John, 234, 636
Copernicus, 436
copyright, 59-60, 102, 103, 451, 495, 496
Corn Laws, xxxi, xxxii, xliii, 90, 380, 481, 512, 513, 582, 607, 611, 612
Cortés, Hernán, 15, 381
Cotton, Robert, 504
Cousin, Victor, 8, 51, 369, 438, 520
Cowley, Abraham, 395
Craik, George L., 461, 766
Cranach, Lucas, 631
Cranmer, Thomas, 336, 733, 758
Crichton, Alexander, 330, 751
Crimean War, 294, 705, 708
Crockett, Davy, 105, 499
Croker, John Wilson, 774
Croker, T. Crofton, 619
Cromwell, Oliver, xlvi, 95, 104, 110, 168, 192, 213, 245, 246, 247, 249, 279, 345, 486, 569-70, 575, 608-609, 612, 628-29, 635, 640, 646, 648, 651, 668, 684, 685, 689, 691, 730, 766, 771
Cruikshank, George, 407, 412
Cullen, William, 418
Dale, David, 234, 637
Danaë, 384
Danaides, 68, 81, 460
Dante Alighieri, 83, 128, 129, 185, 343, 396-97, 476, 523, 589, 764
Darley, George, 542
Darwin, Charles, 703
Darwin, Erasmus, 9, 373
David Dalrymple (1726-1792), Lord Hailes, 234, 637
Davy, Humphry, 366
Day, Thomas, 412
Decii, 32, 406
Demosthenes, 254-55, 277, 585, 657-59, 688
Derby, Edward Stanley, 14th Earl of, 666-67, 683, 685, 770
Derby, Lady, 769
Descartes, René, 7, 8, 367, 369, 396, 432
Díaz, Juan, 318, 740
Dickens, Charles, 553
Dickson, Lothian Sheffield, 680-81
Diderot, Denis, 51, 89, 393, 416, 438, 444, 480, 495, 700
dilettantism, 21-22, 297, 390-91, 558
Dionysius I (Syracuse), 139, 140, 141, 146, 161, 162, 537-38
Disraeli, Benjamin, 212, 272, 611, 641, 667, 678, 679-80
D'Israeli, Isaac, 504
Dominica, 277, 686-88,
Douglas, Gawin, 234, 637
Douglas, James, 4th earl of Morton, 636
drill, drill-sergeant, 151, 197-99, 294, 302, 486, 598, 599-600, 661, 707, 709, 715
Drummond, Henry, 446
Drummond, James, lxi-lxii, 731, 737, 739, 740, 741, 748, 771-72, 773
Dryden, John, 689
Ducrow, Andrew, 151, 554
Duffy, Charles Gavan, xxxviii-xxxix, xl, xliv, lxxv, 470-71, 580, 581, 582, 584, 587, 588, 592, 595, 611, 617-18
Dugdale, William, 523
Dunbar, Gavin, 331, 752
Dundas, Henry, 1st Viscount Melville, 56, 234, 445-46
Dundas, Robert, 2nd Viscount Melville, 446
Dürer, Albrecht, 351, 396-97, 631, 775
Durham, Lord. *See* Lambton, John George
Edinburgh Review, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxvii, xxix, xxx, lxviii, lxix, 361, 364, 413, 442, 454, 475
Edinburgh, University of, 369, 391, 418, 431, 442, 641, 645, 653-54, 655, 669
education, xxxi, 6, 20, 121-26, 126, 241, 255-56, 258, 516-19, 520, 709
Edward I (England), 213, 612

Edward III (England), 505
Edward VI (England), 336, 758
Eichthal, Gustave d', 487
Eliott, George Augustus, First Baron Heathfield, 235, 637
Elizabeth I (England), 15, 323, 339, 382, 508, 743, 761
Elliott, Ebenezeer, 482
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, xxv-xxvi, xxxiii, xxxv, xliii, l-lii, lxx, lxxxiv-lxxxv, 419, 613, 614, 616, 620, 654, 664
emigration, xxxi, xxxii, 121, 127-28, 473, 517-18, 609
Enceladus, 116, 512
Encyclopédie, 37, 56, 148, 393, 416, 438, 444, 480, 549
epic, 105, 397, 499
Epictetus, 14, 380-81, 655
Epicurus, 37, 417
Erasmus, Desiderius, 312, 373, 732, 733
Erskine, John, the 1st earl of Mar, 636
Essays and Reviews, 289, 645, 702-703
Estienne, Robert, 312, 733
Euclid, 267, 371, 670
Eumenides, 178, 577
Euripides, 765
Eve (Old Testament), 394, 401, 518, 543
Examiner, xxii, xxviii-xxix, xxxi, xxxvii, xxxix-xl, xlii, xliii, xlix, lxx, lxxii, lxiii-lxxvi, 360, 388, 411, 452, 453, 454, 455, 457, 484, 492, 510, 524, 575, 576, 577, 578, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 588, 591, 594, 595, 597, 613, 614, 617, 644, 661, 712, 721, 722, 729
Exeter Hall, 166, 189, 568, 581, 593, 641, 683
Eyre, Edward John, 273, 662, 681-84
Falconer, Charles Gordon, 277
Faust, Johann. *See* Fust, Johann
Fellowes, Robert, 414
Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe, 8, 369
Ferdinand I (Spain), 391
Ferguson, Adam, 244, 378, 645
Ferrand, William Busfeild, 572
Fichte, Johann Gottleib, 52, 370, 392, 428, 438, 696
Fielding, Sarah, 402
Finch, Anne, 408
Fitzgerald, Percy, 350, 773-74
Foreign Review, xxxiv, lxviii-lxix, lxxxv, 364, 384, 567
Foreign Quarterly Review, xxxiv, lxxxv, lxxi, 534
Forster, John, xxviii-xxxv, xxxvii, xl, xli-xliii, lxx, lxxii-lxiii, 540, 629, 677
Forster, William Edward, 580-81
Fortunatus, 225, 624
Fourier, François Marie Charles, 197, 597-98
Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de, lviii-xix, xxxiv-xxxvi, 131-76, 525, 538-41, 545-48, 550, 555-57, 559-62, 570, 572-74
Francis I (France), 302, 304, 312, 713, 714, 718, 733, 757
Francis, Saint, 128, 522
Franco-Prussian War, lvii, 301-308, 670, 712-29
Franz (Austria), 433
Fraser, James, xxvii, xxx, lxx-lxxi, lxxxvi, lxxxvii
Fraser, William, 384, 567
Fraser's Magazine xxiii, xxvii, xxix, xliv, lxi, lxvi, lxvii, lxix, lxxv, lxxxiii, 441, 449, 772
Frederick I (Holy Roman Emperor), 705
Frederick II (the Great), 7, 367-68, 480, 509, 629, 630, 631-33, 687, 704, 707, 713
free trade, 266, 287, 451, 512, 611, 614, 672, 699-700
Freemasons' Tavern, 14, 379
French Revolution (1789), 4, 14, 87, 88, 116, 303, 357, 358, 359, 379, 399, 409, 413, 480, 482, 485-86, 492, 495, 507, 512, 515-16, 527, 550, 557, 574, 576, 577, 578, 619, 649, 662, 678, 716-17, 722-23, 724
French Revolution (1830), 56, 418, 445, 576, 578, 592
French Revolution (1848), 177-80, 575-79
Friedrich II (Prussia). *See* Frederick II
Friedrich III the Wise (Saxony), 231, 631

Friedrich Wilhelm (Prussia), 277, 598, 687, 707
Froben, Johann, 312, 732-33
Fuller, Thomas, 312, 732-33
Fust, Johann, 13, 378
Galvani, Luigi, 366-67
Gama, Vasco de, 6, 363
Gambetta, Léon, 722
game laws and game preserving, 65, 90, 130, 299, 456-57, 483, 489, 491, 525, 711
Gardiner, Marguerite, Lady Blessington, lxiv, 621
Garraway, James, 688
Garthausen, Louis Dominique (Cartouche), lxviii, 307, 724-25
George I (England), 535
Gibbon, Edward, 407, 426
Giordano, Luca, 631
Gladstone, William, 662, 683
Glasgow spinners, 64, 83, 87, 93, 453-54, 475, 478, 674
Godwin, William, 412, 414, 522
Goethe, Wolfgang von, 27, 112, 256, 257, 293, 294, 356, 386, 387, 399, 427, 461, 487, 509, 659, 665, 666, 696-97, 706, 709, 735; *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* 509; *Faust*, 626; *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers,* 421, 427, 487-88; "Symbolum," 666; *Wilhelm Meister,* 390, 392, 400, 424, 441, 660, 661, 696, 706, 709; *Zahme Xenien,* 356, 425
Goodman, Christopher, 338, 760
Goulart, Simon, lxii, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 739, 740-41, 743
Granger, James, 323, 743
Granville, George Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl, 307, 685, 725
Graves, Henry, 323, 745
Great Exhibition of 1851, 235, 638
'greatest happiness principle,' 5, 285, 360, 361-62, 487, 695
Grégoire, Henri Jean-Baptiste, 222
Grub Street, 283, 694
Guizot, Francois, 177, 575, 577
Gully, James Manby, 564
Gutenberg, Johannes, 378, 411
Hales, Alexander of, 27, 399
Hamilton, James, 6, 364
Hamilton, James, 2nd Earl of Arran, 333, 754
Hamilton, John, 341, 763
Hamilton, Patrick, 313, 733
Hamilton, Robert, 405
Hamilton, William, 431, 701
Hancock, John, xli-xlii, 602, 605
Hannibal, 132, 133, 528, 531
Hardenberg, Friedrich von, 85, 383, 386, 390, 392, 395, 403, 408, 438, 440, 477
Harold II, 85, 477-78, 667
Harpocrates, 408
Hartley, David, 9, 373-74, 384
Harun al-Rashid, 224, 622
Hawley, Henry, 234, 636
Hazlitt, William, 45, 411, 430, 446
Heath, William, 412
Hegel, Georg, 51, 438
Hengst (Hengist), 105, 498-99
Henry I (England; "Beauclerc"), 291, 705
Henry I (Saxony), 291, 705
Henry II (England), 81, 212, 471, 474, 612, 757
Henry II (France), 304, 719-20
Henry III (England), 505
Henry VIII (England), 16, 288, 383, 701, 708, 757, 758
Henson, Gravenor, 509
Hepburn, James, 4th earl of Bothwell, 636
Hepburn, Patrick, 3rd Earl of Bothwell, 329, 331, 750
Heptarchy, the, 106, 265, 500, 667
Herbart, Johann, 370
Hercules, 22, 390, 391, 480, 607, 643
Herder, Johann Gottfried, 411, 431
Herod (New Testament), 754
Herodotus, 66, 458-59, 525
Herschel, William, 391
Heuschrecke, Gold-Hofrath, 130, 525, 620
Heyne, Christian Gottlob, 253, 655-56
Heysham, John, 461-62
Hippocrates, 393, 397
Hobbes, Thomas, 405, 406, 414
Hoffman, E.T.A., 433
Holbein, Hans, 351, 775
Holbein, Sigmund, 631

Holl, Benjamin, 748
Holland, Henry, 676
Hollar, Václav, 233, 634
Home, Henry, Lord Kames, 40, 234, 422, 636-37
Homer, 132, 499, 528, 655, 693; *Iliad,* 553, 639, 692; *Odyssey,* 528, 530, 553
Hondius, Hendrik, 320-22, 325 742, 745, 771
Hooker, Richard, 11, 376
Hope, Adam, 451
Hope, David, 450
Hope, Thomas, 23, 46, 391-92, 414, 432-35
Horace, 400, 527, 618, 746
Horn, Robert, 739, 745
Horsa, 105, 498
Howard, George William Frederick, seventh earl of Carlisle (Viscount Morpeth), 186, 589
Howard, John, 489, 677
Hudson, George, 703
Hugo, Victor, 487-88
Humboldt, Alexander von, 139, 538-39
Hume, David, 9, 16, 17, 41, 51, 56, 89, 372-73, 382, 384, 385, 407, 414, 424,
humor, 261, 314, 343, 627, 665-66, 734, 735, 753, 764
humors, theory of, 546, 556, 557
Hutcheson, Francis, 362, 487
Hyde, Edward, First Earl of Clarendon, 231, 630
hypocrisy, 182, 584, 658
Industrial Regiments, 197-99, 225, 600, 624
Irving, David, 765
Irving, Edward, xx, xxi-xxii, xxv, xxvi-xxvii, 55-58, 355, 358, 359, 360, 361, 385, 412, 419, 440, 441, 442, 443, 445, 446-47, 448-50, 637, 686
Irving, Washington, 684
Isabella II (Spain), 577
Iturbide, Agustín de (Agustín I), 131, 526, 527
Jackson, Andrew, 592
James I (England); James VI (Scotland), 109, 250, 505, 652, 739
James II (England), 473, 494, 592
James IV (Scotland), 511, 633
Jarlath, Saint, 181, 581
Jason (Greek myth), 507, 564, 765
Jenyns, Soame, 415
Jewsbury, Geraldine, 488
John (England), 504
John Chrysostom, Saint, 339, 761
Johnson, Samuel, 102, 213, 278, 350, 415, 464, 493, 495, 585, 606, 612, 689, 694, 773-74
Jowett, Benjamin, 703
July Revolution. *See* French Revolution (1830)
Justin, Justinus, 339, 547, 761
Juvenal, 665, 702
Kames, Lord (Henry Home), 40, 234, 422, 636-37
Kant, Immanuel, 51-52, 285-86, 370, 383, 387, 398, 438, 467, 671, 695-96, 699
Kaulbach, Wilhelm von, 231, 632
Kay, John, 362
Keble, John, 697
Kepler, Johannes, 13, 49, 378, 435-36, 549
Ker, Alan, 686-88
Kingsley, Charles, 668
Kirkcaldy, William, 234, 336, 636, 758
Kitchiner, William, 23, 27, 393, 399-400
Kneller, Godfrey, 348, 771
Knight, Charles, 69, 346, 461, 736, 748, 766
Knowles, James Sheridan, 15, 382
Knox, John, lviii, 16, 56, 233, 234, 245, 246, 261, 309-52, 445-46, 628, 629, 634-36, 646-47, 665-66, 729-38, 741-77
L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 98, 492
Lagrange, Joseph-Louis, 9, 370
Laing, David, xlvi, lviii-lxii, lxxvii, 229, 502, 628, 647, 666, 734, 735-37, 739, 741-42, 744, 749, 750-53, 755-57, 760, 762, 764, 767-69, 771, 776
laissez-faire, 73, 92-99 360, 466, 483, 484, 495, 496, 512, 228, 582, 587, 614, 663
Lamartine, Alphonse de, 180, 579
Lamb, William, 2nd Viscount Melbourne, 65, 456
Lambton, John George, 1st earl of

Durham, 465
Lamoral, Count of Egmont, 15, 381
Lancaster, Joseph, 6, 364
Laplace, Pierre-Simon, Marquis de, 9, 370-71
Lardner, Dionysius, 475, 515
Las Casas, Bartholomé de, 15, 381
Laurence, Samuel, 770-73
Lavoisier, Antoine-Laurent de, 435
Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste, 182, 582
Leeuwenhoek, Antony van, 10, 375
Legendre, Adrien Marie, 370
Leng, W. C., 673
Leslie, John, 669
Lethe, 148, 549
Lewes, George Henry, 691
Lewis, Matthew, 521
Leyden, John of, 15, 267, 274, 381, 671, 683
Lloyd's Weekly Paper, 668
Locke, John, 9, 371, 372, 373, 406, 414, 432, 473, 489, 490, 676
Lolme, Jean Louis de, 11, 36, 376
Longchamp, Marcelin, 131, 140, 526, 539-40, 559
Louis XI (France), 301, 330, 713, 751-52
Louis XIII (France), 715
Louis XIV (France), 303, 707, 713, 716, 718, 719
Louis XV (France), 303, 444, 716
Louis-Philippe (France), 177-80, 575-79, 592, 610, 629
Louvois, François Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de, 718-19
Love, Thomas George, 567
Loyola, Ignatius, 16, 147, 383, 548
Lucan, 106
Lucifer. *See* Satan
Luisa Fernanda (Spain), 577
Lunt, George, 269, 675
Luther, Martin, 17, 27, 123, 231, 384, 399, 518, 631, 635, 707, 729, 732, 745
Lycurgus, 599
Lyly, John, 383
Lyndsay, David, 333, 765
Macaire, Robert, 96, 487
MacFarlane, Charles, 766
MacHale, John, archbishop of Tuam, 181, 581, 584, 585
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 246, 648-49
Mackenzie, Henry, 402
MacKinnon, William Alexander, 355, 388
Mahomet. *See* Mohammed
Maitland, Richard, 329, 751
Maitland, William, 329, 636, 751
Malebranche, Nicolas, 8, 369
Malthus, Thomas, 215, 415-16, 517, 521-22, 523-25, 613, 614
Mammon, 57, 447, 664, 707
Manichaeism, 424-25
Mansong, Jack, 98, 492
Marat, Jean Paul, 414, 485, 578
Marcus (*Book of Murder*), 523-24
Marcus Aurelius, 670, 671
Maria II (Portugal), 199, 601
Maria Theresa (Austria), 480
Marlborough, John Churchill, 1st Duke of, 283, 694
Martineau, Harriet, 492
Mary I (England), 320, 730, 742
Mary of Guise, 756, 761, 764
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, 336, 337, 343, 751, 754, 757, 759, 760, 763, 764, 765
Mason, William, 589
Maximilian (Holy Roman Empire), 713, 714
Maxwell, William Stirling, 770
M'Crie, Thomas, 325, 736, 737, 744, 745, 746, 757, 759, 764
M'Cormac, Henry, 602, 605
McDonnell, Alexander, 706
Meagher, Thomas, 583, 610
Medea, 163, 344, 584, 662, 765
Melbourne, Lord. *See* Lamb, William
Memnon, 18, 386
Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, 10, 375, 375, 519
Merritt, Henry, lx, 352, 747, 760, 773, 776
Mesmer, Franz Anton, 363
Meux, Henry, 289, 702
Michelangelo, 7, 367
Midas, 460
Miers, John, 131, 133, 135-38, 156, 530,

531, 533-37, 559
Mill, James, 360, 365, 475
Mill, John Stuart, xxv, xviii, xxx, xl-xli, 357, 360, 367, 379, 439, 488, 607, 620, 628, 662, 676, 681, 704
Millenarians, Millennialism, 5, 355, 357, 359-60, 361
Miller, Joseph, 90, 481
Miller, William, 131, 526, 527, 529-34, 558
Milnes, Richard Monckton, 429, 661
Milton, John, 26, 105, 499, 690; *Comus,* 710; *History of Britain,* 498, 499-500; *Letters of State,* "Lycidas," 368; "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," 692; *Paradise Lost,* 359, 395, 397, 420, 423-24; *The Reason of Church Government,* 547, 692; *Samson Agonistes,* 389; "To Mr. Cyriack Skinner upon his Blindness," 611
Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de, 121, 515-16, 550, 601
Mitchel, John, xxxviii-xxxix, 583, 588, 591, 594, 610, 611
Mithridates VI Eupator, 85, 147, 477, 547
Mohammed (Mahomet), 99, 163, 493, 565
Monboddo, Lord (James Burnett), 234, 636-37
Moncrieff, W. T., 412
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de, 32, 405-406, 414, 416
Montfort, Simon de, 6th Earl of Leicester, 109, 505
Moore, Thomas, 581
Morant Bay rebellion, 662, 681
More, Thomas, 490
Morpeth, Viscount. *See* Howard, George William Frederick, 186, 589-99
Moses (Old Testament), 538, 699, 700, 743, 749, 764
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 7, 227, 367, 626
Müller, Friedrich von, 112, 509
Napier, Macvey, xxiii-xxvi, lxix, 361, 413
Napoleon. *See* Bonaparte, Napoleon
Nation, xxxviii, xliv, lxxv, 580, 591, 617-18
Nemesis, 177, 576
Neuberg, Joseph, lxxxviii, 704
New Testament: Acts, 440, 601; 1 Corinthians, 426, 528; Ephesians, 419; Galatians, 400; John, 435, 692, 710; Luke, 389, 404, 410, 519, 522, 555, 595, 754, 759; Mark, 442, 555, 710, 754; Matthew, 355, 356, 401, 404, 408, 428, 458, 519, 522, 595, 641, 643, 652, 672, 692, 710, 754; 2 Peter, 522; Revelation, 359, 361, 420, 443, 672, 695, 698, 723, 732; Romans, 391, 2 Thessalonians, 724; 2 Timothy, 379
Newman, John Henry, 697
Newton, Isaac, 7, 13, 366, 378, 394, 549, 669
Nicholas I (Russia), 470, 714
Nicolson, William, 235, 638
Niobe, 308, 728-29
Northcote-Trevelyan Report, 661, 662, 705
Novalis. *See* Hardenberg, Friedrich von
O'Brien, William Smith, 192, 583, 585, 595, 610
O'Connell, Daniel, xxxviii, xxxix, 187, 192, 444, 514, 580, 581, 590-91, 693, 696
O'Connell, John, xxxix, xl, 589
O'Hagan, John, xxxviii, 470
O'Higgins Requelme, Bernardo, 136, 534, 535
Oates, Titus, 4, 357
Oberlin, Jean-Frédéric, 709
Odin, 107, 504
Odonais, Isabel Godin des, 144, 643-44
Old Testament: Amos, 734; Bel and the Dragon, 289, 702; 1 Chronicles, 621; 2 Chronicles, 464; Daniel, 360, 488, 697, 702; Deuteronomy, 443, 464, 700; Ecclesiastes, 441, 657; Exodus, 356, 401, 403, 490, 538, 699, 700, 743; Ezekiel, 474, 522, 672; Genesis, 394, 401, 404, 412, 424, 425, 431, 463, 490, 510, 528, 543, 599, 679, 711, 740; Habakkuk, 435; Hosea, 427, 571; Isaiah, 435, 468, 476, 692, 710, 722; Jeremiah, 69, 461, 476, 477, 516, 584, 663, 724; Job, 37, 162, 416-17, 429, 435, 515, 538, 564, 578, 643;

Joel, 522; Jonah, 200, 602; Judges, 567, 569, 618, 623, 761; 1 Kings, 464, 477, 566, 567; 2 Kings, 387; Lamentations, 69, 461; Leviticus, 386-87, 401, 586; Numbers, 700, 749; Proverbs, 515, 653; Psalms, 435, 621, 622, 650, 738; 1 Samuel, 356, 507, 646; 2 Samuel, 443, 622, 722
Orcus, 185, 589
Orléans, Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc d' (Philippe Égalité), 102, 178, 495-96, 577
Overend, Gurney, and Company, 290, 703
Owen, John, 771
Owen, Robert, 197, 367, 405, 414, 415, 597-98, 637, 699, 709
Paine, Thomas, 414, 481
Paley, William, 414
Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount, 457, 601, 705
Pandora, 700-701
Papin, Denis, 366
Parker, J. W., 620
"Parliamentary eloquence," 111, 139, 186, 188, 195, 200, 276, 507, 538, 608
Pascal, Blaise, 8, 369, 371
Paul, Saint, 14, 73, 380, 466
Paxon, Joseph, 638
Peasants' Revolt, 418
Peasemeal, Ezechiel, 223, 619-20
Peel, Robert, xliii, 388, 456, 549, 587, 607, 635, 679
Pelham-Holles, Thomas, 1st Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne, 307, 725
Penny, William, 323, 744-45
Perez, Manuel, 131, 165, 167, 168, 176, 566-70
Peterloo, 94, 111, 484, 507
Phalaris, 85, 477
phantasmagory, 56, 443, 586
Philip II (Spain), 15, 337, 381, 759
Philip II of Macedon, 254, 658
Phillip VI (France), 109
Philosophes, Philosophism, 89, 444, 480, 537
Phocion, 254-55, 658-59
phoenix, 89, 481
Phrenology, 431
physiognomy, xx, lix, lxii, 315, 736, 776
Pigot, John Edward, xxxviii, 470
Pilate, Pontius, 332, 754
Pindar, Peter. *See* Wolcot, John
Pinkerton, John, 325, 502, 503, 506, 634, 745, 747
Pitt, William the Elder, 105, 499, 726
Pitt, William the Younger, 105, 382, 499
Pius VII (Pope), 579
Pizarro, Francisco, 15, 381
Plato, 9, 11, 98, 371, 376, 394, 406, 424, 490, 491, 670, 700
Playfair, John, 669
Plutarch, 371, 658-59
Poor laws, 71, 72, 201, 460, 462, 463-68, 483, 484, 523, 584, 587, 602, 603, 606, 607, 608
Pope, Alexander, 375, 553; *The Dunciad*, 380; "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot," 395; *An Essay on Criticism,* 415, 423; *An Essay on Man,* 36, 414
potato famine (Ireland), xxxviii, xxxix, xlii, 469, 580, 581, 582, 586, 587, 596, 602, 604, 607, 608, 613, 614, 617
Pourbus, Frans the Younger, 351, 774-75
Pourbus, Frans, the Elder, 350, 351, 352, 773, 774-75, 776
Pourbus, Pieter, 351, 774-75
Pratt, John Tidd, 462
Price, Richard, 461
Priestley, Joseph, 9, 373, 384, 419
Procter, Bryan Waller, xliv-xlv, lxxvii, 441, 450, 621
Prometheus, 110, 114, 346, 400, 507, 510, 589
Protestant reformation, 234, 261, 328, 339, 340, 383, 384, 444, 445, 518, 554, 632, 635, 666, 729-30, 734, 746, 749, 750, 751, 757, 761, 762, 766
Proteus, 82, 325, 326, 475, 746, 748
Prynne, William, 110, 506
Ptolemy, 49, 435-36
puffing, 7, 39, 364-65
Pusey, Edward Bouverie, 285, 634, 697
Pyrrho of Elis, 41, 50, 51, 424,
Pythagoras, 148, 394, 548-49
Quarterly Review, xxxii, 364-65, 391
Quashee, 267, 672
Racine, Jean, 485

Radicals, 358, 380, 415, 416, 458, 490, 514, 677
Raglan, Lord, 294
Raleigh, Walter, 112, 508
Ramírez, Francisco, 160, 562
Raphael Sanzio, 7, 367, 396-97
Rauch, Christian Daniel, 231, 633
Raynal, Guillaume Thomas François, 138, 148, 152, 154, 155, 169, 537, 571
Reform Bill of 1832, 36, 377, 411, 413, 415, 416, 452, 482, 507, 514, 606, 668
Reform Bill of 1867, 270, 271-73, 275, 278, 287, 294 654, 666, 671, 678, 679, 680
Reid, Thomas, 9, 369, 372, 424, 489
Rengger, Johann Rudolph, 131, 140, 143, 145-46, 148, 154, 156, 158-62, 164-65, 170, 172-75 526, 539-40, 546, 556, 559-63, 565-66, 570-71, 573-74
Reynolds's Newspaper, 668
Ribera, José de, 631
Richard III (England), 505
Richardson, Samuel, 402, 626
Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, duc de, 302-304, 715, 717
Richter, Jean Paul Friedrich, 53, 124, 428-29; *Hesperus,* 430, 435; *Leben des Quintus Fixlein,* 376, 436, 519, 555, 576; *Levana; oder Erziehungslehre,* 520; *Siebenkäs*, 362, 626; *Vorschule der Aesthetik,* 386; *Wahrheit aus Jean Pauls Leben,* 516
Riquetti, Victor, Marquis de Mirabeau, 550
Rizzio, David, 234, 636-37
Robert the Bruce, 233, 235, 445, 511, 634
Robertson, John Parish, 131, 141-46, 148-52, 156-57, 159-60, 168-70, 174-76, 168, 532, 533, 537, 539, 540-41, 542, 544-48, 551, 554-56, 560-62, 566, 570, 572-74, 766
Robertson, William (historian), 345, 766
Robertson, William Parish, 131, 141-46, 148-52, 156-57, 159-60, 168-70, 174-76, 532, 533, 537, 539, 540-41, 542, 544-48, 551, 554-56, 560-62, 566, 570, 572-74, 766
Robespierre, Maximilien, 166, 568
Rollin, Charles, 156, 559
Rough, John, 333, 755
Rouse, Francis Rous, 248, 650
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 102, 148, 400, 405, 406, 414, 416, 444, 480, 493, 493, 495, 496, 549
Ruskin, John, lvi, 655, 674, 682, 770, 776
Russell, John, 1st earl Russell, xli, xlii, lv, 182, 191-95, 201, 516, 518, 582-83, 584, 587, 589, 593, 594, 596, 597, 608, 611, 682, 683
Sadler's Wells, 26, 397
Saint-Simon, Claude Henri, Comte de, 96, 440, 487, 691
San Martín, José de, 133, 530, 531, 533
Sandilands, James, 744, 751
Sandilands, John, 330, 751
Sanitary Act of 1866, 710
Sansculotte, 52, 155, 439, 470, 479, 486, 512, 557
Satan, 4, 119, 313, 357, 359, 417, 423, 425, 447, 515, 676, 700, 733
Sauerteig, Gottfried, 104, 106, 162, 164, 390, 497, 548, 563, 619
Savage, Richard, 495
Saxe, Maurice, Count of Saxony, 231, 631
Schadow, Johann Gottfried, 565
Schelling, Caroline, 392
Schelling, Friedrich, 51, 438
Schiller, Friedrich, 50, 396, 405, 436, 438, 547, 679
Schlegel, August von, 382, 392, 671
Schlegel, Friedrich von, 23, 45-48, 382, 392, 429, 431-32, 433, 434, 438, 671
Scott, Walter, 40, 421-22; *Heart of Midlothian,* 446; *Ivanhoe,* 503; *Old Mortality*, 446; *Paul's Letter to His Kinsfolk,* 704; *Rob Roy*, 422; *Waverley*, 422
Semiramis, 225, 624
Servetus, Michael, 316, 738
Shakespeare, William, 13, 15, 26, 78, 105, 109-10, 112, 213, 262, 267, 283, 285, 382, 396-97, 499, 506, 523, 612, 665, 672, 694, 696, 735; *Comedy of Errors,* 741; *Hamlet,* 26, 356, 395, 396, 398, 464, 476, 482, 516, 540,

697; *Henry IV* Part 1, 618; *Henry V,* 728; *Julius Caesar,* 496; *Macbeth* 494, 558, 559; *The Merchant of Venice,* 595; *Othello,* 421, 491; *Richard III,* 702; *The Tempest*, 26, 396, 508
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 45, 356, 411, 429
Sidney, Philip, 15, 112, 382, 508
Silence, 34, 254, 408-409, 421, 656-57, 696, 735
Sinclair, George, 357
Sirens, 56, 447
slavery, xix, xlvii-li, lvi, 14, 122, 137, 237, 268, 279, 281, 289, 380-81, 445, 456, 457, 492, 518, 536, 552, 568, 592, 593, 639-40, 672, 673, 675, 683, 687,
Smith, Adam, 11, 16, 93, 376, 377, 382, 466, 475, 484, 490, 495, 512 607, 614
Smith, Hanna Whitall, 692
Smith, Sydney, 364
Smollett, Tobias, 363
Smyth, Ralph,346, 744, 768-75
Smyth, Selina Constance, lix-lx, 768-70
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 346, 461
Socrates, 11, 98, 267, 376, 491, 643, 672
Somerville, Aubrey John, the 19th Lord Somerville, 346, 768
Somerville, James, the 13th Lord Somerville, 326, 349, 351, 748, 773, 774
Somerville, Kenelm Digby, 17th Lord, 346, 768
Somerville, Selina. *See* Selina Constance Smyth
Somerville, William, 594
Somerville family, 736, 770
Sophocles, 224, 245, 397, 622, 645-46
Southcott, Joanna, 361
Southey, Robert, 451, 467, 474, 480
Soyer, Alexis, 218617
Spurzheim, Johann, 365
Staël, Madame de, 382, 579, 690
Stanhope, Philip Henry, Lord Mahon, 451
Stanley, Edward, 1st Baron of Monteagle, 114, 511
Stanley, Edward, 14th Earl of Derby, 666, 685
Stephen (England), 599
Stephens, Joseph Rayner, 128, 524
Stephenson, George, 363
Sterne, Laurence, 396-97, 665, 735; *Sentimental Journey*, 402; *Tristram Shandy*, 40, 422
Stewart, Dugald, 8, 369-70, 372, 431
Stewart, Henry, Lord Darnley, 234, 636
Stewart, James, 1st earl of Moray, 234, 636, 763
Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, 15, 382
Stratton, Charles (Tom Thumb), 633
Strigul. *See* Clare, Richard de
Stuart, Charles Edward, 234, 636
suffrage, xviii, xix, xxix, xxx, xlvii, 36, 65, 93, 95, 117-19, 193, 266-67, 270-71, 285, 355, 414, 415, 452, 458, 485, 514, 596, 637, 662, 664, 667, 669, 671, 672
Suleiman I, 302, 714
supply and demand, 102, 198, 466, 494-95, 595, 512, 614
Swift, Jonathan, 375, 523, 565, 665, 735
Swing, Captain, 64, 418, 494
Swinton, Archibald, 454, 479
Symons, Jelinger C., 453, 475, 490
Taglioni, Marie, 225, 623-24
Tait, Robert Scott, xiii, lx, lxii, 325, 348-50, 745-46, 769-73
Talfourd, Thomas Noon, 102, 451, 495, 496
Tamburini, Antonio, 623
Tamerlane, 155, 558
Tartarus, 39, 155, 420
Taylor, Jeremy, 11, 376
Tegg, Thomas, 59, 451
Temple, Frederick, 703
Tenier, David, 327, 748
Tennyson, Alfred, 686
Tertullian, 339, 761
Teufelsdröckh, Diogenes, 385, 386, 393, 402, 404, 405, 409, 411, 420, 421, 423, 426, 428, 429, 437, 460, 468, 469, 478, 484, 488, 491, 525, 548, 550, 567, 619, 620, 624, 643, 665,698, 735
Theophrastus, 693
Thierry, Augustin, 106, 478, 497, 500-501, 503
Thirty Years' War, 707, 713, 715, 717,

718
Thom, John Nichols, 93, 483
Thompson, Daniel Pierce, 684
Thomson, James, 234, 637
Thomson, Richard, 504
Thor, 107, 504
Thucydides, 156, 560, 671
Tibullus, 655
Tieck, Ludwig, 392, 665, 735
Tophet, 83, 476, 513
Tory party, xxix, xliii, 359, 365, 377, 378, 386, 390, 404, 422, 428, 437, 459, 465, 475, 494, 499, 502, 506, 513, 526, 607, 637, 655, 694, 702, 712, 713, 718, 721
Torphichen, James Walter Sandilands, 12th Lord, lix, lx, 323, 324, 326, 330, 744, 746, 751
Tracy, Destutt de, 488
Trevelyan, Charles Edward, 614
Tunstal, Cuthbert, 758
Turenne, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de, 294, 304, 707, 718
Tyndale, William, 319, 741
Tyndall, John, 643
Tyrtaeus, 224, 621-22
Unitarians, 7, 365, 402, 419
universities, 242-43, 253, 643-44, 653, 655, 656, 663
Ussher, James, 441
Utilitarians and utilitarianism, 5, 7, 360-61, 365, 377, 378, 382, 391, 396, 401, 428, 439, 462, 606, 607, 695
Vaensoun, Adrian, 317, 731, 739
van Ostade, Adriaen, 327, 748-49
van Somer, Paul, 317, 739
vates, 223, 621, 622
Vaucanson, Jacques de, 10, 376
Vauxhall Gardens, 10, 375
Verdi, Giuseppe, 623, 624
Verheiden, Jacob, 320, 742
Victoria, 456, 521, 563, 621, 705, 711, 747
View-hunting, 39, 421
Villemain, Abel Francois, 8, 369
Virgil, 24, 253, 394, 418, 655, 656
Volney, Constantin François de Chasseboeuf, Comte de, 138, 148, 537, 549
Volta, Alessandro, 367
Voltaire, 7, 114, 367-68, 399, 407, 413, 416, 429, 444, 480, 495, 510, 615, 629, 700, 719
Voltz, Johann Michael, 565
Vos, Cornelis de, 325, 747
Wade, George, 136, 234, 535, 636
Walpole, Horace, 4th earl of Orford, 101, 494, 726
Walpole, Spencer Horatio, 273, 680-81, 683
Walter-the-Pennyless (France), 274, 683
War of Austrian Succession, 716, 725
Warner, Ferdinando, 694
Warner, Samuel, 184, 191, 587, 588, 595
Washington, George, 102, 132, 527, 499, 694, 528
Watt, James, 13, 105, 112, 362, 378, 799, 508, 612
Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of Wellington, 105, 499
Wentworth, Thomas, 1st earl of Strafford, 308, 727
Westminster Review, xxix-xxx, 365
Wickliffe, John, 16, 310, 383
Wilberforce, Samuel, 703
Wilderspin, Samuel, 294, 709
Wilhelm I (Prussia), 720
Wilkie, David, 233, 320, 634-35, 742
William Augustus, duke of Cumberland, 234, 636
William I, the Conqueror, 478, 667, 705
William II (England), 195, 598, 705
William III (England), 80, 303, 473, 716
William of Orange, 80, 473
Whig party, xxix, xxx, xxxii, xliii, xliii, xlix, 359, 377, 390, 416, 452, 453, 455, 456, 458, 464, 494, 512, 516, 582, 589, 606, 607, 608
William of Ypres, 198, 598-99
William Rufus, 198, 598-99, 705
William the Silent, 15, 381, 409
William Wallace (Scotland), 230, 629
Wishart, George, 327-33, 745, 749-51
Witt, Jan de, 15, 381
Wodon. *See* Odin
Wolcot, John, 571
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 414
Wolmar, Melchior, 318, 740-41
Woodward, Thomas, 635

Wordsworth, William, 356, 389, 394, 405, 451
Wycliffe, John, 16, 312, 383, 732
Xerxes, 129, 525
Yegros, Fulgencio, 156, 159, 160, 559, 563
Young Ireland, xxxviii-xxxix, 580, 581, 582, 583, 586, 595
Young, Edward, 408
Young, Peter, 310, 731
Zeitgeist, 46, 411, 432
Zeno, 151, 554